This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARIES
3 3433 08248279 9

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

TRAVELS

IN

NORTHERN GREECE.

BY

WILLIAM MARTIN LEAKE, F.R.S. &c.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

LONDON:
J. RODWELL, NEW BOND STREET.

1835.

Digitized by Google

LONDON:
GILBERT & RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

NEW YORK
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

OF

VOLUME IV.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ACARNANIA.

PAGE

Island of Petalá—*Echinades*—Port Platiá—Lutziana, Tragamésti, Vasilópulo—Mount Velútzi—*Crithote*, city, cape, and mountain—*Astacus*—Makherá—Bambíni—Paleókastro of Porta—Aetós—Return to Katúna—*Alysia*—Islands *Carnus* and *Taphus*—*Thyrium*—*Palærus*—*Sollium*—Return to Balímbey—Ai Vasíli—Return to Vónitza—*Echinus*—*Heraclia*—*Myrtuntium*—Return to Prévyza—Remains of *Actium* at Akri or Punta—Harbour of *Actium* or Prévyza—Battle of *Actium*.. 1

CHAPTER XXXV.

EPIRUS.

Mýtika—River of Kamarína—Kastroskiá—Riniássa and castle—Kanaláki—Fanári—Glyký—Rivers *Acheron* and *Cocytus*—Lake *Acherusia*—*Glycys Limen*—*Cichyrus*—*Buchætium*—*Pandosia*—Gardhíki—Dhragomí—Mount Kuríla—Paramythía—St Donatus—*Eurhœa*—Velianí—Districts of Margaríti and Filiátes—*Cestria*, or *Ilium*—*Elateia*—*Batiæ*—*Elini*—*Chauni*—*Gitanæ*—Eléfthero-khóri—Bagotzús—Dhramisiús—Paleókastro—Kosmirá—Rapsísta—Ioánnina..... 44

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XXXVI.

EPIRUS.

PAGE

From Ioánnina to Kónitza—Bisdúni—Radhotópi—Karítza—Zitza—Cascade of the Kalamá—Velá—Kalbáki—Source of the Kalamá, or *Thyamis*—Tzerovína—Lake—Dhelvináki—District of Pogoniani—Víssiani—Lakhanókastro—Tzaraplaná—Sykiá—Kónitza—River Viósa, or *Aous*—*Paravæi*—*Atintanes*—*Melotis*—*Omphalium*—*Orestæ*—Return to Ioánnina—River Voidhomáti—Artzísta—Sudhená—Dovrá—Khan of Aléxi—Ioánnina—Kastrítza 87

CHAPTER XXXVII.

EPIRUS.

Topography of the district of Ioánnina—Lakes of Ioánnina and Lapsísta, and the intermediate marsh—Katavóthra—Citadel—City—Population—Houses—Schools—Litharítza, and other palaces of Alý Pashá—The island—Productions of the lake—Scenery—Climate—Population and villages of the district—On the site of *Dodona*—Testimony of Homer—Relative situations of *Molossis*, *Thesprotia*, and the *Dodonæa*—Evidence of the site of *Dodona*, from Dionysius, Pindar, Polybius, Hesiod, and others—Objections to other situations in *Epirus*—Adjustment of the *Epirote* tribes on the supposition of *Dodona* having been near Ioánnina—Site of the *Dodonæan* temple—History of *Dodona* and of Ioánnina 130

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

EPIRUS.

To Kalarýtes—Return by Tsímovo to Ioánnina—Omér Bey Vrióni—Alý Pashá—Climate—Arta—Subdivisions and population—Alý Pasha's revenue from Arta, Ioánnina, and other places—To Peta, Kombóti, Kóprena, Vlikha—Neokhóri, *Argos*

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Amphilochicum—Battles of Olpæ and Idomene—Crenæ, Mount Thyamus, Agræa—Return from Prévyza by Luro and Rogús *(Charadra)* to Ioánnina 205

CHAPTER XXXIX.

EPIRUS. THESSALIA.

From Ioánnina to Métzovo, Stagús, and Tríkkala—Sub-divisions of Tríkkala district—'Agrafa, its topography, population, and produce—*Dolopia, Athamania, Tymphæi, Æthices, Talares*, —River *Ion—Oxyneia*—College of Dervises at Tríkkala—Gardhíki, *Pelinnæum*—Tzighióti—Ferry of the *Peneius—Phacium*—Alífaka—Lárissa—Túrnavo—River *Titaresius*—Cities of *Pelasgiotis*—Dhamási—Dheminíko, *Cyretiæ*—Inscriptions—Mológhusta—*Mallæa, Eritium, city of the Perrhæbi, Oloosson* —Vlakho-iánni—Leftherokhóri—*Ericinium*—Gritziáno, *Pharcadon*—Bridge of Tzighióti—Vlokhó, *Peiresiæ* or *Asterium*—Rivers *Enipeus, Apidanus*—Petrino, *Phyllus*—Mount Mavrovúni—Orfaná—Férsala 258

CHAPTER XL.

PHTHIOTIS, MAGNESIA.

From Férsala to Armyró—Tjaterlí—Ghidék—*Phylace—Crocius Campus*—Kirtzíni, or Armyró—Kefálosi, *Alus*—Siúrpi—District of Kokús—Ftelió, *Pteleum*—Khamáko—*Larissa Cremaste*—Fanó, *Antron*—Cape *Zelasium—Isthmia—Oreus*, or *Histiæa*—Return to Kefálosi—River Kholó, *Curalius*—Akketjel, *Thebæ Phthioticæ*—Kókkina, *Pyrrhasus, Temple of Ceres*—Cape Anghístri, *Pyrrha*—Ruins of *Pagasæ—Amphanæ* 329

CHAPTER XLI.

MAGNESIA. THESSALIA.

Volo, *Iolcus—Demetrias*—River *Anaurus*—Ancient towns of *Magnesia*—Cave of *Achilles*—Modern state of Mount *Pelium* —Tríkeri, *Æanteium*—Mount Bardzóia, *Tisæum—Apheteæ—*

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Sesklo. *Æsonia*—Gherelí—Kastrí, ruins, inscriptions—Dugán—Dhésiani—Aghiá—*Melibœa, Eurymenæ, Homolium, Thaumacia, Myræ* 372

CHAPTER XLII.

THESSALIA.

Return to Kastrí—Kanália—Fishery of the lake of Karla, or *Bœbeis*—*Bœbe*—Káprena, *Glaphyræ*—*Orminium*—Velestíno, *Pheræ*—Mount *Chalcodonium*—Petra—*Lacereia*—*Amyrus*—*Dotian* and *Amyric* plains—*Cercinium*—*Armenium*—Gheremí—Suplí—*Scotussa*—Battle of *Cynoscephalæ*—Duvlatán—Tjanglí, *Eretria Phthiotis*—Ghenítzaro-khori—River *Enipeus*—*Melitæa*—*Coroneia*—*Erineium*—Mount *Narthacium*—*Pras*—*Thetidium* 419

CHAPTER XLIII.

THESSALIA.

Battle of *Pharsalus*—Fountain *Hypereia*—Present state of Férsala—Demirlí—Simiklí—Yusuflí—*Eukydrium, Palæpharus*—Sofádhes—Maskolúri—Mataránga, *Cierium*—Rivers *Cuarius, Apidanus*—Kaputzí—Kardhítza—Paleókastro, *Metropolis*—Loxádha—Fanári, *Ithome, Limnæa*—Rivers *Pamisus, Onochonus, Phœnix, Asopus, Melas*—*Ctemenæ*—Gheránthi—Episkopí, *Gomphi*—*Pheca*—Rapsísta—Musáki—Portes—*Athenæum*—River Portéïko—Kótziaka—Mount *Cercetium, Phaloria, Pialia*—Poliána—*Silana*—Tríkkala—*Homeric geography of Thessaly*—*Melibœa*—Stagús—Kastráki—Metéora—Ioánnina 475

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO CHAPTER XXXVII.

Ioánnina in the 14th century 553

Digitized by Google

TRAVELS

IN

NORTHERN GREECE.

FOURTH JOURNEY

(continued.)

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ACARNANIA.

Island of Petalá—*Echinades*—Port Platiá—Lutziana, Tragamésti, Vasilópulo—Mount Velútzi—*Crithote*, city, cape, and mountain—*Astacus*—Makherá—Bambíni—Paleókastro of Porta—Aetós—Return to Katúna—*Alyzia*—Islands *Carnus* and *Taphus*—*Thyrium*—*Palærus*—*Sollium*—Return to Balímbey—Ai Vasíli—Return to Vónitza—*Echinus*—*Heraclia*—*Myrtuntium*—Return to Prévyza—Remains of *Actium* at Akri or Punta—Harbour of *Actium* or Prévyza—Battle of *Actium*.

April 3, 1809, continued.—Having descended from Trikardho into the plain of the Aspro, we proceed to a mill two miles distant from the ruins, which is turned by a derivation from the river flowing from the marsh of Trikardho. In summer this river is said to contain nearly as much water as the *Achelous*, as its sources never

Digitized by Google

fail. Finding an Ithacan boat at the mill, we engage it to carry us to the port of Petalá, sending thither by land the horses and as many of the palikária as the boat will not contain.

After dining at the mill we descend quickly with the wind and stream for about four miles, when a calm ensues, followed by a heavy fall of rain with furious gusts of wind at intervals. Our boat having grounded at the mouth of the river, we are conveyed in monóxyla to the island of Petalá, which in the middle is separated only from the main land by a narrow channel connecting two harbours, both of which are well sheltered by the island, but have in no part a depth of more than six feet. The river of Tríkardho discharges itself into the northern harbour: in the southern the boat is lying which I had ordered from Mesolónghi to convey me to Tragamésti; but such is the violence of the gale, that although the wind is quite favourable, the boatmen will not venture even to pass through the narrow channel uniting the two bays, still less to proceed to Tragamésti. We are obliged, therefore, to submit to be devoured by the fleas in the hut of Hassán Agá, son of Yussúf Arápi, the Vezír's Hasnadár, who commands sixty Albanians placed on the island by the Vezír to prevent its occupation by the Kleftes, who were in the habit of making incursions from hence into the neighbouring country. Hassán treats us hospitably as the friends of his master, giving us fish and lamb for supper, and excellent Ithacan wine which he has obtained by levying contributions of it from the boats which put in here.

Digitized by Google

His hut, dignified with the name of a kula or tower, is twelve feet square within, and serves for every thing but a kitchen, which among Albanian soldiers is generally *sub dio*. His palikária occupy two other huts of the same size, but formed only of heaps of stones covered with branches, in which they all assemble when the weather is bad: when fine, they repose on the lee-side of skreens made of branches supported upon rough posts, and which may easily be shifted according to the wind. The Agá's hut alone is tiled. The men consider themselves in luxury, having fish from the harbour for the trouble of catching it, and bread gratis from the villages. Hassán complains that in summer the air is unhealthy, and the winged insects very troublesome; but adds, that gnats, the worst of all, are seldom seen after June, the place being too dry for them.

Petalá consists almost entirely of rugged rocks, having small intervals of soil which are covered as usual in such situations in the winter and spring with a luxuriant growth of herbage, and a great variety of succulent or aromatic shrubs. On the summit are some veláni oaks, and wild olives, and on the western side of the island a few fields which were cultivated by the Ithacans until Alý Pashá occupied the island.

A series of low swampy islets borders the main coast opposite to Petalá, extending from a narrow stripe of low land which separates the marsh of Tríkardho from the sea to the heights which rise from the northern side of the mouth of the *Achelous* over against Kurtzolári.

Digitized by Google

April 4.—We sail in the Mesolonghite boat in four hours to the Skáloma of Tragamésti, vulgarly Dragamésti[1], passing between the *Echinades* and the *Acarnanian* coast, in which, about midway, is the harbour of Platiá, or Pandeleímona. The wind without is southerly, but near the shore a calm prevails. The *Echinades* may be divided into three clusters: the Dhiapória in face of Platiá, the Dhragonáres to the westward of these, and the Módhia to the southward. All the larger produce corn; Pondikó, Prováti, and Dhragonára, which last is the largest of all, have kalývia on them. As at Petalá, wild olives abound, some of which on Dhragonára have been grafted by Mr. Zavó of Ithaca, who owns the island.

Platiá is a beautiful little bay with a narrow entrance, having a muddy bottom at a depth in most parts of twelve or fifteen fathoms. On the summit of a hill rising from the harbour are the walls of a Hellenic city, which I take to have been Astacus, as Scylax and Strabo concur in showing that Astacus was the chief maritime city and harbour northward of Œniadæ, near the Echinades[2]. The bay of Tragamésti is five or six miles long, by one in breadth, and would be much exposed to the

[1] Τραγαμέστη, sometimes Δραγομέστη.

[2] Μετὰ ταῦτα πόλις Ἀλύζεια καὶ κατὰ ταύτην νῆσος Κάρνος· καὶ πόλις Ἄστακος καὶ λιμὴν καὶ ποταμὸς Ἀχελῶος καὶ Οἰνειάδαι πόλις.—Scylax in Ἀκαρνᾶνες.

ἡ Ἀλυζία . . . . Εἶτα ἄκρα Κριθωτὴ καὶ αἱ Ἐχινάδες καὶ πόλις Ἄστακος ὁμώνυμος τῇ περὶ Νικομήδειαν . . . καὶ ἡ Κριθωτὴ δ' ὁμώνυμος πολίχνη τῶν ἐν τῇ Θρακίᾳ Χερρονήσῳ· πάντα δ' εὐλίμενα τὰ μεταξύ· εἶτ' Οἰνιάδαι καὶ ὁ Ἀχελῶος.—Strabo, p. 459.

Digitized by Google

south-west, which is the direction of its length, were it not for the shelter afforded by the *Echinades*. The mountain Velútzi slopes steeply to the north-western shore with a straight coast line. There is said to be a depth of 15 orghiés, or fathoms, within 200 yards of the skáloma, or magazines, which stand on the beach at the extremity of the bay. Here is a rough mole, where several boats of Kefalonía are now lying detained by their fear of the Maltese privateers and an English brig which is cruizing off Mesolónghi.

Finding horses at the Magazines, I proceed to the village of Vasilópulo, distant six miles, and the residence of K. F. Hodjá-bashi of Tragamésti, Vasilópulo, and Lutzianá, three villages occupying lofty situations on the northern side of the valley. Vasilópulo is near its extremity. Tragamésti, the largest, stands just under the summit of Mount Velútzi, and Lutzianá is about half a mile from the magazines at the head of the bay. There are not more than 100 families in the three villages; the boundary of the district follows the crest of the surrounding mountains, except to the S.E., where it extends to the marsh of Trí-kardho. From the head of the bay the valley turns eastward and then northward, in which direction it is separated from the valley of Bambíni by the mountains which are a northerly continuation of Mount Khalkítza.

Between Lutzianá and Tragamésti, below a monastery of St. Elias, distant a mile from the sea, a root of Mount Velútzi projecting into the valley was the site of the town or fortress which

Digitized by Google

possessed the district of Tragamésti as well in Hellenic times as at a subsequent period: it is separated from the steeps of the mountain by a small hollow, and is surrounded towards the plain as well as on the two other sides by cliffs about thirty feet high. The remains consist of walls of mortar and rubble, erected upon Hellenic masonry of a species almost regular, but which in one place only has preserved so many as five or six courses, where it forms part of a large inclosure in the interior of the later work. Near it are the ruins of a large church, within which a smaller one has been built. At the angle of the fortress towards the sea are the remains of a tower, coeval apparently with the ruined church, and built upon a high rock. The entire hill is covered with wild almond-trees mixed with a variety of odoriferous shrubs in all their vernal beauty. On the north-eastern side of the ancient site, at the foot of the cliffs, a stream of pure water issues from the rocks, just below which are some ancient foundations. A little lower flows a torrent which rises at the head of the valley, and on its opposite bank stands a modern church surrounded with ancient foundations and sepulchres.

The Hellenic town was probably Crithote; for Strabo describes Crithote as a πολίχνη, of the same name as a promontory, and places the latter, together with the Echinades, between Alyzia, which was near the modern Kandíli, and Astacus[1]; next to which southward was Œniadæ: whence it

[1] Strabo, p, 459.—Scylax in Ἀκαρνανία.—V. sup.

Digitized by Google

seems evident that the promontory Crithote was that remarkable cape at the western entrance of the bay of Tragamésti, now called, as well as the mountain at the foot of which the Hellenic remains are found, Velútzi. Possibly it may be thought that the long bay of Tragamésti, so remarkable a feature of the *Acarnanian* coast, and the fertile valley at its head, are themselves indications that here stood the principal town of this part of the coast, which certainly was Astacus. But it is to be observed, that such a bay was not so well adapted, by its great depth of water and want of shelter, to ancient navigation as Platiá; and that Scylax expressly notices the harbour of Astacus.

The vale of Tragamésti is well cultivated: its productions are wheat, vines, but principally maize, for which they are now ploughing or harrowing. The land intended for this grain is twice ploughed, then harrowed, then ploughed again, sown, and again harrowed. The harrow[1] is formed of branches of trees roughly put together, and drawn by oxen driven by a man who stands upon the harrow. The three villages being Kefalokhória, the Greek proprietors pay an eighth to the Vezír besides vostína. My host K. has a landed property of between 400*l.* and 500*l.* a year, and gains about as much more, not very righteously I fear, as Hodjá-bashi. Being ostentatious, and very like a Turkish governor, his house is built and fitted up in the Turkish style, covering a considerable space of ground, and having three or four

[1] σβάρνος.

Digitized by Google

large rooms, without any comfort. I find him much alarmed, as well as the Hodjá-bashi of Závitza, who is with him, by a recent declaration of the Vezír that he will make them responsible for the conduct of all the robbers who are natives of their districts. Among other complaints against His Highness in this part of the country, is that of his having raised the duties upon the exportation of provisions from his territory to the islands. That upon an ox which was one piastre is now 85 parás, and the kadhos of corn formerly paying six piastres now pays 28.

The air of Tragamésti is considered healthy; a natural consequence of the valley being free from marshes, surrounded by dry mountains, and open to a free ventilation by the imbát of the bay. Mount Velútzi, which bore perhaps anciently no other name than that of the town at its foot and of the promontory, in which it terminates, is more woody beyond the villages than on its maritime side, and contains red deer in abundance: on the hills at the head of the valley the fallow-deer and roebuck are found: the woods consist chiefly of oaks[1] of a kind suited to knee timber, and rendered doubly valuable by the facility with which they may be transported to the head of the bay of Tragamésti. The hills on the south-eastern side of the valley, as far as the marsh of *Œniadæ*, including Mount Khalkítza, are covered with the veláni oak.

April 5.—The southerly wind with rain conti-

[1] δένδρα.

Digitized by Google

nues. In the afternoon, the sky clearing a little, we set out at 12.40 for Bambíni, notwithstanding the pressing remonstrances of our host Kyr K., who, finding us determined to proceed, adds to our escort a few Albanians who are under his orders, in consequence of his having received advice yesterday of the thieves having made an excursion from Kálamo and killed two Albanians.

The hedges of the cultivated fields abound in the shrub called azoíri or vromoklári [1], a kind of vetch, which takes the latter name from its stinking leaf. Beyond the valley we enter an opening in the hills immediately opposite to Vasilópulo; it is bordered on either side by a thick wood of oak of different species, among which is the prinokókki or kermes; mixed with them is the daphne in full bloom, and the usual proportion of lentisk [2], one of the commonest of Grecian shrubs. The white orchis is in blossom, as well as many other natives of England, which do not flower until Midsummer. The common oak here is only in bud, though a fortnight ago the leaves of some large oaks round an old church near *Calydon* were already opened.

Having crossed the hills, we descend into a valley which extends to the heights of Lygovítzi and Mánina. Both here and farther down to the south-eastward the vale consists entirely, except around Khrysovítzi and Pródhromo, of a forest of oaks; some of these are large trees with short

[1] ἀζωγήρι, βρωμοκλάρι: anagyris fœtida. [2] σχῖνος.

Digitized by Google

crooked stems. The veláni is not so plentiful as on the hills. Having turned to the left we skirt the foot of the heights for a mile or two, and arrive at Makherá, once a considerable village, as its ruins declare, but now reduced to eight or ten families. Here begins the fertile basin which is surrounded by the Lygovítzi mountain, the ridge of Makhalá, and those of Bambíni and Khrysovítzi. Having remained at Makherá from 2.50 to 3.18, we follow the slope of the hills, and halt, at 3.50, for the night at Bambíni, where I lodge in the house of the priest, which is very little distinguished from the other huts of the village either by comfort or cleanliness. The house of the Proestós, which is somewhat larger, happens to be occupied by some wounded Albanians returned from fighting with the thieves.

The Bolu-báshi, who was troublesome at the beginning of the journey, has since returned with signs of penitence, and has behaved like all the escort, with great regularity and discipline. Three or four in particular, who are Toshke from near Berát, are always in front, and if any steep rock or other place affording a good look-out occurs, there, as soon as we come in sight of it, they are sure to be seen, or to be heard by the discharge of their musquets, should they have any apprehension of their activity being unnoticed by us: some of them might have contended in swiftness of foot with Achilles himself. Others are teleboæ, or βοὴν ἀγαθοὶ, famous for their voices, for which quality Alý Pashá himself is noted. It is not, however, the loudness of bawling, or the power of

Digitized by Google

running over a given space in the shortest time that the Albanians seem to consider, but the more useful arts of making themselves understood when speaking at a great distance, of clambering over difficult roads, and of making long journeys on foot with rapidity. Another accomplishment on which the Albanian values himself is that of distinguishing objects at a great distance.

April 6.—From Bambíni to the Paleókastro of Porta is a ride of three quarters of an hour. The monastery called the Panaghía of Porta is founded upon a part of the ruined walls of an ancient city, which incircle the summit of an irregular height, rising from the middle of the vale which is inclosed by Mount Búmisto, the ridge of Makhalá, or Katúna, and the mountain of Lygovítzi. The walls are mostly of the polygonal kind, and defended by short flanks instead of towers, except on the lower side towards Makhalá, where they are best preserved, and where, as I remarked from Makhalá, a tower of regular masonry subsists to half its original height. A little above it, an ancient reservoir, about 15 feet square, still serves to contain the waters of a spring which rises there, and which marks perhaps the site of the agora of the ancient city. Around the source formerly stood a modern village named Pistianá.

Within the Hellenic inclosure are many foundations of ancient buildings, and the steeper parts of the hill still preserve the terraces, into which it was anciently divided, and which are now separated from each other by bay trees of the most luxuriant growth. The monastery is large, but

Digitized by Google

contains no remains of Hellenic sculpture or architecture. Below the lower side of the height towards Makhalá, a fertile bottom belonging to Bambíni is covered with vineyards, which produce yearly 800 barrels of wine, of 50 okes the barrel. The hill of Porta separates the valley of Bambíni from that of Aetós, so called from a deserted village on the foot of Mount Búmisto, opposite to which, in the direction of Porta, a pointed hill, attached to a low ridge, and crowned with the ruins of a castle of the lower ages, also named Aetós, rises from the middle of a valley which is inclosed around by the mountains Búmisto and Skafídhia, by the hill of Porta, and by the ridge of Katúna and Konopína.

Moving from Porta at 9.40, we proceed in the direction of Katúna, through the valley just mentioned, which every where, except under Katúna and Aetós, is uncultivated, and covered chiefly with the wild pear, one of the commonest trees in the uncultivated plains and valleys of Greece. At 11.8 we halt below the monastery of St. Nicolas of Aetós[1], which stands upon the lowest heights of the ridge, attached to the castle peak. It contains nothing curious. The palikária having reposed a little, we proceed at 11.50 through the woods, and at 12.50 make our meridian halt where the trees become thicker, the wild pears being mixed with oaks, with an underwood of the paliúri, and other common shrubs. Although this place is not four miles in a straight line from Katúna, it requires an hour

[1] Ἅγιος Νικόλαος τοῦ Ἀετοῦ.

Digitized by Google

and a half to reach that village, as we soon lose our path among the bushes.

April 7.—The following is some account of a part of Acarnania, which the Kleftes have not allowed me to see, derived from my travelling companions or from the intelligent family of Mavromáti, with whom I am lodged. The distance from Katúna to Závitza is reckoned 3 hours; the road from the ascent of Aetós to Závitza is along the steep rocky side of Mount Búmisto, and very rough. Závitza stands at the opening of a hollow, between the mountains Búmisto and Skafídhia, and looks down upon the bay of Vulko or Kandíli, which is separated by a narrow strait from the northern end of the island of Kálamo. From a mill on a height half a mile to the south of Vathý, in Ithaca, I saw Závitza through the channel between the islands Kálamo and Kastús. Half an hour below Závitza are two ancient towers, complete with battlements; they stand on either side of the gorge, and anciently defended a pass leading from Závitza into the maritime plain; an hour farther, on the sea-side, upon the point of Mýtika, which divides the bay into two parts, are the remains of a building of Roman brick-work. This and another point of the bay are about as far from the nearest corresponding points of the eastern end of Kálamo as Prévyza is from Punta in the widest part. The Paleó-kastro of Kandíli is the name given to the ruins of a Hellenic city, situated above the village of Kandíli, and about an hour from the sea.

Digitized by Google

From the bay of Vulko begins the steep rocky uninhabited slope which borders the sea northward from thence for 3 hours as far as Zavérdha, which lies at the foot of a very steep cliff of the same mountain on the edge of the great plain which extends to Bogoniá and to Kekhropúla, and is separated only by a very low ridge from that of Vónitza. The greater part of this fertile district, which was formerly the profitable possession of Greeks of Lefkádha, is now uncultivated. Zavérdha is half an hour from the sea-side, and an hour from Bogoniá, at the opposite angle of the gulf from whence begins the mountain which extends to the lagoon of Vulkariá, and upon which stand the villages of Plaghiá and Peratiá, overlooking the channel of Lefkádha. Kekhropúla is an hour and a half from Bogoniá, about due north. Sklávena was a large village situated on the mountain northward of Zavérdha. Between it and Závitza was a plain called Livádhi, possessed by Sklávena, and by Várnaka. To the southward of the bay of Vulko, as far as Cape Velútzi, the shore is scarcely less steep and forbidding than to the northward, but is indented with several small creeks or bays, of which the most frequented is named Stravolimióna; from the station, near Vathý in Ithaca, before-mentioned, it lay exactly in a line with the southern extremity of Kastús.

There can be little doubt that the ancient remains in the valley of Kandíli are those of *Alyzia*, which various authorities show to have been a maritime town of Acarnania, and on this part

Digitized by Google

of the coast [1]. The distance of the bay of Kandíli from the ruins of Leucas, near Amaxíkhi, corresponds with the 120 stades which Cicero assigns for the distance between Alyzia and Leucas [2], and not less so the 15 stades placed by Strabo between Alyzia and its harbour, called the port of Hercules, with the interval between Paleókastro and Mýtika, which latter was probably the situation of that Heracleium, from whence a certain Roman was tempted, by the deserted state of the place, to carry away some choice works of Lysippus, representing the labours of Hercules [3].

In the year B. C. 374 the bay of Alyzia was the scene of a naval victory gained by 60 Athenian ships, commanded by Timotheus, against 55 Lacedæmonian, under Nicolochus, on which occasion the historian relates that Timotheus retired after the battle to Alyzia, where he erected a trophy: that the Lacedæmonians having been reinforced by six ships from Ambracia, again offered him

[1] Thucyd. l. 7, c. 31.—Xenoph. Hellen. l. 5, c. 4, ad fin. Ptolem. l. 3, c. 14. Plin. l. 4, c. 2. To these may be added the Peutinger Table, where in the road from Actium to Calydon there are 15 miles from Actium to the Diolcus of Leucas, 20 from the latter to Halissus (Alyzia), and 34 from thence to the Achelous.

[2] Cicero, Ep. ad fam. l. 16, ep. 2.

[3] *Ἀπὸ δὲ Λευκάδος ἑξῆς Πάλαιρος καὶ Ἀλυζία τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας πόλεις, ὧν ἡ Ἀλυζία πεντεκαίδεκα ἀπὸ θαλάττης διέχει σταδίους, καθ' ἣν ἐστι λιμὴν Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸς καὶ τέμενος· ἐξ οὗ τοὺς Ἡρακλέους ἄθλους ἔργα Λυσίππου μετήνεγκεν εἰς Ῥώμην τῶν ἡγεμόνων τις, παρατόπως κειμένους διὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν. Εἶτ' ἄκρα Κριθωτὴ καὶ αἱ Ἐχινάδες καὶ πόλις Ἄστακος . . . . εἶτ' Οἰνιάδαι καὶ ὁ Ἀχελῶος.*—Strabo, p. 459.

Digitized by Google

battle, and that when Timotheus refused to come forth, Nicolochus erected a trophy on one of the neighbouring islands[1]. The word ἐγγυτάτω, by which Xenophon indicates the proximity of the island to the shore, applies exactly to Kálamo, the ancient name of which was Carnus, as appears from Scylax, confirmed by the authority of Stephanus and Artemidorus[2]. Kálamo and Meganisí being the two largest of the minor islands of this coast, and both belonging to that cluster which Strabo distinguishes from the Echinades, and denominates the Islands of the Taphii, and more anciently of the Teleboæ, it seems to follow, if Kálamo was *Carnus*, that Meganisí was *Taphus*, or Taphius, as it was called, in the time of Strabo[3].

Alyzia being placed in the valley of Kandíli, it becomes an almost necessary consequence that the plain of Zavérdha was that of *Thyrium*, this having been the principal city in the northern part of Acarnania, as its coins and several occurrences in ancient history, concur in attesting[4], and the plain

[1] Xenoph. ubi sup.

[2] Μετὰ ταῦτα πόλις Ἀλύζεια καὶ κατὰ ταύτην νῆσος Κάρνος. Scylax in Ἀκαρνανία.

Κάρνος· νῆσος Ἀκαρνανίας. Ἀρτεμίδωρος β γεωγραφουμένων· τὸ ἔθνικον Κάρνιος.—Stephan. in voce.

[3] Αἱ δὲ τῶν Ταφίων νῆσοι πρότερον δὲ Τηλεβοῶν, ὧν ἦν καὶ ἡ Τάφος νῦν δὲ Ταφιοῦς καλουμένη χωρὶς ἦσαν τούτων (Echinadum *sc.*) οὐ τοῖς διαστήμασι, ἐγγὺς γὰρ κεῖνται, ἀλλὰ ὑφ' ἑτέροις ἡγεμόσι τασσόμεναι, Ταφίοις καὶ Τηλεβόαις. —Strabo, p. 459.

[4] Polyb. l. 17, c. 10; l. 28, c. 5. Thyrium was one of the chief colonies of Corinth on this coast, and, like Ambracia, Anactorium, and Argos Amphilochicum contributed its population to the new colony

Digitized by Google

of Zavérdhá and Bogoniá being the largest and most fertile in *Acarnania*, unless it be that of *Œniadæ*. That Thyrium was adjacent to the outer sea, and not near the Ambracic gulf, is apparent from several authorities. In the year B. C. 373 the Thyreatis was invaded by Iphicrates, and again by the Ætolians in the year before the beginning of the Social War, on both which occasions the hostile fleet was in the outer sea [1]. Again, Cicero in navigating from Alyzia to Leucas touched at Thyrium for the sake of recommending his beloved Tiro to a citizen of the name of Xenomenes, and having remained two hours, prosecuted his route to Leucas, where he arrived on the day following that on which he had quitted Alyzia [2]. It is evident from this circumstance that *Thyrium* could not have been far removed from this part of the *Acarnanian* coast; whether there are any remains sufficient to fix its position at Zavérdha, Bogoniá, or any other position on the shore of that bay, I am unable to learn. When Antiochus, in the year B. C. 191, had taken Medeon, he advanced against Thyrium, but some Roman ships having arrived at Leucas, and the Thyrienses having determined upon resistance, the king of Syria made no farther attempt upon that place,

of Augustus at Nicopolis.—Antipatri Epig. 33. ap. Anthol. Jacobs. Xenophon says of the Thyrienses and their district,—Θυριεῦσι μάλα καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἀλκίμοις καὶ χωρίον καρτερὸν ἔχουσιν ἐπολέμει (sc. Iphicrates) Xenoph. Hellen. l. 6, c. 2.

[1] Xenoph. Hellen. ubi sup. —Polyb. l. 4, c. 6. 25.

[2] Cicero Ep. ad Fam. l. 16, Ep. 2, 3, 4, 5.

Digitized by Google

but leaving garrisons in the reduced towns, retired from Acarnania[1]. Two years afterwards, during the siege of Ambracia by the consul Fulvius, some Ætolian envoys proceeding thither from Stratus, were intercepted by the Acarnanians and sent to Thyrium[2]. Although these occurrences furnish no great illustration of the situation of Thyrium, they are at least conformable with the respective situations of the places mentioned, on the supposition that the *Thyreatis* was the valley of Zavérdha.

There were two other ancient towns on the western coast of Acarnania between Leucas and the Œniadæ. Their names were Palærus and Sollium. Strabo, who takes no notice of Thyrium, perhaps because it was deserted after the compulsory migration of its inhabitants to Nicopolis, names Palærus as occurring between Leucas and Alyzia[3]. It occupied perhaps the valley of Livádhi, situated between those of Zavérdha and Kandíli. Sollium was a colony of Corinth, and as such was taken in the first year of the Peloponnesian war by the Athenians, who particularly made choice of the Palærenses, as the people to whom they delivered the place and its territory[4], from which we may perhaps infer that the people of Palærus were friends of those of Sollium, but not their next neighbours, who in Greece were not often on friendly terms. It would seem likewise,

[1] Liv. l. 36, c. 12.

[2] Liv. l. 38, c. 9.—Polyb. l. 22, c. 12.

[3] Strabo, p. 450, 459.

[4] παραδιδόασι Παλαιρεῦσιν Ἀκαρνάνων μόνοις τὴν γῆν καὶ πόλιν νέμεσθαι.—Thucyd. l. 2, c. 30.

Digitized by Google

that Sollium had a harbour, for in the sixth year of the war, Demosthenes, proceeding with the Athenian fleet from Leucas to Ætolia, here conferred with the Acarnanians[1]. With these circumstances, there is no situation which can better accord than the small port of Stravolimióna, which, situated midway between the bays of Kandíli and Tragamésti, is so placed that the district of *Alyzia* was interposed between it and *Palærus*, while the relative position will be found equally to agree with the circumstance of *Astacus* (at Port Platiá) having been besieged and taken by the Athenians in the first year of the war immediately after they had occupied Sollium.

In the afternoon we return to Lutráki and Balímbey—a delightful ride through forests of timber-trees mixed with underwood and flowering shrubs, where the beautiful scenery of the Ambracic gulf, lighted up by the clearest sky, is constantly in sight, or concealed only for such short intervals, as just serve to enhance the effect of its re-appearance. On the road we receive intelligence of the thieves having advanced last night to the number of sixty, and shot a negro who frustrated their design of setting fire to the village of Balímbey.

April 8.—This morning, reinforced by Kyr K.'s guard of armatolí from Vónitza, and with others from Balím-bey, we proceed, between forty and fifty strong, to Ai Vasíli, a village in a lofty situation on the northern slope of the mountain of Pergandí: the ascent to which from Balím-bey is

[1] Thucyd. l. 3, c. 95.

Digitized by Google

through thick woods of oak: the distance one hour and a half. It happened, that when the armatolí stationed at Ai Vasíli first perceived our advanced Albanians, the latter were observed to be without capots, which, the morning being hot and the ascent steep, they had thrown upon the horses: some were seen driving two or three lambs, which we had purchased for them; others by accident were setting a large dog to pursue the cattle, all which circumstances were considered characteristic of Kleftes. Taking us for thieves, therefore, the armatolí turned out, to the number of sixty, and without further ceremony fired a volley at the foremost of our escort, who, supposing it possible that the thieves might have got possession of Ai Vasíli in the night, proceeded to act as against an enemy. They divided and crept through the woods in very good Yager style upon the flanks of the supposed enemy; and the firing continued for some time before the two parties recognized one another: the situation of the place was exactly calculated to render the scene interesting and picturesque, and a few wounded trees were the only casualties.

Ai Vasíli is at present nothing more than a church of St. Basil, and a quadrangle of cottages with a house for the Subashí standing on one side of a small level, which is separated by a deep ravine from the mountain of Pergandí. In the opposite direction towards the gulf is an irregular slope descending to an elevated vale, below which are the heights lying between the capes Gheládha and Volími. The level at the village was the acropolis of an ancient city, the town-walls of which,

Digitized by Google

chiefly formed of polygonal masonry, are visible in many places among the woods which cover the mountain, and might probably be traced in their entire circuit of near two miles. In the wall of one of the houses of Ai Vasíli is a stele of hard Acarnanian limestone, inscribed in twenty-one lines with the names of various officers, both civil and sacred, but without the name either of the city over which the former presided, or of the deity to whose worship the priests were attached [1]. One of these, however, having been *μάντις* or prophet, and another *αὐλητὴς* or flute-player, they would seem to have been in the service of Apollo, which accords with an inscription found by Meletius at Ailiá, or St. Elias, a monastery between this place and Vónitza, and which records the erection of a statue of Hercules in the temenus of Loxias or Apollo [2].

[1] Πρύτανις Πολύνευκτος Θεοδότου, Ἑστία Λυσίας Μενοιτίου, ὑποπρυτάνιες Ἐπικράτης Δωριμάχου, Λεωνίδας Λεωνίδα, Ἀγησίστρατος Μνασιστράτου, Μένανδρος Μενάνδρου, Σωτέλης Ἐπιτελέος, Λάμισκος Λέοντος, μάντις Εὔξενος Δαξίμου, αὐλητὰς Λέων Λεοντίσκου, ἱεροφόρος Φίλιππος Πολυεύκτου, μάγειρος Νίκανδρος Σωκράτεος, διάκονος Πρῶτος Δημητρίου, ἀρχοινόχους Καλλικπος Πολυεύκτου, ἱεροθύτας Καλλικράτης Τιμοκράτεος. —V. Inscription, No. 164.

[2] Τὸν Διὸς Ἀλκμήνης τε γόνον τιμαῖσιν ἀέξων,
Υἱὸς Λασθένεος στῆσεν ἄγαλμα τόδε,
Μνήμην ἀθάνατον σώζων πατρός τε καὶ αὐτοῦ
Λαφάνεος, κλεινῷ Λοξίου ἐν τεμένει.
Ap. Melet. vol. ii. p. 250. 8vo. edit. Ven.

The following inscription on a statue of Æsculapius by the same artist, and dedicated by the same person, appears from these circumstances to have been discovered in the

Digitized by Google

After remaining at St. Basil during the mid-day hours we set out for Vónitza. The captain of armatolí, on taking leave, wishes me an ἄσπρον πρόσωπον, or white face, a compliment borrowed from the Turkish. He has lately lost a son, killed in battle with the robbers, and is himself still suffering from a slanting gun-shot wound through the breast. We descend the mountain through a beautiful scene of corn-fields situated amidst copses of bay and groves of handsome oaks, and having passed the elevated valley above-mentioned, reenter the forest, which here consists entirely of oaks. We fall into the lower road, or that by which I approached Vónitza on the 19th June, 1805, a little above the ancient foundations on the hill of St. Elias. Having again passed these, we descend into the valley, cross it, and arrive at Vónitza in three hours from Ai Vasíli.

In the middle of the wood I saw the body of a horse which had been shot last night by the robbers: the owner, a poor man of Vónitza, who was going into the woods to procure some lambs for to-morrow's feast of Λαμπρὴ, or Easter-Sunday, was also killed by them. The same party robbed some men going to Lefkádha, but these escaped with the loss of their baggage and of 500 piastres in money.

It is unfortunate that neither the inscription at

same place as the preceding. Montfaucon, who published it, received his copy from Corfú, to which place it is probable the marble had been conveyed. Λαφάνης Λασθένεος Ἀσκλαπιῷ ἀνέθηκε· Μαχάρας ἐπόησε.

Digitized by Google

Ai Vasíli, nor that reported by Meletius, afford any clue to the name of the city, of which they are the records, the ancient authors having left this question in great uncertainty. There is, indeed, notice of the places on the Acarnanian side of the Ambracian gulf by Scylax.and Pliny [1], but neither of them can implicitly be relied upon: Scylax from the corruption of his text; Pliny in consequence of his well-known negligence or deficient information, of which he gives a sufficient proof in representing the Acheron and Aphas (Aous) as discharging themselves into the Ambracic Gulf. Nor does either author name as many cities as the ruins attest to have existed. The vulgar reading of the passage in Scylax is as follows: Μετὰ δὲ Ἀμβρακίαν Ἀκαρνανία ἔθνος ἐστὶ καὶ πρώτη πόλις αὐτόθι Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν καὶ Εὔριπος καὶ Οὐριτὸν ἐν τῷ Ἰκονίῳ καὶ ἔξω τοῦ Ἀνακτορικοῦ κόλπου, Ἀνακτόριον καὶ λιμὴν Ἀκτὴ καὶ πόλις Λευκὰς καὶ λιμήν. Instead of Εὔριπος καὶ Οὐριτὸν ἐν τῷ Ἰκονίῳ, Gronovius proposed to read Ἐχῖνος καὶ Θύριον ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ; and the emendation is strongly supported by Pliny, whose words are, "Acarnaniæ oppida Heraclia, Echinus et in ore ipso colonia Augusti Actium, cum templo Apollinis nobili, ac civitate libera Nicopolitana. Egressos sinu Ambracio in Ionium excipit Leucadium littus." If therefore the emendation be correct, the two authors concur in supporting the opinion, that *Thyrium* was near the exterior or *Ionian* sea, and in showing that *Echinus* was either at Vónitza or Ai Vasíli, sup-

[1] Scylax in Ἀκαρνανία. Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 2.

Digitized by Google

posing Kervasará to have been *Limnæa*, and Aios Petros *Anactorium*. The order of names in Pliny would tend to place *Echinus* at Vónitza, but I am more disposed to believe that Ai Vasíli was its site. From Stephanus and the poet Rhianus, whom he quotes, it is evident that Echinus was an Acarnanian town of some importance[1]: the story attached to it shows that it was one of the early colonies of this coast, the ruins at Ai Vasíli indicate a remote antiquity, and their safe position on a mountain removed from the sea is in conformity with that which is generally found in the early foundations of the Greeks. In this case Vónitza is probably the site of one of the numerous towns named Heracleia, and which has not been noticed by any author except Pliny. There still remains another Hellenic ruin in the northern peninsula of Acarnania for which a name is wanted—namely, that of Kekhropúla. Perhaps it may have been *Myrtuntium;* for although Strabo describes only a λιμνοθάλαττα, or salt-water lake, situated between Leucas and the gulf[2], which exactly agrees with the lagoon of Vulkariá[3], the town which stood upon its margin may very possibly have borne the same name.

The temple of Apollo mentioned in the inscrip-

[1] Ἐχῖνος, πόλις Ἀκαρνανίας, Ἐχίνου κτίσμα. Ῥιανὸς Ἐχίονος ἄστυ ταύτην εἶπεν.—Stephan. in voce.

[2] Μεταξὺ δὲ Λευκάδος καὶ τοῦ Ἀμβρακικοῦ κόλπου λιμνοθάλαττά ἐστι Μυρτούντιον λεγομένη. Ἀπὸ δὲ Λευκάδος ἑξῆς Πάλαιρος καὶ Ἀλυζία, &c.—Strabo, p. 459.

[3] This name and Vulko are derived from βούρκα or βούλκα, a word of ancient etymology, meaning mud or bog.

Digitized by Google

tion of Meletius stood perhaps on the conspicuous round summit which rises from the south-eastern shore of the bay of Vónitza, where I observed foundations, this being such a situation as the Greeks often chose for their temples, not far removed from the walls of the town to which it belonged, and so placed as to be seen to the greatest advantage from the gulf and surrounding country.

April 9.—We sail this morning in one hour and a half from Vónitza to Prévyza, and arrive at daybreak, choosing this early hour partly for the sake of the gulf wind, which generally blows till about eight o'clock, and is then succeeded by a calm, and about 11 A.M. by the sea-breeze, but chiefly that the boatmen may have all the day to themselves—this being Easter Sunday, the holiday which of all others is the most religiously kept by the Greeks, not more by their attendance at mass, than by eating, drinking, and dancing.

April 20.—The remains at Akri or Punta consist of the following objects. Near the ordinary landing-place opposite to the middle of the town of Prévyza, and about half way between the northern extremity of the peninsula of Punta and the kula at the entrance of the harbour of Prévyza, are the foundation and a small part of the walls of a large quadrangular building, which seems to have had an open square court in the centre. One side measures about 90 yards, and the other (parallel to the shore of the harbour) about 130; the breadth between the outer and inner walls is 15 yards; the wall is two feet thick, built of small stones with much mortar. The stones are roughly

Digitized by Google

squared, and placed in the wall with the angles upwards. The ground occupied by the court within has been excavated in every part for the sake of the materials, which have been used in new constructions at Prévyza. When the ancient building was ruined the walls seem to have fallen inwards. Parallel to these foundations, about the middle of the narrow peninsula, are the remains of walls constructed in the same slight manner as the former, inclosing a space not less than 500 yards in length, and about half as much in breadth; they include part of the quadrangle of the tjiftlík of Punta, together with all the southern side of some entrenchments attached to that building, which the Vezír threw up across the peninsula when he was at war with the Russians in Lefkádha. Between the tjiftlík and the northern extremity of the peninsula, fragments of columns and wrought stones have been found, and many coins were brought to me on the spot, which had been turned up in the cultivated grounds of the farm.

But the most important monument, and which has been brought to light since my visit to Prévyza in 1805, is an inscribed marble, now lying in an orange garden belonging to the Turkish dwelling-house of the tjiftlík where it was found. The inscription, which contains some Doric forms, is a record of Proxenia granted by the community of the Acarnanes to Agasias son of Olympion of Patræ, and to two Romans, Publius and Lucius Acilius, sons of Publius Acilius. It is preceded by the names and titles of the principal officers of

Digitized by Google

the Acarnanian κοινὸν, among whom the priest of Apollo Actius takes the lead[1]. There were two other decrees on the same stone, but of these the commencement of each line only is preserved. In one of them, a strategus, who was of Œniadæ, was named in place of the priest of Apollo. The characters are at the latest of an early period of the Roman Empire, and it would seem from the association of two Romans with a man of Patræ, that the Augustan colony of Patræ had already been established. The cities mentioned as forming part of the Acarnanian league show that the boundary of the province towards Ætolia extended to the Achelous, or exactly as Strabo describes Acarnania in the reign of Augustus. As it was not until that emperor had pacified and given laws to the world that the boundaries of the provinces of Greece, were established with any practical effect, or that a common council of the province was likely to have had much authority, I can

[1] Ἐπὶ ἱερατεύοντος τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἀκτίῳ Φιλήμονος, προμνάμονος δὲ Ἀγήτα τοῦ Νικία Ἀλυζείου, συμπρομναμόνων δὲ Ναυσιμάχου τοῦ Ἀριστοκλέος Ἀστάκου, Φιλοξένου τοῦ Ἡρακλείτου Φοιτιᾶνος, γραμματέος δὲ τᾷ βουλᾷ Προίτου τοῦ Διοπείθεος Ματροπολίτα κουροτρόπου· ἔδοξε τᾷ βουλᾷ καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων προξένους εἶμεν καὶ εὐεργέτας τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων κατὰ τὸν νόμον, Ἀγασίαν Ὀλυμπίωνος Πατρῆ, Πόπλιον, Λεύκιον τοὺς Ποπλίου Ἀκιλίους Ῥωμαίους, καὶ εἶμεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις ἐν Ἀκαρνανίᾳ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ χρήμασι καὶ κατὰ γᾶν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰράνας καὶ γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν καὶ τἆλλα τίμια καὶ φιλάνθρωπα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων ὑπάρχει.—V. Inscription, No. 168.

Digitized by Google

hardly conceive the monument to be older than Augustus. There can be little doubt that it was deposited in the temple of Apollo, where we know that even before the time of Augustus the people of the surrounding country met to celebrate a coronary contest[1], and which, like the other hiera of Greece, was probably the ordinary place of deposit for all documents important to the general interests of Acarnania. But doubtless its institutions had fallen into partial neglect when Augustus bestowed his favours upon Actium. It is remarkable that none of the nearer cities are named in the inscription, but that the officers of the Acarnanian community are from Alyzia, Astacus, Phœtiæ, Metropolis, and Œniadæ: but this accords also with the date which I have attributed to the monument, the cities of the Ambracic gulf having been nearly, if not entirely, deserted on the foundation of Nicopolis.

The evidence of this monument would hardly have been required to prove the site of Actium, had not so great an authority as D'Anville placed *Actium* at or near 'Aghios Petros, where the ruins are found which I have supposed to be those of *Anactorium*. It would seem from D'Anville's map, that he had heard of those ruins, and that he had been told that the place was called Azio, which alone would be a strong reason to induce him to conclude that it was the site of Actium,

[1] Ἦγετο δὲ καὶ πρότερον τὰ Ἄκτια τῷ θεῷ, στεφανίτης ἀγὼν ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων· νῦν δ' ἐντιμότερον ἐποίησεν ὁ Καῖσαρ.—Strabo, p. 325.

Digitized by Google

or rather of the plain, grove, and naval arsenal; for as Strabo states these to have been at the foot of a height on which the temple stood [1], D'Anville probably supposed the building itself to have occupied the summit of the promontory of which the extremity is called Kavo Panaghía, and which forms with the opposite Cape named Skara, at the end of the peninsula of Skafidháki, the inner entrance of the gulf. It follows also of necessity, that D'Anville excluded the πρόκολπος, or gulf of Prévyza from the *Ambracic* gulf, and applied that name only to the great interior basin. It cannot be denied, in support of these opinions, that the λόφος, or height upon which Strabo states the temple to have stood, seems to answer much better to the summit between St. Peter's and cape Panaghía than to the low peninsula of Akri. But in other respects the testimony of Strabo is adverse to D'Anville's opinion, for he confines the breadth of the strait to "a little more than four stades," a number which we cannot consider erroneous, as it agrees with the four of Scylax, the less than five of Polybius, and the 500 paces of Pliny [2]; whereas the inner strait is considerably more than a mile in breadth.

[1] Ἐφεξῆς δὲ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Ἀμβρακικοῦ κόλπου· τούτου δὲ τοῦ κόλπου τὸ μὲν στόμα μικρῷ τοῦ τετρασταδίου μεῖζον, ὁ δὲ κύκλος καὶ τριακοσίων σταδίων· εὐλίμενος δὲ πᾶς. Οἰκοῦσι τοῖς μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰσπλέουσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀκαρνᾶνες· καὶ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀκτίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐνταῦθά ἐστι, πλησίον τοῦ στόματος, λόφος τις, ἐφ' ᾧ ὁ νεὼς, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῷ πεδίον ἄλσος ἔχον καὶ νεώρια.—Strabo, p. 325.

[2] Scylax in Κασσωποί.—Polyb. l. 4, c. 63.—Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 1.

Digitized by Google

Every other ancient evidence entirely favours the opinion that St. Peter's was the site of *Anactorium*, and Akri that of *Actium*, and the same is confirmed by the nature of the ruins at St. Peter's, which are those of a Hellenic polis or fortified town; whereas Actium, though improperly designated as a polis by Stephanus and Mela [1], was nothing more than a *ἱερὸν* of Apollo on a cape in the territory of Anactorium [2], which Augustus enlarged, and to which he added a naval arsenal [3]. There can be little doubt that both Thucydides and Polybius, by the mouth of the *Ambracic* gulf intended the strait of Prévyza; nor does it appear that the ancients had any separate appellation for the ante-gulf of Prévyza. Scylax, indeed, speaks of the Anactoric gulf, but he applied this appellation to the greater gulf, by all other authors called Ambracic, and even ex-

[1] Stephan. in Ἄκτια.—P. Mel. l. 2, c. 3.

[2] *ἐν Ἀκτίῳ τῆς Ἀνακτορίας γῆς, οὗ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ Ἀμπρακικοῦ κόλπου.*—Thucyd. l. 1, c. 29.

*. . . προῆγε παρὰ Χαράδραν, σπεύδων διαβῆναι τὸν Ἀμβρακικὸν καλούμενον κόλπον· ὃς στενότατός ἐστι κατὰ τὸ τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων Ἱερὸν, καλούμενον Ἄκτιον. Ὁ γὰρ προειρημένος κόλπος ἐκπίπτει μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Σικελικοῦ πελάγους μεταξὺ τῆς Ἠπείρου καὶ τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας στενῷ παντελῶς στόματι· λείπει γὰρ τῶν πέντε σταδίων. * * * Περαιώσας δὲ κατὰ τὸ προειρημένον στόμα τὴν δύναμιν*, &c. Polyb. l. 4, c. 63.

Τὸ δ' Ἄκτιον Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν ἐστι, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ πορθμοῦ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Ἀμπρακικοῦ κατ' ἀντιπέρας τῶν πρὸς τῇ Νικοπόλει λιμένων κεῖται· ὅ τε πορθμὸς ἴσος ἐπὶ πολὺ διὰ στενοῦ τείνει καὶ ἔστι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντα καὶ ἐνορμίσασθαι καὶ ἐνναυλοχήσασθαι (ἐπιτήδεια).—Dion. Cass. l. 50, c. 12.

[3] Dio, l. 51, c. 1. Strabo, p. 325.

Digitized by Google

cluded from his Anactoric gulf both Anactorium and Acte[1]. Dio describes Actium as a temple of Apollo, which fronted the mouth of the strait of the Ambracic gulf, over against the harbours of Nicopolis; he adds that the strait was of an equal breadth for a considerable distance, and that both within the strait and before it there was great convenience for anchoring and for manœuvring ships. It is obvious that such a description cannot with truth be applied to the inner strait, but that it accords perfectly with the strait and harbour of Prévyza, and that the creeks of Vathý correspond to the harbours of Nicopolis. The words of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Pliny, and Mela[2], are all better adapted to the outer than to the inner entrance, and it is impossible to conceive that Cicero, in coasting from Patræ to Leucas and

[1] καὶ ἔξω τοῦ Ἀνακτορικοῦ κόλπου, Ἀνακτόριον, καὶ λιμὴν Ἀκτὴ καὶ πόλις Λευκάς.—Scylax in Ἀκαρνανία.

No certainty can be derived on this question from the contradictory statements given of the dimensions of the gulf by Polybius, Strabo, and Pliny. According to Polybius, the length is 300 stades and the breadth 100; where the first number is too great and the latter too small, unless in the narrowest part. Pliny's length of 39 M. P. is still more erroneous in excess: his breadth of 15 M. P. is nearly correct. Strabo makes the circumference 300 stades, much too little even for the interior gulf.

[2] Ἄραντες δὲ αὐτόθεν (i. e. Leucade) καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄκτιον ἐλθόντες ὁρμίζονται τοῦ Ἀμβρακικοῦ κόλπου πρὸς τὸ ἀκρωτήριον.—Dionys. Hal. l. 1, c. 50.

In ore ipso colonia Augusti Actium.—Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 2.

Ambracio sinu . . . . qui angustis faucibus, et quæ minus mille passibus pateant, grande pelagus admittit.—P. Mel. l. 2, c. 3.

Digitized by Google

Corcyra, should have touched at Actium, if it had been so far out of his route as the inner strait [1].

As to the modern name Azio, its form betrays its Italian origin, and proves that it arose from an opinion which the Venetians, or Greco-Venetians of Prévyza, Vónitza, and Santa Maura, have adopted without inquiry, and which having been conveyed to D'Anville, was placed by him as a fact upon the map, from which it ought to be expunged as having no real existence. The old charts of Greece are full of erroneous names, similarly introduced by Italian seamen or others, and which are generally unknown to the Greek natives of the places. In the present instance the error was the more easily propagated in consequence of the preservation of the ruins at Aios Petros, while the greater part of those at Akri were probably consumed in constructions at Prévyza, at an early period of its existence. The effect of the great naval battle fought here was first to raise Actium to importance, while Anactorium became a small commercial dependency of Nicopolis [2], and afterwards when both were deserted, to maintain the name of Actium in all its fame, while that of Anactorium was forgotten.

It is needless to remark, that the question of the position of Actium is chiefly interesting in its reference to that celebrated naval engagement, the result of which placed all the civilized world

[1] Cic. Ep. ad Fam. l. 16, ep. 6. 9.

[2] Πόλεις δ' εἰσὶν ἐν μὲν τοῖς Ἀκαρνᾶσιν Ἀνακτόριόν τε ἐπὶ Χερρονήσου ἱδρυμένον Ἀκτίου πλησίον, ἐμπορεῖον τῆς νῦν ἐκτισμένης ἐφ' ἡμῶν Νικοπόλεως.—Strabo, p. 450.

Digitized by Google

under one monarch, and riveted its chains for ages, at the same time that it diffused peace, opulence, and security, over extensive countries from whence they had long been banished. Although no description of this event by an eye-witness or cotemporary has reached us, the particulars of it, as well as the circumstances which preceded and accompanied it have been described by a Greek author, whose long employment in the highest offices of the Roman State gave him the means of obtaining the best extant information on the subject, and who appears to have been very cautious in admitting the facts which were reported to him [1].

As soon as Cæsar Octavianus (says Dio) had crossed over from Brundusium to the Acroceraunia, and had disembarked his land forces there, he proceeded with his fleet to Corcyra, and from thence to port Glycys. He then advanced to the straits of Actium, in the hope that some of the followers of Antony would join him [2], but finding no appearance of such a movement, he retired to the place where Nicopolis stood in the time of the historian. His anchorage therefore would seem to have been in port Comarus, now the port of Mýtika. Here

[1] For example: he doubted the truth of the report, that some of the triremes of Octavianus had been transported across the isthmus of Nicopolis (*διὰ τοῦ τειχίσματος*) upon fresh hides anointed with oil:—*βύρσαις νεοδάρτοις ἐλαίῳ ἐπαλημμέναις*.—Dion. Cass. l. 50, c. 12.

[2] Plutarch, in the life of M. Antonius, states that Octavianus appeared off the straits at daybreak on the morning after his arrival, and retired when Antony's fleet advanced.

Digitized by Google

he was joined by the land forces which had marched through Epirus from the Acroceraunia. He then fortified a neighbouring hill, which embraced a prospect both of the outer sea at Paxi, and of the inner or Ambracic gulf, as well as of the parts between them, in which were the harbours of Nicopolis [1], a description which cannot be applied to any but the height rising immediately from *Nicopolis* to the northward, on the summit of which stands Mikhalítzi. Thus placed, he had a commanding view of the enemy's position, as well as the means of blockading Actium both by land and sea. He fortified his position by walls extending to port Comarus, which seem to have been in the nature of *long walls*, for the purpose of preventing any interruption to the communication between the camp and the fleet.

The Antonians had built towers on either side of the strait's mouth [2]; that is to say, on the nearest points of Prévyza and Punta, and they occupied the channel itself [3] with their ships. Their camp was on one side of the strait [4], near the temple of Apollo, on a level spacious ground [5]; but which was fitter, according to the historian, for a battle

[1] *κατέβαλε τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο, ἐν ᾧ νῦν ἡ Νικόπολίς ἐστι, καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ μετεώρου, ὅθεν ἐπὶ πάντα ὁμοίως τῆς τε ἔξω τῆς πρὸς Πάξοις θαλάσσης, καὶ τῆς ἔσω τῆς Ἀμπρακικῆς, τῆς τε ἐν τῷ μέσῳ αὐτῶν, ἐν ᾧ οἱ λιμένες οἱ πρὸς τῇ Νικοπόλει εἰσὶν, ἄποπτόν ἐστιν, ἱδρύθη· καὶ αὐτό τε ἐκρατύνατο καὶ τείχη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἔξω τὸν Κόμαρον καθῆκε.*—Dion. Cass. l. 50, c. 12.

[2] *τοῦ στόματος.*

[3] *τὸ μέσον.*

[4] *πορθμοῦ.*

[5] *ὁμαλῷ μὲν καὶ πλατεῖ.*

Digitized by Google

than a camp, and where they had suffered from sickness both in summer and in winter. Antony, who was at Patræ, when he heard of the arrival of Cæsar, proceeded instantly to Actium, and after some delay, employed in collecting his troops, and in exercising them against the enemy, he crossed the strait[1] (to Prévyza), and pitched his camp near that of Cæsar, sending his cavalry at the same time round the gulf, and thus menacing his adversary on all sides[2]. Soon afterwards, however, Agrippa, chief commander of the Octavian fleet, took Leucas, overthrew Nasidicus in a naval battle, and occupied Patræ and Corinth, while Marcus Titius and Statilius Taurus defeated the Antonian cavalry, and brought over Philadelphus, king of Paphlagonia, to the cause of Cæsar. Cn. Domitius also, offended with Cleopatra, having deserted to the enemy, such a combination of adverse occurrences inspired in Antony a general distrust of his followers, with fears for the ultimate event.

The following were the circumstances which, according to Dio, led immediately to the naval battle:—Agrippa had left L. Aruntius with a few ships in observation of the fleet of Antony, when Sosius, one of the chiefs of the latter, judging the opportunity favourable during the absence of Agrippa, advanced early one morning against the observing squadron at a moment when a thick

[1] τὸν πορθμὸν ἐπιδιέβη.—c 13.

[2] Plutarch says that Antony, learning that the enemy's position was deficient in water, built certain redoubts (ἐρύμασί τισι ἐμπεριβαλὼν) with the view of excluding the enemy from the places where water was to be obtained.

Digitized by Google

fog enabled him to conceal the superiority of his force. Aruntius fled, but Sosius in the pursuit falling in with Agrippa, was slain, together with Tarcondimotus, king of Upper Cilicia. It happened at the same time that Antony, returning from Thessaly, where he had been watching the motions of Q. Dellius, who soon afterwards deserted his cause for that of Octavianus, was defeated by an outlying body [1] of Cæsar's army. These misfortunes induced Antony to retire and join his principal camp on the other (or eastern) side of the strait [2], and to hold a council on the question, whether he should fight in his actual position, or moving elsewhere, protract the war. By the advice of Cleopatra, it was resolved, that after having garrisoned strongly the most important places, she and Antony should return with the remaining forces to Egypt: but that avoiding any appearance of a retreat, in order not to discourage their allies, the fleet in moving should advance as if intent on battle. The number of Antony's seamen having been much diminished by desertion and sickness [3], he selected his best ships, burnt the remainder, secretly embarked all his most precious property, and addressed a speech to his army, in which he reminded them of his superiority in the number, magnitude, and strength of his ships, as well as in the numbers of his land forces and seamen, of

[1] *προφυλακαῖς.*—c. 14.

[2] *ἀνεχώρησεν ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ πορθμοῦ ἔνθα αὐτῷ τὸ πλέον τοῦ στράτου ηὐλίζετο.*

[3] *φθορᾶς.*—c. 15.

Digitized by Google

the abundance of his pecuniary supplies and other resources, not forgetting an advantageous personal comparison of himself with his opponent, and showing, that after having defeated the enemy's fleet, they should be enabled to shut up his army as it were in a small island [1], and thus starve them into a capitulation. Octavianus, in a similar address, ridiculed Antony as an effeminate Egyptian preparing for flight, and many of whose followers were well disposed to change sides [2]; after which, having pointed out some of the advantages of his light vessels, he proceeded to place on board of them a large force of infantry, as the best practical means of obviating the effects of the greater size and weight of the adverse ships. Antony drew out his fleet a little before the entrance of the straits [3], formed a close line, and advanced no farther, although Cæsar made a movement in advance, with a view of either drawing the enemy out, or obliging him to retire. Having failed in this attempt, Cæsar then caused either wing of his line to advance, as if with the intention of circumventing both the enemy's flanks [4], and in this manner was successful in obliging Antony to move forward and engage. In the Antonian fleet there were few triremes; the greater part of it consisting of ships having from four to

[1] ὥσπερ ἐν νησιδίῳ.—c. 19.

[2] Paterculus gives a similar testimony. Longe antequam dimicaretur exploratissima Julianarum partium fuit victoria. — Vell. Paterc. l. 2, c. 84. Antony was morally conquered before he fought.

[3] ὀλίγον ἔξω τῶν στενῶν.—c. 31.

[4] περιστοιχιεῖσθαι.

Digitized by Google

ten banks of oars, and furnished with wooden turrets, from which the troops fought as from a fortress. The only safe mode of assailing such floating castles was by attacking them successively, and without remaining long enough near any to suffer much from the missiles, still less to allow the Antonians to grapple, which they attempted to effect. On the part of the latter, the seamen and rowers [1] were most efficient; on the other side the troops of embarkation [2]. The engagement had thus continued for some hours without any immediate prospect of a decisive result, when Cleopatra, whose ship was at anchor in the rear, taking advantage of a favourable breeze which then happened to rise [3], suddenly set sail, passed through the contending forces [4], and was followed by Antony. On beholding this shameful flight of their commander, many of the Antonians threw the towers, and other similar incumbrances, into the sea and escaped; which they easily effected, because the enemy had no sails on board. The remaining ships were attacked by the Cæsarians with renewed vigour, both at a distance and by boarding [5], but in the latter attempt without much effect. "It was like an assault," says the historian, "upon a number of castles or islands [6]." After some time passed in

[1] κυβερνῆται καὶ ἐρέται.—c. 32.

[2] ἐπιβάται.

[3] ἀνέμου τινὸς κατὰ τύχην, φοροῦ συμβάντος.—c. 33.

[4] Cum aurea puppe, veloque purpureo.—Flor. l. 4, c. 11.

[5] καὶ ἔκαθεν καὶ ἐν χρῷ.—Dio, l. 50, c. 3.

[6] Plutarch compares it "to a land fight (πεζομαχία), or rather to a siege" (τειχομαχία).

Digitized by Google

this kind of combat, Cæsar, finding the event still doubtful, sent to the camp for fire, which he discharged into the enemy's ships either by throwing torches and burning javelins by the hand, or by placing combustibles in vessels which were cast by engines. This measure was completely successful. The Antonians, being unable to procure a sufficiency of water to extinguish the fire, perished in great numbers either on board or in the sea, in their endeavours to escape from the flames, which at length were so destructive that the Cæsarians themselves became anxious to extinguish the fire for the sake of the prizes, and some of them even perished in attempting to save the enemy's ships.

The battle was fought, adds Dio, on the 2d of September, from which day the reign of Octavianus is to be dated. After the victory he consecrated to Apollo of Actium a captured ship of each kind, inclusively from a ship of four banks to one of ten banks [1]. He enlarged the temple of Apollo, and promoted the celebration of the ancient games named Actia, establishing a quinquennial contest [2] of music and gymnastic, with horse races, and de-

[1] τριήρη τε καὶ τετρήρη, τά τε ἄλλα τὰ ἑξῆς μέχρι δεκήρους.—Dio, l. 51. c. 1.

Strabo (p. 325) states that ten ships, from one to ten banks, were dedicated. But both these and the docks (νεωσοίκοι) near which they were placed had been burnt before the time of Strabo.

[2] According to Stephanus, the ancient games were a triennial contest of gymnastæ, horses, and ships. Cf. Strabon, p. 325. Callimach. περὶ ἀγώνων ap. Harpocrat.—Stephan. in Ἄκτια.

Digitized by Google

claring the games sacred or accompanied with a public feast[1]. He founded[2] also a city on the site of his camp, which he called Nicopolis, in honour of the victory, peopling it with inhabitants collected from other places, and partly by desolating some of the neighbouring cities[3]. The place where his own tent stood he surrounded with squared stones and adorned with captured beaks of ships, and built in it an edifice open to the sky, which he consecrated to Apollo[4].

The other ancient authors who treat of the battle of Actium add little to the information conveyed by Dio. Plutarch relates that Cæsar had 300 ships opposed to 560 of Antony, of which 60 were Egyptian[5]; that Antony embarked 20,000 soldiers in his ships; that the engagement was prevented for four days by a heavy sea; and that on the morning of the fifth there was a calm, and about noon a sea-breeze, when the two lines being eight stades apart, Antony and Poplicola, who commanded the right, relying upon the strength and magnitude of their vessels, made a movement in advance; upon which Cæsar retired, in order to draw the enemy farther out, where he thought his light vessels would have the advantage over his less manageable opponents. When the engagement had

[1] *σίτησις*.—Dio, l. 51, c. 1.

[2] *συνῴκισε*.

[3] *τοὺς μὲν ἀναγείρας, τοὺς δ' ἀναστήσας τῶν πλησιοχώρων*.

[4] According to Suetonius, the place was sacred to Neptune and Mars.

[5] Florus totally differs from Plutarch as to the numbers on either side. He says Cæsar had 400 ships, from 3 to 6 banks of oars, and Antony 200, from 6 to 9 banks.

Digitized by Google

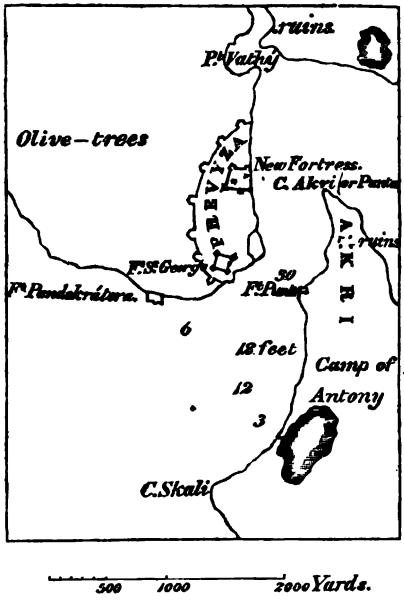
become general, Cæsar being in the right wing and Agrippa on the left, the latter extended his flank, and obliged Poplicola to separate himself from the main body, which discouraged the remainder. It was at this moment that Cleopatra, who was in the rear with the sixty Egyptian ships, taking advantage of a favourable wind, steered through the combatants, followed by Antony, and proceeded in the direction of Peloponnesus. The Antonians fought bravely until the tenth hour [1], when, being much incommoded by a heavy swell ahead, they gave way [2]. Plutarch adds, that 5000 men were slain in the action, and 300 ships taken by Cæsar, and that the shore on either side was lined by the land forces as spectators of the battle.

The accompanying sketch of the harbour of Prévyza, or entrance of the gulf of Arta, is the best commentary on the facts stated by the historians, and may serve to assist the reader in forming his opinion as to the exact situation in which the battle was fought.

[1] The battle, according to Suetonius, ended at so late an hour, that Cæsar passed the night aboard: apud Actium vicit in serum diem, dimicatione protractâ ut in navi victor pernoctaverit.—Sueton. in August. c. 17.

[2] *μέγιστον βλαβεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος ὑψηλοῦ κατὰ πρῴραν ἱσταμένου.* The wind, therefore, had changed since Cleopatra made sail, and had set in from the westward; in fact, at the time of year when the battle occurred, breezes from the gulf or calms prevail during a great part of the day, and the swell and sea-breeze set in rather late in the afternoon.

Digitized by Google



This depends chiefly upon the inference to be drawn from the words ὀλίγον ἔξω τῶν στενῶν, employed by Dio to describe the position of Antony previously to the encounter, when Cæsar's line was about a mile distant. It seems evident from the circumstances related, and the nature of the places, that the Antonian fleet occupied the entire harbour of Prévyza, which was by no means too large for such a number of ships, and where they were well sheltered from the weather. If the towers on either side of the strait were intended, as we cannot but suppose, as a protection to the fleet, it is not likely that any of the vessels were on the outside of fort Punta until the first advance on the day of battle. The conclusion,

Digitized by Google

therefore, will be, that the action took place within that outer strait, which is included between Pandokrátora and cape Skalí. It may be objected, perhaps, that the space was there inadequate to so great a number of ships, and the depth of water to vessels so large, though as to the latter it is to be considered that a great change may have occurred since the time of the battle, in consequence of the soil which may have accumulated here, as it certainly has within the Ambracic Gulf, and on almost every part of the coast of Greece exposed to the operation of alluvions and currents. If Dio intended the outer entrance between Pandokrátora and Skalí by the words ἔξω τῶν στενῶν, the battle took place quite in the open sea, for beyond those two points there is no curvature of the shore, which follows an uniform line from Mýtika to the bay of Dhémata.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XXXV.

EPIRUS.

Mýtika—River of Kamarína—Kastroskiá—Riniássa and castle—Kanaláki—Fanári—Glyký—Rivers *Acheron* and *Cocytus*—Lake *Acherusia*—*Glycys Limen*—*Cithyrus*—*Buchætium*—*Pandosia*—Gardhíki—Dhragomí—Mount Kuríla—Paramythía—St. Donatus—*Eurhœa*—Velianí—Districts of Margaríti and Filiátes—*Cestria*, or *Ilium*—*Elateia*—*Batiæ*—*Elini*—*Chauni*—*Gitanæ*—Elefthero-khóri—Bagotzús—Dhramisiús—Paleó-kastro—Kosmirá—Rapsísta—Ioánnina.

April 26.—During the Easter week, from the 9th to the 16th, much rain fell, with a southerly wind and a haze, since which there has been clear weather and a regular alternation of gentle breezes from the gulf and the sea. The gulf wind blows (εὐγάζει ὁ κόρφος) till eight or nine in the morning: about eleven the Μαϊστράλι or sea-breeze sets in, and continues until a little after sunset: its duration is generally greater or less in proportion to the distance of the place from the outer sea. This alternation of wind is constant in fine weather, and prevails upon the whole not less than eight months in the year. In the winter the gulf is subject, like the adjacent coast and islands, to a long continuance of gales from the southward with rain.

April 29.—This morning at eight I quit Prévyza for Ioánnina by the way of Paramythía, accompa-

Digitized by Google

nied by twelve Albanian horsemen, who are to be reinforced by foot soldiers from the villages at the discretion of the bolu-báshi, and according to the degree of apprehension from robbers. We leave Mýtika a mile on the left at 9.10, follow the ruins of the Aquæduct of Nicopolis as far as the foot of the height of Mikhalítzi, and at 9.40 descend upon the sea beach, exactly at the spot where I landed from H. M. brig Delight (Capt. Handfield) in the night of the 12th of November, 1807, and had a conference with the Vezír, which led to our peace last summer with the Porte [1].

[1] Alý thought it necessary on that occasion to conceal his communication with me from the French consul; and with this view, when I sent a person on shore in the morning at Prévyza to arrange an interview with him, he ordered one of his secretaries to meet him on the beach, and secretly to instruct him to pretend, when brought into the Vezír's presence, that peace was already made, and to ask for permission to purchase provisions. The scene thus prepared was acted accordingly in presence of the French consul, Alý refusing the pretended request, and haughtily adding that the two nations were still at war, and that all the favour he could grant was liberty to return on board, on condition of our quitting the coast. In returning to the Delight's boat, my agent was again secretly informed by the secretary of the exact spot near Nicopolis where the Pashá would meet me in the evening. The weather appeared so threatening from the south-west, that there was some doubt whether the ship could remain on the coast, and we did not venture to anchor; and the night was so dark, that had not the Vezír caused a fire to be lighted, and two or three muskets to be discharged, I should not easily have found him, seated as he was, under a little cliff on the shore, with Sekhrí Efféndi and the Greek secretary Kosta, and attended at a little distance by a few palikária. He had eluded the consul by appointing a meeting with

Digitized by Google

The southerly winds of the two last days were followed yesterday evening by a heavy rain, and this day the wind continues fresh at south-west, with a great surf upon the coast, and an air cold

him at Vónitza, towards which place he sailed from Prévyza in his yacht, then changing his route, and landing at Vathý, rode from thence to *Nicopolis*. During the two hours our conference lasted, the surf rose considerably, but the gale, fortunately, did not reach the bay; so that with a good wetting from the rain and sea, and some difficulty in finding the ship, which we should hardly have done without the assistance of the lightning, our boat returned on board, and we stood away from the coast.

I have thought it fair to take the opportunity of mentioning these circumstances, although now of little or no interest, partly because M. Pouqueville has alluded to them very obscurely in his book of travels, but chiefly for the purpose of contradicting an assertion of the Rev. T. S. Hughes, who seems, in several instances, to have given too much credit to the French consul's information, or to that of other persons in *Epirus* not more worthy of confidence, and who has thought proper to assert that either in the conference of Mýtika, or on some other occasion, "Solemn promises—incautious promises impossible to perform—were made to Alý."—(Travels in Sicily, Greece, and Albania, vol. i. p. 190.) It is sufficient for me to refer to the published correspondence of Lord Collingwood, to show that whatever Alý may have found it convenient to represent to travellers or visitors from the Ionian Islands, the pretended promises were nothing more than offers of co-operation against the French, and assurances that His Majesty's ships on the coast had instructions to assist him in any attempt he might make upon the places occupied by the French forces. Alý, however, never chose to avail himself of the assistance, not daring, however desirous he might have been of possessing an ultimate refuge from the Porte in Lefkádha, to undertake an attempt upon that island without the concurrence of the supreme government.

Digitized by Google

for the season. After following the sea-beach for a mile and a half, our road passes along the foot of the hill of Mikhalítzi, where the remains of the aqueduct of Nicopolis cross one of the ravines which intersect the height. We pass through a scanty wood of crooked oaks, where a thick forest is said to have existed 40 years ago, but which being conveniently situated for the embarkation of the timber, has been thereby reduced to its present state. Leaving a collection of twenty huts called Kanáli one mile on the right, we proceed along a narrow plain on the sea side, partially cultivated with corn, and at 11.13 cross near the sea the rivulet of Kamarína, which is shaded by large plane trees, resounding with the songs of nightingales[1]. The river of Kamarína was formerly the southern boundary of the possessions of Hassán Agá of Margaríti, but the Vezír has removed it beyond Riniássa, besides which he has taken inland the half of Fanári. A little to the north of the mouth of the river are the magazines of Agriapidhiá, from whence, in peaceable times, Kamarína, Kastroskiá, and the adjacent places, carry on some commerce with the islands. Here also the islanders are in the habit of landing in harvest time, to work as labourers in the adjacent country. Our cruizers charged with the blockade of the enemy in the Ionian islands have for the present cut off the communication. On a little level by the river side they are ploughing for rokka, which will be sown immediately. The

[1] *ἀηδόνια.*

Digitized by Google

situation would admit of irrigation from the river, but the spring rains are usually sufficient.

After an ascent from the coast by a gradual slope through corn-fields and oaks, we arrive, at 11.33 at Kastro-sykiá, or Kastroskiá [1], a village of 50 houses standing on heights above the sea, which are backed by woody slopes rising to the summit which connects the mountain of Kamarína with Mount Tjekurát, in face of Suli. The Kastroskiótes manufacture narrow woollen cloths, blankets, and carpets, and in common with almost all the villages of this part of the country, make bags of goats' hair. Proceeding at 3.10, we cross the rugged heights which project into the sea a little to the northward of the village, and which are covered with oaks of various kinds [2], mixed with an underwood chiefly of lentisk [3], and at 4.5 halt for the night at Riniássa [4], a village of 20 houses with a kula, which has been ruined in the wars between Alý Pashá and Hassán Agá. This village is not visible from the sea, but the castle of the same name, which is a mile distant, is one of the most conspicuous objects on the coast. It stands on the summit of a very steep height rising from the sea-beach, on the slope of which are the vestiges of the old town of Riniássa, which as well as the castle was of some importance before the Turkish conquest. The Vezír has lately been making some additions to the old walls of the

[1] Καστρο-Συκιὰ, Καστροσκιά.

[2] *δένδρα, βελανιδιαὶς, πουρνάρια, δριαίς.*

[3] *σχῖνος.*

[4] Ῥηνιάσσα.

Digitized by Google

castle, which were solidly constructed of rough stones, mortar, and broken tiles. He has also built three or four houses to lodge a garrison of twenty Albanians, and another for his own use when he may happen to visit this place, and which remains in the meantime unfurnished and unoccupied. One old English six-pounder is the only ordnance.

This place is now the Vezír's frontier garrison towards Tjámi, the present boundary between him and Hassán Agá of Margaríti being the small stream already alluded to, which rises in the woody mountains surrounding the village of Riniássa, and which flows along the northern side of the Castle-hill into the sea. Two or three miles beyond the river, is a small harbour below the village of Elía.

April 30.—At 7.20 we begin to cross the mountains towards the plain of Fanári, the road following the edge of a steep ravine, in which flows a torrent, one of several which contribute to form the river of Riniássa. The slopes are covered chiefly with oak, both veláni and common; of the latter there are many fine trees, but not straight to any length: there are also many of the ariá or quercus ilex of large dimensions: this kind of oak is supposed to furnish the best ship-timber of any. In most places there is a thick underwood, consisting chiefly of lentisk and arbutus. At 8.30 we pass by the ruins of the village of Topólia, where nothing now remains but a church and a few huts. On our right, beyond a small cultivated vale, belonging to the

Digitized by Google

village Babatzikó[1], which is not in sight, rises the mountain which from Prévyza makes its appearance between the summit of Zálongo and that above Parga.

We soon arrive at the highest point of our route, where stands a solitary church, and where a part of the southern side of the plain of Fanári presents itself to view—then begin to descend through a wood of oaks without much underwood. In some places the ground has been cleared for sowing corn. The trees, instead of having been felled, have been merely killed by means of an incision round the lower part of the stem; the bark, which is serviceable, is then removed, and the tree burnt by a fire lighted at the root; the labour is thus saved of cutting down the trees, the timber being not worth the expence of removal. We descend by a road in some places rugged, and for the most part through a beautiful forest of oak and ilex, where an abundance of nightingales are singing. At 10 having reached the foot of the pass, we enter the plain of Fanári, and arrive at Kanaláki at 10.35. This is now the most considerable village of Fanári, and belongs to a Bey, who is related to Hassán Agá, of Margaríti, but who has sided with the Vezír. It was once rivalled by Kastrí, Gorítza, Koróni, and Koronópulo, but all these have dwindled since Alý has got a footing in the plain. At 3 I set out for a Paleó-kastro or Hellenic ruin, very conspicuous throughout the surrounding coun-

[1] Μπαμπατζικός.

Digitized by Google

try, and which occupies a height on the south-eastern side of the village of Kastrí, midway between Kanaláki and Gorítza, which latter village stands on the rise of the hills bounding the plain to the westward. Unfortunately, the bridge over the marsh in the direct route being broken down, we are obliged to make a circuit in which we entirely lose the road among the rice-grounds, so that I am at last under the necessity of giving up the object.

Having again obtained a firm footing on the edge of the mountain, we recover the direct route from Porto Fanári to Glykỳ and Suli, which passes through 'Artissa, a village on the slope of the mountain opposite to Kanaláki. At 4.40 we pass under Muziakáti, another village similarly situated, and about an hour distant from Kanaláki in direct distance. The entrance of Port Splantza, otherwise called Porto Fanári, the ancient Glycys Limen, was visible from our road from a mile beyond 'Artissa as far as Muziakáti; short of the former point it is concealed from view by a projection of the mountain which advances into the plain south-westward of Kanaláki. Beyond the latter village it is hid by the hills of Margaríti about Koróni. Continuing to skirt the foot of the hills as before, we leave Klisúra, another small place of about twenty houses on the slope of the mountain to the right, at 4.50, and at 6, having crossed the river of Suli, or *Acheron*, arrive at Glykỳ. This plain of Fanári, or Frári as it is called by the Albanians, is every where so marshy, that except at Kanaláki and Potamiá, all the habitations of those who cultivate the plain are situated upon the adja-

Digitized by Google

cent hills. Besides the Gurla, or river of Suli, and the Vuvó, which overflow their banks in the rainy seasons, there are sources issuing from the foot of the mountain below 'Artissa, and others still more copious which form the marsh near Kastrí. Even the upper part of the plain towards Glyký is still at this advanced period of the spring in a swampy state, from the mere effect of the winter torrents from the hills. The river Gurla, in its winding course through the plain, is distant in general from the eastern height about a third of the breadth of the plain, it then leaves the foot of the hill of Kastrí on its right bank, turns towards the western height and enters the marshes, which at the present season begin a little below Kastrí and Kanaláki, extend to within a short distance of the sea, and occupy all the eastern side of the plain. In summer they are much diminished, but are never entirely dry, and some large lakes still remain in several places similar to those in the marsh of Katokhí, particularly one not far from the sea, and another to the south-east, near the foot of the mountains which there rise abruptly from the level. These lakes furnish a constant and abundant supply of fish. The river of Suli having traversed the marsh, is joined below it by the Vuvó about three miles above the junction of the united river with the sea in the bay of Splantza. The Vuvó rises near Paramythía, waters the valley which extends from thence to Fanári, and then proceeding along the foot of the hills of Margaríti on the western side of the plain of Fanári, passes between Koróni and Koronópulo. This river is dry in summer in the

Digitized by Google

valley of Paramythía, but in the plain of Fanári there is water at all seasons, supplied probably from sources at the foot of the western heights. The water of the Vuvó is reputed to be bad; and the villages on the slope of the hills near it, either make use of wells or fetch water from the Suliótiko.

There seems no reason to doubt that the Gurla, or river of Suli, is the *Acheron*, the Vuvó the *Cocytus* of antiquity, and the great marsh or lake below Kastrí the *Acherusia*. The course of the *Acheron* through the lake into the *Glycys Limen* accords perfectly with the testimony of Thucydides, Scylax, Livy, and Strabo [1], and the disagreeable water of the Cocytus is noticed by Pausanias [2]. In the lower plain towards the sea are the villages of Valonderáko and Tzikúri, belonging to Turks of Margaríti: the inhabitants cultivate flax, wheat, and rice, and possess extensive pastures full of cattle. A little farther from the sea is Lykúrsi, near the left bank of the Vuvó, opposite to which, on the other side of that river, and distant three or four miles direct from Porto Fanári, is a church, formerly a monastery, of St. John, standing on some remains of Hellenic walls of polygonal masonry, indicating probably the site of Cichyrus, or the Thesprotian Ephyre, which Strabo describes as being situated above the Glycys Limen.

The water of Port Fanári is fresh, as Strabo and

[1] Thucyd. l. 1, c. 46. Scylax in Θεσπρωτοί. Liv. l. 8, c. 24. Strabo, p. 324.

[2] ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ Κώκυτος, ὕδωρ ἀτερπέστατον.—Pausan. Attic. c. 17.

Digitized by Google

the ancient name attest, which is caused undoubtedly by the great and constant supplies from the *Acheron*, the *Cocytus*, and those subterraneous sources by which the lake is chiefly formed. The marshy nature of the plain of Fanári renders it very favourable to the culture of rice and kalambókki, which are its chief produce: flax and wheat are grown in the drier parts, and every where it feeds sheep and cattle in great numbers. Maize gives a return of 40 to 1; it is sown as late as May and June and reaped in October, its growth being assisted by irrigation when the dryness of the season renders that process necessary. The rice-fields are divided into squares by little mounds, and at intervals there are ditches across the fields for admitting the water, which is conducted from the river by a canal. The part of the plain near Glyký is less adapted to irrigation than the lower parts towards the *Acherusia*. When the field is quite inundated the rice is sown, and the ground is kept in the same state till the grain is nearly ripe, when the soil is allowed to dry. Care must be taken that the water is not too cold when the seed is thrown in, which occurs in April or May, the reaping in August. The return is often 150 to 1. All the land in Fanári, which has been taken from Margaríti by the Vezír, has been divided into tjiftlíks, and farmed for his benefit, with the exception of Kanaláki. He takes one-third of the crop in rice and a quarter in kalambókki, furnishing the labourer with nothing but his lodging. The rice of this district supplies all the adjacent country, but is chiefly sold in the first instance at the

Digitized by Google

market of Paramythía, where it now fetches five piastres the kilo of thirty-two okes. Maize sells for fourteen piastres the fórtoma of about 110 okes; wheat 25 piastres the fórtoma, of which the average weight is 120 okes. A βοΐδι, or ox for the plough, is worth 100 piastres: an ἀγελάδα, or cow, about half as much.

The rocky height of Kastrí, standing separate from the hills which surround the *Acherusian* plains, and protected by the *Acheron*, the *Cocytus*, and the *Acherusia*, seems as if intended by nature for the strong hold of this district. On the summit are the walls of an acropolis; those of the city descend the slopes on either side towards Gorítza and Kanaláki, and others follow the foot of the hill opposite to Glyký. Both the magnitude and position of these ruins favour the opinion that they are those of Pandosia, a very ancient colony of Elis [1], which gave name to another Pandosia in the country of the Brettii. Alexander Molossus, king of Epirus, was warned by the oracle of Dodona to avoid Pandosia and the Acherusian water [2], and erroneously applied it to his own Pandosia instead of that of Italy where he received his fatal wound [3]. As the Italian Pandosia was named after that of Epirus, and stood on the bank of a

[1] Demosth. in Halonnes. p. 84. Reiske.

[2] Αἰακίδη προφύλαξο μολεῖν Ἀχερούσιον ὕδωρ
Πανδοσίαν θ' ὅθι τοὶ θάνατος πεπρώμενος ἐστί.
Ap. Suid. in Τόνον.

[3] Liv. l. 8, c. 24. Strabo, p. 256. Justin. l. 12, c. 2. Aul. Gell. l. 17, c. 21. Stephan. in Πανδοσία.

Digitized by Google

river bearing the same name as the Acheron[1] of Epirus, it is probable that the Epirote Pandosia was also on the bank of the Acheron. Kastrí is the only position on this river which preserves remains of Hellenic antiquity, or even possesses the usual characteristics of an ancient site.

This evening fire-flies make their appearance at Glyký in considerable numbers, and are the first I have seen this spring.

May 1.—A little beyond Glyký, to the left of the entrance of the Klisúra leading to Suli, a large body of water issues from the foot of the rocks. Below the sources are the remains of an aqueduct which crossed the river, and of which there is a fragment on each bank. Upon the Glyký side part of an arch is still standing, ten feet thick, composed of small stones and mortar: there is a foundation also on the bank of the river, formed of handsome squared stones, probably that of a bridge, but neither this nor the arch appears to be more ancient than the neighbouring church of Glyký, which was dedicated to St. Donatus, and was the cathedral church of the bishopric of Glycys. Its destruction was completed during the wars of Suli, and the ruins were employed by Alý Pashá to construct an adjoining kula. There still remains, however, enough to show that the building was thirty-eight yards long, with walls seven feet and a half thick, supported by massive buttresses. There are several shafts of grey granite lying on the ground within the ruined walls, and others of

[1] παραῤῥεῖ ποταμὸς Ἀχέρων.—Strabo, ubi sup.

Digitized by Google

bluish white marble, all about two feet in diameter; these formed the nave of the church: others smaller, of grey granite, supported the front of the Gynecæum. On the outside of the church lies the fragment of a shaft, two feet ten inches in diameter, which is of limestone, like the inner portal of the church. It is possible that these may have been taken from some older building when the church was built. They are at least the only remains here which have any appearance of Hellenic antiquity.

The view of Suli from hence is very imposing. Three tiers of steep and almost precipitous rocks present themselves in front, and behind them in the middle, appearing through the gorge of the river, the hill of Trypa, crowned with the castle of Kiáfa between two smaller buildings at either end of the ridge. Above all rises the mountain of Suli, apparently double the height of Trypa, the elevation of which above Glykỳ, seems to be about 1200 feet.

Leaving the church of Glykỳ this morning at 7.30, we follow the foot of Mount Kuríla, as the summit is called which extends from Glykỳ to the pass of Eléfthero-khóri, beyond Paramythía. On its slope is the small village of Khóika, which we pass at 8.5, nearly opposite to Lypa, on the hills of Margaríti. The latter heights have a singular appearance from their uniformity, presenting towards the plain a long succession of semi-circular precipices, convex towards the plain, and consisting of vertical strata of calcareous rock. A few small hamlets are situated in the retiring

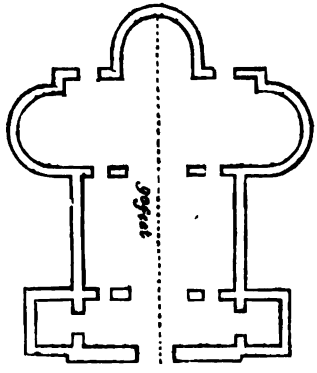
Digitized by Google

angles or intervals of these rocks. The plain, which is five or six miles across at Glyký, diminishes to three as we enter the valley leading to Paramythía, and at that town is not more than half as much in width. At 8.40 Gardhíki, a Turkish town of 200 houses, with a few Greek families, is two miles on our right, on the side of Mount Kuríla, occupying a large space, and having a beautiful appearance with its numerous gardens, watered by never-failing sources which issue from the foot of the mountain, and send contributions to the river Vuvó. We pass along the banks of this river, over low downs resembling the plain of Prévyza in soil, as well as in being overgrown with fern. These downs may be called the natural boundaries of Paramythía and Fanári, though at present the former district extends nearly to Khóika. Leaving some other small hamlets on the side of either mountain, we arrive at 9.30 opposite Dhragomí, a large village two miles distant, on the last slope of Mount Kuríla, which here rises in majestic precipices above it. Like Gardhíki, it is chiefly inhabited by Mussulmans, and abounds in fountains and gardens. From hence, as far as the termination of the mountain at the pass of Elefthero-khóri, the summit is clothed with a continued forest of fir.

A guard of Suliotes from Glyký who accompany us on foot seem quite insensible to the heat of the morning, and without halting outwalk our horses and keep always in front, alleging that they have some apprehensions from the inhabitants of Karvuniári in the Margaríti hills. Continuing

Digitized by Google

our route along the middle of the valley, we arrive at 10.35 at a ruin of the annexed form, situated in the middle of the plain. It appears to have been a temple of the time of the Roman empire, which was afterwards converted into a church. It is known only by the name of τὸ χάλασμα, or the ruin.



Above it, towards the mountain, is Karióti, between which and another small village named Velianí the ruins of the acropolis of a Greek city are distinguishable from our road, surrounding a table summit at the foot of the cliffs of Mount Kuríla. From the Kháslasma it takes us forty minutes to reach the middle of the town of Paramythía.

Paramythía occupies the entire side of a hill which rises to half the height of Mount Kuríla, and is separated only by a small space from its cliffs. Like the generality of Albanian towns, it covers a large space of ground, and is divided into clusters of houses, occupied by φάρια, or

Digitized by Google

family alliances, which often make war upon one another when in want of an external quarrel. Before the reduction of the place by the Vezír, there were 600 inhabited houses, but many families having fled with Isliám Prónio, Alý's chief opponent, there are now not more than 400 Musulman and 40 Greek. The houses are built of the roughly hewn calcareous stone of the mountain, and where they stand close together, the usual Albanian filth prevails, but nothing can be more beautiful than the general appearance of the town. On the summit, which is surrounded with cliffs, stands a ruined castle; below, on the declivity of the hill, the picturesque houses are dispersed among gardens, watered by plentiful streams descending in every direction, and the spaces between the clusters of houses are grown with superb plane trees, or occupied by mosques and fountains, shaded by cypresses and planes. These beautiful features are admirably contrasted with the cliffs and fir-clad summits of the great mountain which rises above the castle. As in other Albanian towns, all the ordinary articles of Albanian or Turkish dress and furniture are manufactured here, chiefly by Musulmans. The Greeks are for the most part only retail shopkeepers.

The castle, which is surrounded by precipices, except towards the town and the south-west, formerly contained, as usual in Turkey, a great number of private houses; but these having been ruined in the war which preceded the capture of the place by Alý, it now serves only to lodge an Albanian garrison. The Vezír's governor occupies

Digitized by Google

the house of Prónio, who was head of the family alliance, formerly the most powerful in Paramythía; this house, together with five or six others, which belonged to relatives of the same chieftain, is situated below the castle, on a slope terminating in another fortified rocky summit named Galatá, which lies three quarters of a mile below the castle, and midway between it and the extremity of the town in the valley. The Vezír has made many repairs and additions to the fortress of Galatá. The upper castle was the acropolis of an ancient city, as appears by some fine pieces of Hellenic wall amidst the more modern work which consists of repairs of various ages. The upper gate, which looks towards the mountain and leads to the pass of Elefthero-khóri, occupies the same position as one of the gates of the acropolis. Two portions of ancient wall continue to support a ramp which led up to it, and which still serves as an approach to the modern gate; on each side of it are other fragments of the original work founded upon the cliffs, and sustaining the modern structure. On the lower side of the castle, facing Galatá and the valley, are some larger remains of the inclosure of the acropolis: here an entire bend of the wall is Hellenic, towards the north-west also there remains a trilithic door, four feet wide, which is now walled up. The masonry on either side of this door is regular, all the other remains are of the purest kind of polygonal masonry. Some Hellenic foundations at Galatá show that summit to have been comprehended within the city, which was thus between two and three

Digitized by Google

miles in circumference. The only remains I can find in the modern town are some squared blocks in the streets, and a fragment of an inscribed sepulchral monument of Roman times[1]. Below the town are some remains of old olive plantations, from which it may be presumed that all the great valley extending from hence to the *Glycys Limen* would be well adapted to that valuable production. These olive-trees the Spaniards have the credit of having planted, with as much truth as they are said to have constructed the Khálasma and the Castle of Paramythía[2]. There are some other very old olive trees in a valley to the northward of the town, which is watered by one of the tributaries of the Vuvó. Here, not very long ago, stood a village named Lábovo, of which a ruined church and some remains of the houses still exist. Several small shafts and capitals of a bad taste are lying here, and the adjoining fields are covered with stones and broken pottery. The site may possibly be that of a pagan temple; for it is said that here were found those exquisite specimens of the ancient toreutic art in bronze, which now belong to Mr. Hawkins and Mr. Payne Knight. The only relic of antiquity decidedly Hellenic now remaining at Lábovo is an ancient sepulchral stele of the usual square form lying on the side of the rivulet,

[1] Inscription, No. 169.

[2] The trees may have been planted, however, by Italians, as it appears that Charles Tocco, the first Count of Cefalonia, in union with several Neapolitan nobles, conquered this country from the Albanians in the middle of the fourteenth century—Villehardouin, Hist. de Constantinople sous les Empereurs François, l. 8. c. 25.

Digitized by Google

and without any inscription, at least on the sides which are above ground.

The upper castle of Paramythía is called by the Turks Aidhonát Kálesi, and the Kazá in all official forms bears that of Aidhonát Kalésende. There can be no doubt that Aidhonát is derived from Ai Dhonáto, the vulgar pronunciation of Ἅγιος Δονάτος, or Saint Donatus, who was the patron of this part of Epirus, and to whom many churches were here dedicated, particularly the episcopal church of Glyký, one in the castle of Paramythía and two at Suli, all which were ruined in the Suliote wars. I have not been able to find any mention of Paramythía in history, either ancient or Byzantine, though being a word purely Hellenic, and suggested apparently by the beauty of the place, it may very possibly be as old as an early period of the Roman Empire, when a new town may have risen on the deserted site of the city, which probably at the Roman conquest shared the general fate of the Epirote towns. The non-occurrence of the name of Paramythía in the Byzantine authors may be attributed perhaps to the superior glory of the patron saint. We learn from Procopius, that Justinian repaired two castles of Saint Donatus: and though he ascribes them to New Epirus, a provincial division of that time which contained northern Epirus and part of Illyria, it is very possible that one of them only may have been in New Epirus, and that the other may have been Paramythía. Some of the buildings in the town seem to be nearly of the period to which Procopius refers, particularly a church in the lower part of it dedicated to the κοίμησις τῆς Πανα-

Digitized by Google

γίας, and a large bath close by, which has every appearance of being coeval with the church. The masonry of them both resembles the Roman, consisting of a mixture of tiles with stones and mortar: the plan of the bath is exactly like that of the modern Turkish baths, thus furnishing a strong argument for believing that the Turks adopted their baths, like the construction of their mosques, from the Greeks.

Besides the church and bath at Paramythía, and the church and aquæduct at Glyký, there are some other churches on the Margaríti side of Fanári, particularly that of St. Dhimítri at the foot of the hills near Potamiá, which have the appearance of being of that period of the Byzantine empire, in which all this part of Epirus flourished under the patronage of St. Donatus. I was informed by the papás at Glyký that some inscriptions which were destroyed when that church was ruined, proved it to have been built in the reign of Theodosius the Great, in whose time Donatus was bishop of Eurhœa, and performed his miracles [1]. Among others he relieved the country from the ravages of a dragon which had infested the highway at a bridge or causeway called the Chamægephyræ, which traversed a marsh. Here the terrible monster devoured sheep, goats, oxen, horses, and men, until the saint killed it by merely spitting at it, making the sign of the cross, after which eight yoke of oxen were required to drag it out of the water. At Issoria a *come*, or subordinate town of Eurhœa, he caused a copious fountain

[1] Sozomen, l. 7, c. 26.

Digitized by Google

to issue, and here he was buried at a house of prayer which received his name[1]. This seems plainly to allude to the church of St. Donatus at Glyký, and to the great source of water which issues from the foot of the mountain near it[2].

Marcus, a successor of Donatus in the bishopric of Eurhœa, subscribed to the council of Chalcedon, in the year 451: a century later, Procopius describes Eurhœa, which is named by Hierocles among the towns of Old Epirus, as an ancient city, so called from its abundant waters, but which having fallen to decay, was, like Photice and Phœnice in the same province, renewed by Justinian on a neighbouring site: the position chosen for the new Eurhœa was a peninsula in a lake, which, there can be little doubt from the still existing recollections of Donatus in this vicinity, was the *Acherusia*[3]. But the works of Justinian, so ostentatiously described by Procopius, were probably as insignificant here as in most other places, and did not long prevent Eurhœa from being deserted. In less than

[1] εὐκτήριος οἶκος, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχων.—Sozomen, l. 7, c. 26.

[2] Nicephorus Callistus (l. 12, c. 35) has related the history of Saint Donatus almost in the exact words of Sozomen, except that he adds καὶ ἔστιν after εὐκτήριος οἶκος, whence it might be supposed that the church and the town of St. Donatus were at the same place; but although a village or town may have existed at Glyký, it is not likely that any thing deserving the appellation of an ἄστυ stood in so low a situation. I am inclined to believe, therefore, that the castle or city was Paramythía, which continued to bear the name of St. Donatus in the 14th century, when it is noticed by Cantacuzenus (l. 2, c. 34) together with Ioánnina, Parga, and some other towns or fortresses of that period, which are now extinct.

[3] Procop. de Ædif. l. 4, c. 1.

Digitized by Google

thirty years after the death of that emperor, Issoria, the burying place of Donatus, had been substituted for Eurhœa as the see or title of the bishopric, and soon afterwards the body of Donatus was removed from thence to Cassopo in Corfú, with the approbation of Pope Gregory the Great, in consequence of the insecurity of Epirus [1], into which the yet unconverted Huns or Bulgarians began to make their destructive inroads. The renewal of the bishopric under the name of Glyký was probably not earlier than the fourteenth century, when Buthrotum, one of the oldest suffragan sees in Epirus, to which Glyký is now united, was probably approaching to its present desolate state.

Glyký is an example of that change of position in an ancient name which sometimes in Greece holds out false lights to the geographer, though in the present instance it can have no such effect. The descriptive epithet anciently applied to the harbour, having first become the designation of the whole *Acherusian* plain, was at length attached to the place which contained the cathedral church, and hence became the title of the renewed bishopric, while Fanári, derived perhaps from some watch-tower or signal-post at the harbour, became the appellation of all the lower plain. Splantza, the other modern name of Porto Fanári, or *Glycys Limen*, is probably only a Romaic corruption of the Italian Spiaggia.

All the lands of Paramythía belong to Musulmans, and a great part of them are spahilíks, the

[1] Lequien, Oriens Christ. vol. ii. p. 143.

Digitized by Google

proprietors of which are consequently liable to be called to the field by the Sultán or his representative: Paramythía could thus furnish not less than 2000 muskets. It was at all times the most important member of the Suliote league against Alý, and was generally united with Margaríti, Gardhíki, and Dhragomí. But here, as in every part of Albania when not united by a common danger, the same towns were often at war with one another, and when this was wanting, the parties into which each town was divided were seldom long without fighting. In these contests the Suliotes were sure to take a share, often on both sides; so that it was not uncommon for them to be opposed to one another, as happened also among their own fária at home, in default of their being engaged in the quarrels of others. Nor could they ever long agree with their neighbours. The treaties made by the chiefs were not observed by the lower orders, who, half starved in their mountains, were continually committing depredations on the adjoining territories. In short, rapine and war were elements of existence to a true Suliote.

When Suli became closely invested, Paramythía, like all the other places which had been united with the Suliotes, fell off from the alliance. But this did not save it from the vengeance or ambition of Alý. Soon after the fall of Suli he turned all his force against Prónio, who, when reduced to extremities, had the weakness to allow one of Alý's bolu-báshis with ten men to garrison the castle, merely in order, as the Vezír stated in his usual hypocritical manner, that the war, of which he was heartily

Digitized by Google

tired, should not have the appearance of ending in a manner disgraceful to him; for τιμὴ and ἐντροπὴ, honour and shame, two qualities the least regarded by him, are favourite words in his mouth. Upon the first pretext of a quarrel, his guard of ten introduced hundreds, and Prónio was soon obliged to capitulate in his only remaining fortress of Galatá. By the terms he was to enjoy his landed property. But Alý soon pretended to have discovered that he had formed an alliance with Ibrahím Pashá of Berát, and forthwith seized upon all his lands, amounting to 800 zevgária. The family of Prónio had not been long at the head of Paramythía. Isliám's father, whose ruined house is still standing near that of his son on the height of Galatá, was the first who obtained it by purchasing from the Sultán the malikiané of the voivodalík of all that part of the district which does not consist of Ziaméts or Timária.

It is supposed that the Vezír's income from Paramythía is now entirely spent in the maintenance of his acquisition. Being obliged to observe the greatest vigilance against Margaríti, which he hopes some day to entrap by force or fraud, he keeps about 800 men within the σύνορος, or boundary of the district of Paramythía, which, at 25 piastres a month for each man, requires 500 purses a year: on the other hand, the 800 zevgária of Prónio, at a profit of 200 piastres a year, yield about 300 purses; so that it will require some farther extortions to meet the expence. This shows, that although Alý has immense possessions in houses, furniture, dresses, jewels, and other similar pro-

Digitized by Google

perty, the great number of Albanian soldiers whom his continual wars and ambitious projects oblige him to employ and to pay regularly, probably prevent him from hoarding any great treasure in specie.

May 3.—The acropolis of the ancient city which stood at Velianí, is not more than three miles in a right line from that of Paramythía: it is situated at about the same height above the plain, but nearer to the perpendicular cliffs of Mount Kurila, and not so well defended by its own cliffs towards the mountain. The village of Velianí, now in ruins, stands considerably below the acropolis, but within the inclosure of the ancient city, as appears by some foundations on the slope of the hill below it. At a monastery of St. John, where the church alone remains entire, I find a fragment of a column of calcareous stone, about three feet in diameter, and another of the same description in the village. Farther down at a ruined church are some other fragments of Greek architecture, with a caput bovis and other ornaments of a good style, but not of a very ancient date. These are the only remains of sculpture. The acropolis was considerably larger than that of Paramythía, and its walls at the upper part of the inclosure are preserved in some places to half their height: in many other parts of the hill there are pieces of them also in good preservation. They are accurate and well-preserved specimens of the polygonal kind, but the masses are more equal in bulk than they generally are in this kind of Greek masonry. The main approach to the gate of the acropolis, which was on the western side, is still

Digitized by Google

visible; besides which there are ruins of a small door opposite to the mountain, but the former is the only place, except on the south towards the monastery, by which there is now any access to the summit. By the position of this city immediately opposite to the opening which leads to Margaríti, it possessed the widest and most fertile part of the upper valley of the *Cocytus*. On the southern side of the ruins are many sources of water, and a village which derives from them its Sclavonic name of Voiníko.

Besides the ancient cities at Paramythía and Velianí, vestiges of others are said to exist above Dhragomí, and at a position between Karvuniári and Margaríti: but unfortunately the state of hostility, or rather of mutual observation, between Alý Pashá and the chieftains of Margaríti and Filiátes, will not admit of my visiting either of those places, or indeed any part of their districts.

Under these circumstances, I must be satisfied with setting down the topographical information which I have obtained by inquiry, aided by some ocular observations made from several commanding points, as well as by my former knowledge of a part of the maritime country. Paramythía commands, at no great distance, three important passes: to the westward is the opening immediately opposite to Voiníko and the Paleókastro of Velianí, which, branching from the valley of the Vuvó, crosses the range of hills on its western side into that of Margaríti. About midway to Margaríti is Karvuniári, a village of 150 houses chiefly Turkish. The mountain to the right of the branching valley,

Digitized by Google

and which rises immediately opposite to Paramythía westward, is called Pésimo.[1], a small Greek village on it is named Sevastós[2]. At the foot of it, bearing S. 47 W. by compass from the castle of Paramythía, is a place called Vuvó, where are the principal sources of the river of that name, which, joined by the streams from Lábovo, Paramythía, and Voiníko, form the *Cocytus*.

The town of Margaríti is divided into two makhalás, called Margaríti and Omorfiátes, containing between them 800 houses. Mazarákia, formerly the chief place of this district, which is still designated in the Turkish firmáhns by the name of Mazaré-kázasi, is two hours to the northward of Margaríti. The other towns are Kurtési of 100 houses, one hour from Mazarákia, towards Paramythía; Parga two hours and a half to the south of Margaríti; Arpítza, 3 hours from the latter on the side of the same maritime ridge which commands the district of Parga[3]; and Aghiá, containing 200 houses, situated midway between Arpítza and Parga, not far to the southward of Cape Varlám, which is the western projection of the same mountain. The plain near the mouth of the Kalamá is called Rai, and the river forms the line of separation between the two subdivisions of Tjámi[4], named Dághawi, or Dai, and Parakálamo. Dághawi comprehends the country from the Kalamá southward as far as the bounds of Paramythía, and

[1] Πέσιμον.

[2] Σεβαστός.

[3] For the places on the coast of this part of *Epirus*, see vol. I. p. 103; vol. III. p. 3.

[4] *Græcè*, Τζαμουριά.

Digitized by Google

Fanári; Parakálamo, that in the opposite direction to the boundaries of Vutzintró and Délvino. In Dághawi are Griko-khóri, Gomenítza, and Nista, situated in that order from south to north on the hills above the bay of Gomenítza: Gravá in the plain near the mouth of the Kalamá. Between Gomenítza and Menína, which stands on the left bank of the Kalamá, in the road from Paramythía to Filiátes, are several Musulman villages, of which the principal are Súliasi, Varfaniús, and Rizaniús: to these belongs the plain of the Lower Kalamá to the left of the river. A high cliff at Zuliána, in a line between Paramythía and Filiátes, forms a very conspicuous object from Corfú.

The second pass leading from Paramythía is that of Neokhóri on the road to Filiátes. Neokhóri is a small village lying in an opening between the north-western end of Mount Pésimo and Mount Labanítza; the road leads directly down from Neokhóri to Menína on the Kalamá. Between the southern foot of Mount Labanítza and the northern end of Kuríla is the pass of Eléftherokhóri, the third of the passes of Paramythía.

Besides the villages of the district of Paramythía, already noticed as such, there are the following:—Skúpitza, situated in the valley which lies between Mounts Pésimo and Labanítza, and through which leads the road to Neokhóri. Nikolítzi and Grika in Pésimo, not far from Paramythía, and on the western face of that mountain towards Kurtési, Dhraganiús. At the foot of Mount Labanítza are eight or ten others, of which the principal are Vlakho-khóri, of 150 houses; Uzdína, where are plantations of olives; Sélani,

Digitized by Google

where is a monastery, and Plakotí; each of these three has about 50 houses. I have already mentioned the principal places at the foot of Mount Kurila, besides which there are some smaller in higher situations. Both Kurila and Labanítza give their name to or take it from small villages of the same name in high situations in the respective mountains.

To the ancient sites, which are so numerous in the great valleys watered by the lower *Acheron*, the lower *Thyamis*, and their tributaries, it is a mortifying disappointment to the geographer to be unable to apply a single name with absolute certainty, so scanty are the notices of Epirus in ancient history,—so complete and lasting seems to have been the destruction of its cities by the Romans. Their walls remain, while their names have perished; in four instances only is there any strong probability. These are *Ephyra* or *Cichyrus*, at the monastery of St. John, four miles from Porto Fanári, near the right bank of the *Cocytus*; *Buchætium*, at the harbour of St. John, a few miles east of Parga; *Pandosia* at Kastrí, and *Cestria* at Paleá Venetía. The arguments in favour of the three former positions have already been stated, and the testimony of Thucydides is very strong as to the last. In saying that the Thyamis separated Thesprotia from the Cestrine[1], the historian identifies the latter with the present district of Filiátes, which town is situated on the heights rising from the northern edge of the plains of the lower Kalamá, and possesses those fertile pastures towards the mouth of the river which were anciently

[1] Thucyd. l. 1, c. 46.

Digitized by Google

famous for the Cestrinic oxen[1]. Filiátes itself, however, seems not to have been an ancient site, whereas the ruins at Paleá Venetía are clearly, from their extent, those of the chief town of the valley to the right of the lower Thyamis, and one of the leading cities of Epirus. Cestria was said to have been founded by Cestrinus, son of Helenus and Andromache[2], but though named as a town by Pliny[3], there is reason to believe that it was more usually called Ilium, or Troja, in memory of the origin of the colony of Helenus[4]. Filiátes may perhaps be a corruption of *Ilium*. Cammania, another ancient name in this part of *Thesprotia*[5], seems also to have survived in Gumenítza, formerly written Kammenítza.

The other ruined cities, which are still to be seen in *Thesprotia*, are likely to remain as nameless as "the brave men before Agamemnon," unless some fortunate discovery of inscriptions should throw some light on the slender notices which the ancient authors have left of them. Elateia and Batiæ, according to Strabo, were in that part of the interior above Cichyrus and Buchætium, where Pandosia was situated[6], and the former was probably not far from Pandosia, for the oration concerning Halonnesus, attributed to Demosthenes, informs us that Pandosia, Buchætium, and Elateia, were all colonies of Elis,

[1] Hesych. in Κεστρινικοὶ βοές.—Schol. in Aristoph. Pac. v. 924.

[2] Pausan. Attic. c. 11.

[3] Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 1.

[4] See some farther remarks on this question in Chapter XXXVII.

[5] Stephan. in Καμμανία.

[6] Strabo, p. 324. Stephan. in Ἐλάτεια.

Digitized by Google

and that having been taken by Philip, son of Amyntas, they were delivered by him to his brother-in-law, Alexander of Epirus. As the fact of the colonization favours the supposition that their situation was not very far from the sea, the district of Margaríti, both in this respect and its vicinity to *Pandosia*, supposing Kastrí to be the "locus Pandosiæ [1]," seems best to accord with the territory of *Elateia*. It agrees also in a third circumstance mentioned by the orator, namely, that all the three places were in the Cassopæa at the time of which he speaks, since it cannot be supposed that the Cassopæi ever obtained any part of the coast of old *Thesprotia* to the northward of Margaríti, nor much farther from the sea than that place. For the same reason we cannot with any probability apply the names either of *Elateia*, or of *Batiæ*, which latter, on the good authority of Theopompus was also in the *Cassopæa* [2], to the ancient sites at Velianí and Paramythía, there being very little probability that the Cassopæi had ever advanced so near to the Thyamis, which was the northern boundary of Thesprotia. It is possible that the name Velianí is a corruption of Elini, the V representing the Æolic aspirate, for that the Elini dwelt not far from the Cestreni may be inferred from a verse of Rhianus, quoted by Stephanus:

Κεστρηνοὶ Χαῦνοί τε καὶ αὐχήεντες Ἐλινοί [3].

And if *Cestria* was at Paleá Venetía, and *Elini* at

[1] Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 1.

[2] Theopomp. ap. Harpocrat. in Ἐλάτεια.

[3] Stephan. in Χαῦνοι.

Digitized by Google

Velianí, there is some ground for the conjecture that Paramythía was the city of the *Chauni*, which name in the verse of Rhianus stands between those of the Cestreni and Elini, as the town of Paramythía does between Paleá Venetía and Velianí. These are indeed very slight grounds of conjecture, but unfortunately no better are to be obtained.

In Livy, a town of Gitanæ is described as being near Corcyra, and 10 miles distant from the coast, but as the name does not occur in any other author, there may be some reason for believing the word to be corrupt, and that the real name was Chyton, which, according to Ephorus, was a colony settled in Epirus by the Clazomenii[1]. Gitanæ, according to the Latin historian, was the place where previous to the last Macedonic war the Roman legates met the council of the Epirotes, and entered into engagements, the violation of some part of which in favor of Perseus furnished an excuse to the Romans for gratifying their army with the plunder of Epirus[2].

May 4.—After making a half circle round the northern side of the castle of St. Donatus we enter the opening between the mountains Labanítza and Kuríla, and in one hour at 7.30 pass two kules, a triangular castle, and a toll-house standing in the Klisúra, called that of Eleftherokhóri from a village which has now totally disappeared. The mountain of Syráko to the south-east of Ioánnina now presents itself in front. The less distant scene

[1] Ephor. ap. Stephan. in Χυτόν.

[2] Liv. l. 42, c. 38; l. 45, c. 34.

Digitized by Google

consists entirely of narrow valleys and rugged limestone ridges branching from the great summits of Labanítza to the left, and of Kuríla, Suli, and Olýtzika to the right. This country once contained many villages, but they were all ruined in the Suliote wars, in which they suffered equally from the troops of Alý Pashá, and from those of Paramythía and Suli. The pass of Eleftherokhóri was one of the positions most frequently contested. From the pass we descend into a ravine along which flows a branch of the Kalamá coming from a Suliote summit on our right which is known by the name of Vritzákha. On the eastern side of the opening from whence the stream issues, stands Pópovo, a village of sixty houses, and one of the few in this vicinity that are still inhabited. We follow the bed of the torrent among stunted planes, of which the half-expanded leaves show that the climate is much colder on this side of the mountains, than at Paramythía, although the elevation is nearly the same; for there the leaves of the planes had almost attained their full growth. The heights on either side of us have some small spots of cultivation in places. At 9 we pass between Petús and Saloníki: the former distant one mile and a half in a straight line, and standing upon a counterfort of Mount Vritzákha; the latter on the mountain of Labanítza, at a greater distance. At 9.15, we arrive at a spot on the bank of the torrent, where preparations have been made for dinner, in true Albanian style, by the direction of Tahír Agá, head of the police of Ioánnina and related to the Vezír, who, having had a mission to

Digitized by Google

Paramythía, has, by the Vezír's order, joined me on his return to the capital, together with some of his palikária. Two lambs from a neighbouring flock had already been transfixed upon spits formed from the branches of an oak, and two of the soldiers were diligently turning them before a blazing fire, while others had just finished the construction of a sofá made of the tender branches of a salix.

At 10.55 we proceed along the valley bordered by the wild kharúb and hawthorn, covered with blossoms, but not more forward than they were in the plains of the *Achelous* in the end of March. The torrent from Eleftherokhóri now joins a larger branch from the northern and eastern face of Mount Vritzákha, and forms a stream, which, flowing northward through some steep ridges in a direction parallel to the great summit of Labanítza, joins the Kalamá opposite to Leftokaryá. We follow its course, often crossing it, sometimes by bridges, of which the largest is that of Brélesis, having a single arch of forty-five feet in the span; this we pass at 12.30.

At 1.18, leaving the direct road to Ioánnina on the left, we ascend the slope of Mount Olýtzika to Bagotjús[1] by a steep and winding path, and arriving in that village at 2.25, lodge in the house of the Hodjá-bashi, who is now a prisoner in the Pashá's grand receptacle at Ioánnina. Bagotzús consists of twenty or thirty houses dispersed over a large space of ground, and having a neat new church situated in a grove of pirnária.

[1] Βαγοτζούς.

Digitized by Google

May 5.—Westerly wind with showers. Our road passes by a beautiful wood of oaks and round a shoulder of Mount Olýtzika to Dhramisiús, one hour distant. The most projecting point of the route between the two villages looks down upon a valley watered by a considerable branch of the Kalamá, which, before its union with that river near Suli of Kúrenda[1], passes between two summits of considerable elevation, of which the western bounds to the eastward the vale of the other branch of the Kalamá which we followed, and which unites with the main stream opposite to Leftokaryá. All these mountains, except the bare calcareous masses forming the higher summits of Olýtzika, Paramythía, Megálo-Suli, and Labanítza, are clothed with a fertile soil, and have several villages situated on the face of them. Four miles from Bagotzús, towards Suli, is Gratzianá; to the south-eastward of Dhramisiús, at a distance of half a mile is Tzerkovísta; at the same distance from the latter Alepu-khóri, and a mile farther Milingús. All these are pleasantly situated on the side of the mountain amidst gardens well watered with rivulets and shaded by trees, particularly towards Dhramisiús, where are many large chestnut-trees. Opposite to Bagotzús, on the mountain which separates the two branches of the Kalamá, are Eleftherokhóri and Sfina, and in a more northerly direction, on a parallel ridge, Lustína, and towards the Kalamá, Dhelvinakópulo. The ridge on which the two last villages are situated falls to the eastward

[1] So called to distinguish it from Great Suli or Kako Suli.

Digitized by Google

into the plain of Ioánnina, on which side it assumes the appearance of a bare calcareous rock, and thus extends all the way to Pendepigádhia. There remains between it and Mount Olýtzika an elevated valley, the highest point of which is a little north of Dhramisiús, as appears by the course of the waters, which from thence take opposite directions, one part running northward to the Kalamá, the other southward to the river of St. George, but passing, as I am informed, through the mountains by a katavóthra before it reaches that river.

Having passed through Dhramisiús we descend to the Paleókastro in the valley[1]. I have before hazarded the opinion that these remains do not belong to one of the *Epirote* cities, but to a hierum and place of public meeting for sacred festivals, and perhaps for civil purposes also. The situation instead of being strong, commanding, and well watered, the usual requisites of the fortified towns of Greece, is a retired valley like those of *Epidaurus*, *Nemea*, and *Olympia*, and the remains consist, as in those places, of temples, adjoining to a theatre and to a dromus which may have served in the place of a stadium for gymnastic contests. The slightness of the wall below the fortress, which inclosed the two temples, shows evidently that it was merely a peribolus of the sacred ground. No part of the works has an appearance of remote antiquity, and the whole perhaps was founded on the site of some renowned temple of the Molossi, with a view of pacifying and

[1] See vol. i. p. 204.

Digitized by Google

civilizing Epirus, which, as long as it was divided into comæ, possessed probably no such conveniences for large assemblies as were here provided for them. During the half century between the extinction of the Æacidæ and the Roman conquest, in which Epirus was republican, the theatre may have served for the general assemblies of the Epirotes, which may have still continued to meet in Molossis, this having been the original seat of the monarchy, and the residence of the royal dynasty.

A passage in Plutarch's Life of Pyrrhus might lead to the belief that these were the ruins of that Passaron where the kings of Epirus and their assembled people were accustomed to take mutual oaths, the one to govern according to law, the other to defend the crown [1]; but Passaron was not a hierum but a city, and having been one of the strongest and most important in Molossis, we cannot suppose it to have occupied such a situation. The capture of Passaron by L. Anicius Gallus in the year B.C. 167 led to that of Tecmon, Phylace, and Horrium. It was at Passaron that the Roman commander afterwards held his winter quarters; it was from the same place that L. Æmilius Paullus issued, by order of the Senate of Rome, his treacherous and atrocious decree for plundering and dis-

[1] Εἰώθεισαν οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐν Πασσαρῶνι, χωρίῳ τῆς Μολοττίδος, Ἀρείῳ Διὶ θύσαντες, ὁρκωμοτεῖν τοῖς Ἠπειρώταις καὶ ὁρκίζειν, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἄρξειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, ἐκείνους δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν διαφυλάξειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. — Plutarch. in Pyrrh.

Digitized by Google

mantling all the towns of Epirus; and it was from Passaron also that Anicius proceeded to embark for Italy as soon as the fleet which had carried over the Roman army of Macedonia from Oricum had returned to the coast of Epirus [1].

In considering some, if not all these circumstances, it is difficult not to conclude that Passaron was nearer to the sea, and more conveniently situated for communication with it, than this sequestered valley. According to Anna Comnena, there was a harbour on the Epirote coast, called that of Passara [2], which served for a place of assembly of the combined fleets of Alexis and the Venetians previously to two battles which they fought with Robert the Norman in the channel of Corfú [3].

The paleókastro of Dhramisiús is but one among many Hellenic ruins in Epirus, of which nothing but a fortunate discovery of inscriptions can furnish us with the ancient names. Of those mentioned by Livy, all which appear to have stood in the country between the Thyamis and Arachthus, Tecmon was the only one besides Passaron that stood a siege against Anicius; nor did it yield until the fall of its chief citizen Cephalus, at once the bravest and most prudent of the Epirotes, and who, though more formidable than any other to the Romans, had in the beginning been their unwilling enemy [4].

[1] Liv. l. 45, c. 26. 33, 34.
[2] Πασσάρων λιμήν.
[3] Ann. Comnen. l. 6, p. 160. Paris.
[4] Polyb. l. 27, c. 13; l. 30, c. 7.

Digitized by Google

Guriánista, near Kúrendo, about twenty miles to the west of Ioánnina, from whence I procured a small bronze statue of some merit, which was found there, may possibly have been the site of *Tecmon* or of *Horrium*.

After remaining half an hour at the ruins, we cross the ridge towards Ioánnina, and halt at Kosmirá, on the eastern side of it, at 10. As we descended the ridge, Tahír Agá pointed out to me the situation of some Hellenic remains at Kótzista on the side of the mountain of Syráko. The baggage came in two hours and a half by the direct road from Bagotzús to Kosmirá, which, leaving Dhramisiús about a mile on the right, crosses the ridge at a pass immediately behind Kosmirá. At 12.15 we descend from Kosmirá into the plain of Ioánnina, down an easy slope watered by a torrent and sown with rye[1] now coming into ear: in the lowest part of the plain it is full-grown. At the entrance of the plain, at 12.53, we pass by Rapsísta, a large village, just as the inhabitants are returning in their best clothes from celebrating the feast[2] of St. George, at a church of that saint, situated amidst a little wood of pirnária half a mile from the village. This fashion of building solitary churches in the midst of a clump of trees, though found in every part of Greece is most common in Epirus, perhaps on account of the greater abundance of its woods and forests. The oak, the quercus ilex, and the prinus or holly-oak, are the trees most frequently

[1] Βρύζα. [2] ἑορτή.

Digitized by Google

seen in these groves, but chiefly the last, though the second, here called mirádhi instead of ariá, which is its appellation in *Acarnania* and the Moréa, is the best adapted to them, as it grows to a greater size than the pirnári, and its evergreen leaf gives it a preference over the oak. It was undoubtedly the sacred φῆγος of the Dodonæan temple. The scenery of Epirus is much enlivened in winter by these evergreens, nor can any thing be more grateful in the heat of summer than the dense shade of the groves, in which there is generally a source of water near the church. Hence they are often frequented by parties of pleasure from the towns and villages; and on the anniversary festivals of the several saints, great numbers are generally assembled in and around them, especially at some of the sacred groves nearest to Ioánnina. Many of the churches occupy probably the sites of ancient temples, which, on the establishment of Christianity, were converted to the service of the new religion, with little or no change of structure, although a succession of repairs may now have left in them no vestiges of Hellenic antiquity that can easily be recognised. Nor is it improbable that many of the customs and ceremonies in honour of the protecting saints are the same as those which once appertained to the worship of Dione, Aphrodite, Dionysus, or Apollo. The plain of Ioannina has still a wintry appearance. We arrive in the town at 2 P.M., where I am lodged in the house which was built by the father of the Zosimádhes, the four brothers who are now opulent merchants in Christ-

Digitized by Google

endom: one is at Moscow, another at Leghorn. Snow falls to-night on Mount Mitzikéli, and much rain in the town.

May 10.—The weather has continued rainy since the 5th, and snow has fallen on all the higher ridges. Mitzikéli, which is not one of them, was this morning quite covered with snow on the summit. The mornings are generally fine, but at noon the clouds collect, which in the afternoon produce rain and thunder.

This day I was present at a presentation to the Vezír of some of the chiefs of his shepherds who were admitted to the προσκύνημα, and kissed the hem of his robe [1]. They come to pay their annual dues. Their first visit was to the Grammatikós, or Secretary, who desired all but the chief person to withdraw. "We are all equal," they replied. They are Albanians, and are here named Karagúnidhes, or black-cloaks, as a distinction from the Vlakhiotes, though elsewhere, and often even in common parlance at Ioánnina, it is very customary to call them all Karagúnidhes, which is the more natural, as the black or white cloak is no longer a distinction, and they all come from the same great ridge of *Pindus*. When the flocks are their own, they pay to the farmer of the Sultan's dues for every sheep, male or female, more than half a year old, $4\frac{1}{4}$ piastres, a small portion of which consists of a κεφαλιάτικον, or capitation on the animals, the rest is for νόμι-

[1] Προσκυνῶ σ', ἄναξ, νόμοισι βαρβάροισι προσπεσών.
Eurip. Orest. v. 1507.

Digitized by Google

στρον, or pasture. These dues belong to the royal revenue, and are farmed by the Vezír throughout the countries which he governs. But he is moreover the greatest proprietor of sheep in Northern Greece, and owns flocks in every part of Epirus and Thessaly. His shepherds are accountable for an increase of 120 per cent. every year upon the number of animals, besides a certain quantity of cheese. They pay all expences, and reckon upon an average profit to themselves of a piastre a year from each ewe, from which is to be deducted a small loss upon the males.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XXXVI.

EPIRUS.

From Ioánnina to Kónitza—Bisdúni—Radhotópi—Karítza—Zitza—Cascade of the Kalamá—Velá—Kalbáki—Source of the Kalamá, or *Thyamis*—Tzerovína—Lake—Dhelvináki—District of Pogoniani—Víssiani—Lakhanókastro—Tzaraplaná—Sykiá—Kónitza—River Viósa, or *Aous*—*Paravœi*—*Atintanes*—*Melotis*—*Omphalium*—*Orestæ*—Return to Ioánnina—River Voidhomáti—Artzísta—Sudhená—Dovrá—Khan of Aléxi—Ioánnina—Kastrítza.

JUNE 4.—Since my arrival at Ioánnina on the 5th of May scarcely a day has passed without showers in the afternoon, always accompanied with thunder clouds on the mountains, which three days out of four, have exploded very near, or immediately over the town. Sometimes while rain fell on the upper summits of Pindus, Mitzikéli continued clear, in which case there was no rain in Ioánnina or the adjacent plain.

At 5 P.M. I set out with menzíl horses on the great northern road, which is nothing more than a wide horse-path, though the ground is so level that the Vezír has no difficulty in travelling in his carriage in this direction as far as the neighbourhood of Dhelvináki. We skirt the grassy level which borders the marshes lying at the foot of

Digitized by Google

Mitzikéli. Here the meadows of Ioánnina are broadest; their entire length on both sides of the town is not less than twelve miles. I never behold this extensive tract of rich pasture-land, generally peopled as it is with flocks and cattle [1], without feeling persuaded that it was the Hellopia which Hesiod had in view when describing the district of Dodona:

Ἔστι τις Ἑλλοπίη, πολυλήϊος ἦδ' ἐϋλείμων,
Ἀφνειὴ μήλοισι καὶ εἰλιπόδεσσι βόεσσιν.

At 5.40 we pass Bisdunópulo, as a few huts are named, with a khan on the road side, just above the beautiful grove of evergreen oaks which surrounds the church of St. John. Here I saw, a few days ago, the ἑορτὴ, or festival of the saint, attended by a great part of the population of Ioánnina. Not less than 10,000 persons were assembled at the church, or were passing along the meadows leading to it from the town. Some of the gayest, clothed in gorgeous dresses of Albanian lace and embroidery, were dancing the κυκλικὸς χορὸς in circles on the grass, while others assembled round low wooden tables, were tearing roasted lambs to pieces with their fingers, drinking long draughts of wine, and singing in the loudest tone. These festivals are always well attended when the saint's day occurs in the course of the delightful May, which in the Greek calendar lasts till the 12th of our June. During that month there was a festival at Stavráki, a tjiftlík of Mukhtár Pashá, to the south-west of Ioánnina;

[1] Ap. Strabon. p. 328.—Schol. ad Sophoc. Trach. v. 1169.

Digitized by Google

the afternoon happened to be rainy, but this seemed to make little difference to some of the more jovial Christians, who, clothed in the most glittering dresses were dancing with bare feet in the mud before the feast was over. The most expensive parts of the Albanian dress, are an upper and under waistcoat, both without sleeves; the former of velvet, or cloth, half-covered with lace, the latter usually of embroidered velvet. Ioánnina and Arghyró-kastro are the places most noted for the manufacture of them. The sleeves of the shirt hang loose on the outside of all, and soon present a most unseemly contrast of dirt with the handsome waistcoats, which sometimes cost from 200 to 400 piastres, and on the occasion of these festivals are often borrowed or hired for the day.

At 6.2 we take shelter from the customary afternoon's rain and lightning at the Serái of Bisdúni. The village belongs to two Beys, once the most opulent in Ioánnina, and possessors of a great part of the fertile districts of Luro and Lámari, but whom the Vezír has gradually deprived of their property, leaving them nothing in exchange but the barren downs of Bisdúni, and an income of 5000 piastres a year, out of twenty times as much, which the family enjoyed before Alý's arrival at Ioánnina. We ride in 50 minutes from Bisdúni to Radhotópi, and at half way pass a khan under Djudíla[1], which village stands on the hills to the left, Gardhíki, or Gardhikáki, being

[1] Τζουντίλα.

Digitized by Google

at a distance somewhat greater on the right. The summit of a great round hill which rises behind the latter village was occupied by a *come*, or small Hellenic town, of which there remain the entire circuit of the ruined walls, with many foundations of buildings within the inclosure. It is one of those positions which are generally chosen in all countries in times of insecurity, and which seem to have been particularly numerous in Epirus. Though it may have been of more than usual importance in a military point of view, as situated immediately opposite to the passage over the narrowest part of the marshes, thus commanding the only direct communication from the plain of Ioánnina into the mountains of Zagóri, a district which, from its resources and strength, was probably always well peopled; it was obviously no more than a subordinate place, very inferior in importance to the city which stood at Kastrítza, and which, besides having commanded the approach to the most important pass in Northern Greece, that of Métzovo, is shown by its remains to have been a town of considerable extent, and was placed in a very convenient and accessible position with regard to the plains.

The khan of Tzudíla stands in a pass between the two ridges which here meet and terminate the plain of Ioánnina; one of these is connected with the hill of Gardhíki, and falls northward to the lake of Lapsísta; the other is a continuation of the hills which we have had on our left all the way from Ioánnina. We now enter the valley containing the lake of Lapsísta, which extends

Digitized by Google

north-westward to Protópapa, and eastward to the foot of Mount Mitzikéli. The soil is of a deep red colour, and produces only some poor rye and barley. The village of Radhotópi[1], which stands at the south-western extremity of the valley, belongs to Kassím Bey of Ioánnina, who before the Vezír's time had 400 purses a year, now reduced to about 18, which he receives from his Subashí at Radhotópi, and out of it pays six purses to the Vezír for the mirí and other impositions. The Subashí takes one third of the crop for his employer besides the tithe of the whole, and the Greek peasant the remainder. Here we lodge for the night in the Bey's pyrgo.

June 5.—At 6.42 we begin to cross the hills to Zitza at a slow pace. This is the most direct, but not the ordinary or main route from Ioánnina, which follows the plain a mile farther to the katavóthra at the southern extremity of the lake of Lapsísta, where a stream from the lake flowing in a westerly direction enters a subterraneous channel, and reappears at Velitzísta.. From the katavóthra the main road follows the foot of the hills not far from the western shore of the lake, ascends to Protópapa, and from thence crosses into the valley of the Kalamá, leaving Zitza to the left. Between Protópapa and Zitza there is an elevated plain, chiefly occupied by vineyards belonging to the two villages. In ascending towards Zitza, we leave on the left a continuation of the range of hills which borders the western side of the plain of Ioánnina, and which separates that plain from

[1] Ῥαδοτόπι.

Digitized by Google

the valley of the branch of the Kalamá, which rises near Dhramisiús and joins the main river at Suli of Kúrenda, below Ráiko. At 7.50 Velitzísta, vulgarly Veltjísta [1], is two or three miles on the left. Here the subterraneous stream from the lake of Lapsísta issues from the side of the hill, and falls down the slope to the Kalamá with great rapidity, turning several mills in its course: the place where it emerges is about four miles from the katavóthra, and exactly in the direction of the course of the current as it enters the chasm.

At 8.25 we pass through the village of Karítza in a lofty situation, surrounded by green fields of rye and barley mixed with fruit-trees, and at 8.50 arrive at the monastery of St. Elias of Zitza, pleasantly situated on the highest summit of the same height, in the midst of a grove of oaks. The village occupies the slope below the convent towards the Kalamá: a serai of the Vezír, which was built entirely at the expence of the inhabitants, stands at one extremity of the village. Here, in the only apartment which is furnished with a sofá and carpet, I find an agreeable lodging until the afternoon, having adopted the custom of the country in this season of dividing the long days into two: travelling two or three hours in the morning and as much in the evening.

Zitza is a Kefalo-khóri of 110 houses; its heights seem admirably adapted by soil and aspect to the vine; and, accordingly, the chief production is wine, which has the reputation of being the best in Epirus: in fact, that made by the monks of St.

[1] Βελιτζίστα.

Digitized by Google

Elias is not unpleasant; but the ordinary produce of the village, being pressed from grapes all gathered at once, and therefore partly unripe, and being then diluted with water to increase the quantity, is already sour, notwithstanding an abundance of resin, which has been added to give body to it. The village is at a yearly expence of five purses for this ingredient, which is purchased at Ioánnina. The common incomes here are five, six, or seven hundred piastres a year, nearly half of which is abstracted by the Vezír, the bishop, and the Papádhes, of whom there are no less than fifteen in Zitza, and as many churches. Ποῖος τὸ κάμνει—*who takes the trouble?*—is the reply to my inquiry why they do not make two gatherings of their grapes, and ἔτζι εὑρέθηκε—*so we found it*—to a remark that they might advantageously change a papás or two, for a physician and a schoolmaster. They cannot plead that the government prevents them, the Vezír leaving the Greeks at perfect liberty to act as they like in regard to literary instruction, and often exhorting the prelates to promote it: as to the iatrós, if the village makes his place a good one, the Pashá generally takes upon himself the nomination.

Zitza commands a beautiful and extensive prospect, the plain of Ioánnina, and the fertile hills on which Zitza stands, furnishing a variety of cultivated scenery, which is admirably contrasted with the great barren summits around. But here, as in every other situation in Epirus, the interest is inferior to that of almost every commanding position in Southern Greece, where the spectator

Digitized by Google

is always surrounded by objects familiar to him in history and poetry. Here, in the entire horizontal circle, the *Thyamis* is the only object, of which we have any certainty as to the ancient name. To the south-westward is seen a small plain, in which the streams from Ráiko, Velitzísta, and Dhramisiús, unite to form the Kalamá. The first of these, or western branch, is the proper Kalamá, and bears that name above its union with the river of Velitzísta, which, near Paliúri, receives the branch from Dhramisiús. Just below the junction of the three is Suli, a name common to a village on either bank: from thence an undulating country extends on either side of the river towards Paramythía, and as far as the gorges which form the division between the Upper and Lower *Thyamis*.

On the side of a high mountain rising from the right bank of the river in face of Zitza, are the villages of Shútista[1] and Ráiko[2], which latter is two or three miles above the junction of the branch from Velitzísta. Midway between that junction and Ráiko is the bridge of Ráiko, a place of great traffic, as being on the ordinary road from Corfú and Parakálamo to Ioánnina; for which reason the Vezír has established a toll here for cattle, passengers, and merchandize. Beyond the bridge the road to Filiátes follows the right bank of the river and then crosses the woody mountains which overhang it until they open below the village of Kutzi into a wider valley or basin, interrupted with much broken ground, where two branches from

[1] Σιούτισα, Σούτισα.

[2] Probably an abridgment of Ἑβραϊκὸν, *Hebraicum*.

Digitized by Google

the northward, separated by a long ridge, join the Kalamá. Ravéni, belonging to the district of Filiátes, is the principal village of these valleys. The road to Filiátes then passes over a hilly country at no great distance from the river, which in some places is bordered by cliffs, in others by small plains. The principal village on these heights is Kheramnítza. Before the river finally emerges into the plains which extend to the sea coast, it passes through a rocky gorge, a little below which, on the right bank of the river, are the Hellenic remains called Paleá Venetía, situated at the junction of the Kalamá with one of its branches.

At 5.30, descending westward through the vineyards into the valley of the Kalamá, we pass at 6.20 under Mazaráki, which stands on the slope of the ridge of Zítza at a distance of a mile or two on our left, and soon afterwards arrive suddenly in front of a cascade of the Kalamá, which is about a mile distant, and considerably below us: the river is sixty or seventy feet in width, and falls over a cliff of nearly an equal height. A thick wood on one side and some small huts and mills on the edge of the opposite bank complete the beauty of the landscape. Leaving the fall to the left, we descend to the bank of the river, which here runs clear and placid, through a narrow verdant valley filled with every kind of gay flower and fragrant shrub, of which Greece is so prolific in this season. At 6.45 a khan, situated on a little height included between two bends of the river, gives us shelter for ten minutes from the usual afternoon's thunderstorm. The valley is less than two miles in width: from the opposite bank rises the steep range al-

Digitized by Google

ready mentioned, which extends from Tzerkovísta, near Suli of Kúrenda, to the pass of Tzerovína, which separates it from the mountain of Dhelvináki, and leads into the valley of Xeróvalto, and from thence into that of the Dryno. Following from the khan the foot of the same ridge of Zitza, the valley, in half an hour, opens into a plain in which different streams, rising for the most part at the foot of the hills surrounding the plain, unite to form the Kalamá.

We cross a large branch of the river just below its sources[1] at 7.55, not far from the village of Zagorianí, which stands upon the hills to our right. The direct road to Tzerovína and Dhelvináki crosses the plain, but we turn to the right under the hills; and a little beyond the sources leave to the right the Paleókastro of Velá, and half a mile farther arrive at an ancient monastery of the same name in a pleasant situation on the slope of the mountain. The plain which extends to the Siútista range southward, and to Tzerovína westward, is fertile, well watered by numerous tributaries of the Kalamá, and produces rye, barley, wheat, and maize. The monastery possesses two ploughs and eight oxen, besides vineyards and a few sheep.

Velá, which now gives title to a bishop resident at Kónitza, is supposed, by the learned of Ioánnina, to have been anciently called Photice[2], a name, however, which does not

[1] κεφαλο-βρύσεις.

[2] In the Oriens Christianus of Lequien, published in 1740, Photice and Bella are treated of as one and the same place.

Digitized by Google

occur in any author more ancient than Hierocles or Procopius. The latter relates that Photice stood originally in a marshy situation; and that having fallen to decay, it was restored by Justinian, who built a citadel on a neighbouring height. But the castle of Velá is probably of later date. There are no records of the bishops of Photice later than the 6th century, nor of the bishops of Velá earlier than the 13th. Of Hellenic remains there is no appearance at Velá.

June 6.—At 7.45 we descend from the monastery, and arrive, at 8.5, at the khan of Galbáki or Kalbáki [1], which I passed on the 22d of October, 1805, in the way from Premedí to Ioánnina by Ravéni [2]. The ordinary route from Ioánnina to Kónitza here branches from that leading to Arghyrókastro. We follow the latter along the hills, the marsh before mentioned having prevented our crossing the plain directly from Velá. At 8.16 pass one of the principal tributaries of the Kalamá, just under its sources near the little hamlet of Galbáki. It is a deep clear rivulet, bordered with large reeds and aquatic plants, and is considered the main source of the Kalamá, being perennial, whereas the more distant branch from Lakhanókastro is dry in summer. The reeds at the sources may have given the name of Kalamá to the river: the ancient appellation Thyamis seems to have been derived from the θύα or juniper, which, though not abundant near the sources of the river, is common in the woody hills which border the middle of its course.

[1] Καλπάκι.

[2] See Vol. I. p. 400.

Digitized by Google

At 8.45 we pass under Dholianá, a large village belonging to Zagóri, and the only one of that subdistrict which is not an Eleftherokhóri, the Vezír having made it, as well as the rest of this fine plain, his private property. In each of the villages of Podhogorianí[1] and Móshari[2], both which are situated on the slope of the Siútista range, he has built a serái: that at Móssiari is large and well furnished. The part of the plain under Dholianá is covered chiefly with revíthia[3] (Cicer Arietinum), one of the many kinds of pulse used by the Greeks, particularly during their fasts. At 9.25 we cross a large branch of the Kalamá shaded by fine planes, at the spot where it issues from a rocky gorge of the mountains into the plain. This is the stream which rises above Lakhanókastro. Half way up one of the cliffs which border it, in a spot now inaccessible, 40 or 50 feet above the valley, paintings of saints, like those in the Greek churches, are visible, and some indications of a building having formerly been attached to that part of the cliff, probably an ἀσκητήριον or hermitage.

At 9.40 we arrive at Tzerovína, and lodge, as at Zitza, in the Vezír's serái, which is situated in an inclosure called a Κάστρον or castle, but differing only from an ordinary garden wall in having round towers at the angles, composed, like the rest of the work, of small stones cemented with mud instead of mortar, and which, though only twenty years old, is already falling to ruin. This kind of

[1] Ποδογωριανή.
[2] Μόσσιαρι.
[3] Ῥεβίθι, from the Hellenic ἐρέβινθος.

Digitized by Google

masonry, however, is strong compared to that of the dwelling-houses, which are much slighter and looser, and are generally constructed with thin rafters or layers of wood, which at intervals of a few feet occupy the whole thickness of the wall.

At 6 P.M. we descend from Tzerovína in ten minutes to a lake, near the opposite end of which is a pass leading between the mountains of Dhelvináki and of Móssiari into the valley of Xeróvalto[1], so called from a marsh which has been drained and brought into cultivation in that valley. The hills on either side of the pass are clothed with oak and ilex. A stream flowing to the Kalamá issues from the lake of Tzerovína, and serves in summer to irrigate some fields of maize below that village, producing plentiful crops, but rendering the air unhealthy, in which it is assisted by several pools and springs, which stagnate and form a marsh in the plain below them. The lake is about half a mile in diameter, apparently very deep, and is said to abound in fish, particularly trout: there are a few springs about the edges, but the great supplies seem to be at the bottom. Here begins the district of Dhelvináki or Delvináki[2]. A bairák of twelve Albanians halting on the edge of the lake, seated on the grass in a ring, with their bairák stuck in the ground, forms a good accompaniment to the picturesque scene around. We turn to the right of the road which leads through the pass to Xeróvalto, and ascend

[1] Ξερόβαλτος. [2] Δελβινάκι, Ντελβινάκι.

Digitized by Google

the hills to Dhélvináki, where we arrive at 7.35, and alight at the Vezír's serái, a dwelling of very moderate dimensions, standing in a valley, or rather in the bed of a torrent between two hills on the slopes of which are the houses of the town, about 200 in number. The elevated situation renders the air pure and healthy: some of the nearer hills produce corn sufficient for the consumption of the inhabitants, and wine, of which there is enough to supply some of the neighbouring districts. It is made, as at Zitza, from a single gathering, and a fifth part of water is added because without it the wine would not be saleable on account of the high price. The remaining lands of Dhelvináki afford pasture to a great number of oxen, sheep, and goats. In the valley in which the serái stands are some fields of revíthia and hemp, of which last there is also a considerable growth in other parts about the village. Narrow cotton cloths, such as are made in every part of Albania, are manufactured in the town; but the greater part of the male inhabitants, as in other mountain villages of Epirus, are employed in trade by land, or as artisans in the towns of Turkey, in which capacities they are long absent from home. At Constantinople they particularly follow the trades of gardeners and butchers.

Dhelvináki is the chief town of the district of Pogoianí, properly Pogonianí[1], often called Old Pogoianí, partly to distinguish it from Pogoianí, a small village near Ioánnina, and partly with

[1] Πωγωνιανή.

Digitized by Google

reference to its importance in the 14th[1] and 15th centuries, when the town of Pogonianí, supposed to have stood near Ostanítza, was the see of an archbishopric, which is now extinct. Pogonianí seems to be nearly the same district as the ancient *Melotis*. It borders towards the north and north-west on Libókhovo and Argyrókastro, to the east and north-east on the Karamuratátes and Kónitza, and on Ioánnina to the south, south-east, and east, in which latter direction it confines on the sub-district of Zagóri. It contains forty villages, and extends from Tzerovína northward to Sélitza on the right bank of the river of Súkha beyond Libókhovo, which town, however, is not in Pogoianí. To the westward Pogoianí confines on Dhélvino, from which it is separated by a continuation of the great ridge upon which Arghyrókastro stands. The chief places are Sopikí in the mountains to the eastward of Sélitza, midway between Dhelvináki and Premedí, and Dhrymádhes one hour on this side of Sopikí. These are Eleftherokhória. The largest of the tjiftlík villages are Víssiani, near Dhelvináki, on the road to Kónitza, and Politziána two hours beyond Sopikí. All the inhabitants of Pogoianí are Greek except those of Vostína, which place is three hours from Dhelvináki, on the mountain of Libókhovo, above the right bank of the eastern branch of the Dryno, bearing N. 14 W. by compass from Dhelvináki. The Karamuratátes were anciently a part of Pogoianí; but being now all Mahometans, they are considered as forming a separate division, and are in fact an

[1] Çantacuz. l. 3, c. 2.

Digitized by Google

Albanian conquest; for Pogoianí is properly a Greek district, though now subject to the Albanian power in the person of Alý Pashá. Greek is spoken as far as Sopikí and Frastaná inclusive, beyond which the Albanian is in common use.

Dhelvináki, lying near the great road leading from Ioánnina to Arghyrókastro, Tepeléni, and Avlóna, as well as to Corfú by Dhélvino, suffers much from konáks. The serái was built for the Vezír by an angariá, of which Dhelvináki bore only a proportional share. In most of the large villages there are similar buildings, to which His Highness contributes little more than cushions and carpets when they are occasionally furnished in expectation of his visiting them. At other times they are locked up and useless, unless it be in terrorem, by reminding the people that he may on any day make his appearance among them. They are all constructed in the same slight manner, and if left without repairs, which are seldom or ever thought of, soon become uninhabitable. For the same expence, or rather with an equal quantity of forced labour and gratuitous materials, the Vezír might have made roads and bridges all over *Epirus*, and thus permanently have improved the country.

Like most of the towns of Greece and Albania, Dhelvináki is divided into two inimical parties. There are five churches and fifteen priests in the village: no physician nor schoolmaster. The primates assert that the people would never agree to the expence of a physician and schoolmaster in addition to the heavy impositions of the Vezír; but I am told by others that it depends entirely upon

Digitized by Google

the primates, who are themselves indisposed to the expence.

The foreign trade, in which the people of Dhelvináki and some of the other villages of Pogoianí engage, is chiefly that between Greece and the Black Sea, where they exchange the oil of the Seven Islands, of the Moréa, and of Crete; the dried fruits of Smyrna, the wines of the Greek islands, or coffee and sugar purchased at Constantinople or Smyrna, against iron, pitch, butter, caviár, and a few other productions of the countries on the coast of the Black Sea. Furs are also imported by them from Russia, and gold-thread from Germany, for the purpose of making Albanian lace and embroidery.

June 7.—At 5.30 P. M. we proceed towards Kónitza: the road passes through narrow valleys grown with meagre rye and barley, or with vines, which succeed better in this poor soil. We then ascend a ridge which commands a prospect of the plain of Tzerovína, as well as of all the country as far as the mountains of Kalarýtes and Arta. To the eastward are seen those beyond Kónitza, and between the latter and the position of Ioánnina the stupendous cliffs and snowy summits on the eastern side of Zagóri. After having crossed some rocky heights, preceded by a man on foot for a guide, we arrive, at 7.20, at Víshani [1], a village containing about 100 families, and standing on the highest part of a long ridge, which, branching from Mount Nemértzika, separates the course of the waters

[1] Βήσσιανι.

Digitized by Google

flowing to the Kalamá and to the Dryno. The village being built of the ordinary calcareous stone of the Epirote mountains, but more than usually white, and being roofed with πλάκες, or irregular slabs, of the same stone, looks at a distance as if covered with snow. The soil of the slopes around is tolerably good, though very stony, producing in wheat six or seven to one. The village is a tjiftlík of the Vezír, who takes two-fifths for his dhekátía and share of the crop, and pays no expences. A large quantity of corn has been spoilt this year in consequence of the badness of his magazines, and of the impediments to its being transported by sea. In these cases it is a common practice with His Highness to bestow it upon some of his loving subjects in exchange for an equal quantity of sound corn.

June 8th.—Among the numerous instances of resemblance between ancient and modern customs observable throughout Eastern Europe and Western Asia, there is none more remarkable, or that better serves perhaps to mitigate the miseries of despotism, than the system of *clientela*, which pervades all ranks, and which was common even among the republicans of Greece and Rome. It is a part or consequence of this system, that the request of one person to another in favour of a third, when made under particular relation of consanguinity or supposed friendship between the two former, cannot easily be refused. Even the most despotic chiefs are in great measure bound by this custom, and it is often considered a matter of certainty that the pardon of an offender may be obtained from the

Digitized by Google

Vezír Alý, if some particular person of known influence can be induced to petition in favour of him. To the traveller this is attended with great inconvenience, as all sorts of requests are made to him, founded upon this maxim, sometimes the most trifling and ridiculous, at others such as he would gladly be the means of promoting, were not compliance in any case imprudent, as it would produce an endless repetition of such demands, and many inconveniences. This morning a woman of Víssiani intreats my interest with the Vezír to procure the freedom of her son, who is in prison at Ioánnina, and a man who has been married three or four years to a woman without having children, wishes by the Vezír's interference with the Church to obtain a divorce and marry again, his wife being, as he asserts, wicked and perverse [1], and resisting all his arguments to persuade her to a separation. Another request to me for an antidote to the magic arts of an enemy, by which a husband has become ἐμποδισμένος, is addressed to the medical knowledge, which every Frank is supposed to possess.

From Víssiani we diverge about two miles to the left of the direct road, in order to visit Lakhanókastro, where we arrive at the end of 70 minutes. A summit at half way commands a view of a beautiful valley lying between the ridges of Dhelvináki and Víssiani and the foot of the steep mountain Nemértzika. Sopikí is eight miles distant in a direct line, but though standing in a lofty situa-

[1] κακὴ καὶ ἀνάποδα.

Digitized by Google

tion on the slope of Nemértzika is not in sight from our road. Frastaná occupies a similar situation half way between Sopikí and Lakhanókastro, and above it towards the summit of Nemértzika is a plain and some fine sources of water, where the Vezír has thoughts of building a village and a serái.

Lakhanókastro is a village adjoining a ruined castle which stands on an eminence overhanging the river. The walls of the castle are formed of small rough stones and cement, and seem to be of the same date as those at Velá. The surrounding scenery is very beautiful. Slopes covered with corn-fields mixed with groves of oak and elm, are finely contrasted with the bare heights and snowy summits of Nemértzika.

Having crossed at 7.23 the river which rises at a short distance above Lakhanókastro, and which is now a pure and rapid stream, though dry in the middle of summer, we mount through a wood of oaks and chestnuts to Tjaraplaná[1], a village delightfully situated near the summit of a ridge advancing from Mount Nemértzika, among heights abounding in cattle and sheep, and surrounded with vineyards, in which the labourers are breaking the ground with a two-pronged hoe; we then cross the summit of the ridge, and descending through woods of oak, at 9 cross the direct road from Premedí to Ioánnina, and at 9.30 arrive at Sykiá, which contains ten or twelve houses only, and stands on a slope overhanging the junction of

[1] Τζαραπλανά.

Digitized by Google

the two great branches of the Viósa, called Konitziótiko and Voidhomáti. Here we remain until 3.45. At 4.4, cross the Voidhomáti about a mile above its junction with the Konitziótiko, and traverse a plain where the peasants are sowing maize, or ploughing in preparation for it; the excessive rain having delayed these labours much beyond the usual time. Close to the right is the steep side of a high mountain, covered on the summit with firs, and in the middle region with holly-oaks. It is the lower part of that great summit of the range of *Pindus*, here named Lázari, but better known in more distant parts of the country as the mountain of Pápingo, which is the nearest village.

At 5.35 we cross the bridge of Kónitza, just below the opening where the river emerges into the plain between two woody precipices of immense height, above which the mountains are entirely clothed with forests of fir. To the left of the opening the snowy peaks of Lázari overhang these forests; on the opposite or eastern side the summits are not visible. When we left Víssiani this morning the weather was as usual perfectly clear; towards 9 a few clouds began to appear on the mountains behind Kónitza, which continued to accumulate, and ended in a deluge of rain, with much thunder and lightning: all of it, however, fell on the great heights above Kónitza; none either in that town or on our road thither from Sykiá, though the hills immediately above the valleys were loaded with the most threatening clouds.

Digitized by Google

The Viósa, on issuing from the great chasm which gives passage to it, turns to the south-west, and leaves to the right a long declivity on which the town of Kónitza is situated, occupying a large space of ground. The Varúsi, or Greek quarter, which is above the Turkish town, separated from it by a portion of the declivity, is between two and three miles from the bridge. Above the Varúsi the ridge rises to a rocky summit which is connected with the great precipices overhanging the right bank of the river. The master of the house which is appointed for my konák is the head of one of the two parties into which the Greek quarter, according to custom, is divided: he was not long since hodjá-bashi, but in consequence of some accusations of his enemies was deprived of his post and thrown into prison at Ioánnina; for to such complaints Alý is generally ready enough to listen, as he exacts money from the contending parties, as well when they attain power as when they are deposed from it. Nor are they disagreeable to him, as strengthening his power as a Musulman and an Albanian; indeed, without these discords Greece could not long continue a part of the Ottoman empire. My host had a temporary alienation of mind when in prison. By a sacrifice of money he regained his liberty, but he can hardly be said to have recovered his senses, as he is not yet cured of the ambition of being proestós. Such is the life of a Greek primate, struggling to attain office, contending with some other chief families of the place, amassing money, partly by industry, partly

Digitized by Google

by plunder, deposed and stripped by the Turk, and again quarrelling and intriguing for power.

Kónitza contains 600 Musulman houses, and 200 Christian. A large palace of the Vezír on the northern side of the town, with a shahtar wán, garden, and harém, is already falling to ruin, although only twenty years old; a small part of the harém is occupied by the widow of Velý Bey of Premedí, daughter of Velý Bey of Klisúra, who married Alý Pashá's sister.

In the Varúsi the most conspicuous building is the palace of the bishop of Kónitza and Velá, situated not far below the summit of the ridge. He is a suffragan of the ἐπαρχία, or metropolitan province of Ioánnina, where I left him humbly attending upon his *Despot*, as the metropolitans are generally called, even by the Turks of Greece. His palace commands a prospect of singular beauty and magnificence. The plain of Kónitza, covered with corn-fields and vineyards, is bounded on the opposite side by the woody ridge upon which are situated Sykiá, Ostanítza, and the villages of the Karamuratátes, above which latter rise the stupendous rocks of Mount Nemértzika, extending as far as Premedí, and from thence in a lower ridge to Klisúra and the *Aoi fauces*. The river descends from Kónitza to that pass along a narrow valley hidden from view by the ridges, which are a continuation of the heights of Kónitza, and which rise steeply from the valley. In a conspicuous situation upon one of the highest parts of them, distant four hours from Kónitza to the north-west, stands the Turkish town of Liaskovíki, containing not less

Digitized by Google

than 1000 houses. The intermediate hills, though steep and lofty, are not rocky, and are cultivable in every part. The same may be said generally of the great mass of mountains lying between Kónitza and Grevená, and of those also to the northward as far as Korytzá and Berát, with the exception of the highest points, which are bare rocks. It was perhaps from the scarcity of quarries furnishing large masses in the lower parts of the mountains, and from the friable nature of the stone where it occurs, that Hellenic ruins elsewhere so well preserved by their gigantic masonry, are so rare in Western Greece to the northward of the plain of Ioánnina. To the south-east the plain of Kónitza, as level as the sea, is closed by the great heights along the foot of which we approached the town. The lower part of this mountain has that beautiful regular concave slope which is often found in the scenery of Greece; above it rise the dark forests of fir, finely contrasted with the slope and plain below, as well as with the snowy precipices of Mount Lázari above them.

I was surprised to hear that so elevated a situation as Kónitza, and particularly the Greek quarter, is not considered healthy: in the upper part of the town, according to the Greek expression, "sleep is heavy[1]," caused, it is said, by the rocky height, and the woody and precipitous peaks which being too near create a damp and stagnant air.

June 9.—This evening, ascending the summit behind the Varúsi, I arrive, in a quarter of an hour

[1] ὁ ὕπνος βαρὺς εἶναι.

Digitized by Google

from the highest houses, at a fine source, which supplies all the fountains of the town. The summit itself not only commands a more extended view to the westward than any part of the town affords, but opens a prospect to the east and north of the whole mountainous region for thirty or forty miles towards Grevená and Korytzá. The most conspicuous object, bearing E.N.E., is Mount Smólika, or Zmólska, one of the highest peaks of the *Pindus* range. On its eastern side stands Samarína, a large Vlakhiote town ten hours from Kónitza, in the way to Grevená, but situated northward of a right line between these towns. Khierásovo, midway from hence to Samarína, is still farther northward, the road making that indirect line in order to turn the northern end of Mount Smólika. All the geography within sight is well explained to me by the commandant of the Vezír's troops at Kónitza, a dirty Albanian of Tepeléni, but who possesses the usual intelligence and experience of the Albanians upon these subjects. The Greek peasantry are seldom deficient in the former quality; but their information is confined, and few, even of the armatolí, can compare with the Albanians, whose frequent change of service or of quarters gives them a more extensive knowledge of the country. The Osmanlís are generally as unwilling as they are incapable of giving any satisfactory answers to such inquiries. On these occasions great surprise is generally expressed when the traveller is found to be acquainted with the correct position of places not in sight; and as the sextant or compass is generally

Digitized by Google

displayed in such cases, the whole is sometimes attributed to magic, the object of which is generally supposed to be hidden treasure. Many, however, are somewhat more enlightened, and consider the travels of Europeans as preparations only for the conquest of the country. As to inscriptions, it is difficult for them to conceive that we seek for them but as indications of treasure; and the opinion is by no means absurd, since coins of gold and silver are frequently found in every part of the country, and sometimes in considerable deposits. In the year 1803 a large vase was found at Kamarína *(Cassope)* filled with tetradrachms of Athens, Acarnania, and Epirus, many of which I have procured since I have been in Greece.

Kónitza, although it has long been a part of Albania acquisita, which for the last fifty years may be said to have comprehended all *Epirus* to the *Ambracic* Gulf, is, according to the limits of language, exactly on the northern boundary of Greece: the Greek being generally spoken here, while at Liaskoviki the Albanian is in common use. According to the same test of language, the districts of Premedí and Danglí, which border upon that of Kónitza to the northward, are Albanian, though Greek until the decline of the Eastern Empire, and afterwards Servian, as many of the names of places indicate. The Danglídhes[1], to use the Greek termination of the word, comprehend the hilly country included between the valley

[1] Δαγκλῆδες.

Digitized by Google

of the Uzúmi, or southern branch of the *Apsus*, and that of the Upper Viosa or *Aous*. The principal towns are Skrapári, Vithkúki, Dúsnitza, Frássiari, and Zavaliáni. They border eastward upon the district of Kolónia, the best part of which is a succession of fertile valleys watered by the confluents of the Uzúmi at the western foot of the central ridge of *Pindus*. It is separated only from the plain of Korytzá by a ridge, of which the highest part is conspicuous from that town, and which connects the *Pindus* with Mount Tomór.

The lands of Kónitza produce wine, wheat, barley, kalambókki, and pulse. The maize, which in the plain of Ioánnina was already coming up, is here hardly sown: but this makes no great difference in the time of harvest, as three days suffice to bring it out of the ground. The wheat in good seasons and situations gives ten to one; upon an average six or seven. The produce of bread-corn is not sufficient for the consumption of Kónitza, because a great part of the plain being the property of the Vezír, his share of the crop is transported to Ioánnina or into his magazines elsewhere. The remainder of the plain consists of spahilíks in the hands of Turks of Kónitza, and the land is usually cultivated upon the condition that the Ζευγίτης, or farmer, shall receive the seed from the owner, deduct the dhekatía from the gross produce of grain, and deliver to the owner a proportion of the remainder, which varies according to the quality of the land from a half to a third. Sometimes the agreement is that the owner shall be at no expence, except for half

Digitized by Google

the Alonistic horses[1], and shall take a third of the crop. When the property of a farm, as often happens, is in shares, a fixed commutation in money or produce is generally made for the dhekatía or tithe.

In vineyards a money commutation for the tithe is the general practice, and the produce is equally divided, the farmer paying all the expences. The wine is a poor acid liquor, sold for four parás the oke, or less than a penny a quart. The price of daily labour varies from thirty parás, with bread and wine, to sixty parás with wine only, according to the season, the demand for hands, and the severity of the labour; fifty, with wine, is about the average in harvest. There are many situations in the mountains behind Kónitza, where the plough is useless on account of the steepness of the ground, and where the hoe alone is employed in the corn lands.

The daily rains, which have now lasted for a month, have this day ceased. That which I have already mentioned as having occurred yesterday fell to such an excess on the mountains that the bed of the river a little below the town, where it is half a mile in breadth, was completely filled in the night. This day at noon it subsided, and left the banks strewn with fish and trunks of trees. I have had some fine carp to-day for dinner, which were procured from thence. These sudden deluges, called πλημμύραις or πλημμύρια, are common at Kónitza. The wood brought down by them and

[1] ἁλωνιστικὰ ἅλογα, from ἁλώνι, threshing-floor.

Digitized by Google

deposited in the bed of the river, is sufficient to supply all the neighbourhood with plank and fuel.

Although I have not been able to discover, either in the castle or in any other part of Kónitza, any vestiges of Hellenic antiquity, the strength and commanding situation of the place with relation to the *Macedonian* frontier, as well as its plain, which is the most fertile and extensive, occurring on the whole course of the main branch of the *Aous*, between its sources and the *Illyrian* plains, may justify the confident belief, that Kónitza was the site of an ancient city of some importance; whatever its particular appellation may have been [1], it was probably the chief town of the Paravæi.

As the true name of Paravæa and its etymology are important to the question of their situation, it may not be unworthy of remark, that Paravæa is proved to be the correct form by Stephanus [2], though there can be little hesita-

[1] Possibly Peribœa, for this is the only town named by Ptolemy in the country of the Παρθναῖοι, which word we may safely correct, by the change of a single letter, to Παραναῖοι. It is clear that Ptolemy could not have intended the people of Parthus in Illyria, as well because he has placed the Parthyæi in the midst of the Macedonian tribes, as because the people of Parthus were named Παρθινοὶ, or Παρθηνοί.—Strabo, p. 326.—Stephan. in Πάρθος.

[2] Παραύαιοι, ἔθνος Θεσπρωτικόν. Ῥιανὸς ἐν τετάρτῳ Θεσσαλικῶν·

Σὺν δὲ Παραναίοις καὶ ἀμύμονας Ὀμφαλιῆας.

Καλοῦνται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ παρὰ τὸν Ἄωον ποταμὸν οἰκοῦσθαι.

Stephan. in voce.

Digitized by Google

tion in believing that he was in error, as he often is in his chorographical indications, in ascribing the Paravæi to Thesprotia, as no part of *Thesprotia* extended so far inland as the river Viósa, or any of its tributaries. He confirms his orthography of Paravæi by a verse of Rhianus, and by the remark, that the people derived their name from inhabiting the banks of the Ἄνος, one of the many ancient forms of the name of the river now called Viósa. By Plutarch it is written Ἄνα, or Ἄραvα, by Pliny, Apha, and by other authors Ἄίας, which, as well as Ἀᾶος, its most common appellation, were all modifications of the same radical word, wherein the Au, and Arau, and Arar, and Avon of Western Europe, have originated as well as the Latin aqua, and the word for water in many modern languages. The modern name of the river varies slightly in like manner, in different parts of its course, being called Vuíssa, or Vovússa, as well as Viósa. Anciently, it would seem that Ἄνα or Ἄνος was used in the upper valleys, Ἀᾶος towards the middle course of the river, about the celebrated stená, and Æas in the maritime plains. The last may be gathered from several authors[1], but especially from Valerius Maximus, who relates that the Apolloniatæ having requested assistance from the Dyrrhachii, the latter replied, "Have you not Ajax (Αἴας)?" Though Pliny seems not to have

[1] Scylax in Ἰλλύριοι.—Lycophr. v. 1020.—Pomp. Mela, l. 2, c. 3.—Valer. Max. l. 1, c. 5.—Dion. Cassius (l. 41, c. 45), who describes the Nymphæum of Apollonia as being πρὸς τῷ Αἴᾳ ποταμῷ.

Digitized by Google

been aware that his Apha was the same river as the Aous or Æas, which flowed near Apollonia, there cannot at least be any doubt as to its identity with the Ava of Plutarch, both authors describing them as rivers of Molossia, which province of Epirus probably was often in common parlance understood to extend as far as the central ridge of *Pindus*, and thus to comprehend the sources and extreme tributaries of the Viósa.

The particular part of the Aous inhabited by the Paravæi may be gathered from their situation relatively to that of other Epirote tribes, as indicated by the ancient authorities, of which the most ancient and most respectable is that of Thucydides, in his narrative of the expedition of Cnemus into Acarnania, in the third year of the Peloponnesian war[1]. The Lacedæmonian commander, after having been joined at Leucas by his allies of Ambracia, Anactorium, and Leucas, proceeded to the Ambracic Gulf, and there received a reinforcement of barbarians, as Thucydides denominates them. These were, first the Chaones, a people not then governed by kings[2], and who sent 1000 men commanded by two of their nobles; secondly, some Atintanes and Molossi, commanded by Sabylinthus, who was tutor to Tharypas, the young king of the Molossi; thirdly, a body of Paravæi, commanded by their king Orædus, under whose orders Antiochus, king of Orestis, had placed a thousand Orestæ; lastly a thousand Macedonians sent by Perdiccas, who arrived too late

[1] Thucyd. l. 2, c. 80. [2] ἀβασίλευτοι.

Digitized by Google

to be of any service. It seems evident from these facts, that the Atintanes and Molossi were conterminous, as well as the Paravæi and Orestæ. To the southward, if the text of Scylax has been properly adjusted, the Atintanes extended to the Dodonæa; that is to say, to the northern part of Molossis [1]. The southern portion of them inhabited the country included between the Dryno and the upper Viósa, of which Mount Nemértzika is the highest summit, and Libókhovo the principal modern town. A transaction related by Polybius, to which I have before had occasion to refer, seems to show clearly that *Atintania* comprehended that part of the country [2]. A comparison of the same author with Scylax and Lycophron renders it equally evident, that the Atintanes bordered to the north-west upon the districts of Oricus, Amantia, Byllis, and Parthus [3], thus occupying to the northward all the mountainous country included between the *Apsus* and *Aous*, below the stená of the latter river. Atintania thus placed accords perfectly with the character given of it by Livy and Strabo, as rugged in surface, poor in soil, and rude in climate [4]. It was entirely included in

[1] Ἄπασιν (Apolloniæ et Amantiæ sc.) ὅμοροι ἐν μεσογείᾳ Ἀτιντάνες ὑπὲρ τῆς Ὠρικίας καὶ Χαονίας μέχρι Δωδωνίας.—Scylax in Ἰλλύριοι.

[2] Polyb. l. 2, c. 5.—See Vol. I. p. 69.

[3] Polyb. l. 7, c. 9.—Scylax, ubi sup.

. . . . . εἰς Ἀβαντίαν πόλιν
Πλώσει, πέλας δὲ γῆς Ἀτιντάνων μολών.
Lycoph. v. 1043.

[4] Liv. l. 45, c. 30—Strabo, p. 326.

Digitized by Google

Chaonia by Ptolemy, who takes no notice of the Atintanes.

I have before remarked that the country around Ostanítza appears, from Livy's narrative of the retreat of Philip from the Aoi fauces, to have been anciently named Triphylia of Melotis. These names do not occur in any other author, but that of *Melotis*, as indicating a sheep-feeding district, accords exactly with that elevated region of pastures adjacent to the southern side of Mount Nemértzika, which extends from thence to the plains of Libókhovo, Tzerovína, and Ioánnina. Melotis, therefore, was probably the appellation anciently given to the pastoral highlands on the borders of Molossis and Atintania. Such a country is naturally divided into confederacies of small tribes; whence perhaps the name *Triphylia*, which seems to have corresponded to the district now occupied by the people called Karamuratátes, and including Ostanítza. If the relative situations of *Chaonia*, *Atintania*, *Melotis*, and *Molossis*, are thus correctly indicated, and if the Tymphæi occupied the sources of the Arachthus, as Strabo attests[1], the *Paravæi* are of necessity confined to the valleys of the main or eastern branch of the *Aous*, and the mountains in which that river originates, extending from the *Aoi Stena*, or Klisúra, as far south as the borders of *Tymphæa* and *Molossis*. Of this country the district of Konítza is the most central and fertile part.

Arrian, in describing the route of Alexander

[1] Strabo, p. 325.

Digitized by Google

from *Elimiotis* or the modern Grevená and Tjersembá, to *Pelinnæum* in Thessaly, which stood a little eastward of Trikkala, remarks that Alexander passed by the highlands of Tymphæa and Paravæa[1]. The order of these two words ought clearly to be reversed, since Tymphæa, having given rise to the Arachthus, could not have been to the northward of a district on the Aous. The *Paravæan* highlands seem, therefore, to have been Lázari and Smólika, with the adjacent mountains, *beyond* which Alexander passed the *Tymphæan* summits.

As the words of Rhianus already cited show that the Omphalienses were near the Paravæi, I should be disposed to place *Omphalium* at Premedí; for the valley of the Viósa, between Kónitza and the straits of Klisúra, is naturally divided into two districts by the narrow part of it below Ostanítza, and Premedí has no less the appearance of having been the chief place of the northern, than Kónitza of the southern division of the valley. That *Omphalium*, if its district was contiguous to that of the *Paravæi*, lay in this direction from Kónitza, is rendered evident by Ptolemy, who places Omphalium among the interior cities of Chaonia, or in other words, in Atintania, together with Elæus and Antigoneia, of which the districts were those now occupied by Libókhovo or Arghyrókastro, and Tepeléni. According to the same geographer, Hecatompedum was also a city of the interior of Chaonia. Its

[1] Arrian. Exp. Alex. l. 1, c. 7.

Digitized by Google

situation may possibly have been in the vale of the Sukha, above Libókhovo.

The Orestæ, who are shown by Thucydides to have bordered on the Paravæi, and who, partly perhaps as having originally been an Epirote tribe[1], were united with the other Epirotes against Acarnania in the Peloponnesian War, were, as it appears from the historian, at that time governed by a king, who, like the king of the neighbouring Lyncestæ and Elimiotæ, was in a state of submissive alliance with the more powerful monarch of Macedonia. Afterwards they became, together with the two former people, provincials of the Macedonian kingdom, as the Eordæi, being nearer to the original seat of the royal power of Macedonia, had become at an earlier period.

We have already seen that the Orestæ possessed *Celetrum*, now Kastoría; they appear, therefore, to have extended from the crest of the ridge of *Pindus* to the mountains beyond the valleys of Kastoría and Mávrovo, which separated the *Orestæ* from the *Lyncestæ* and *Eordæi*. The most central and fertile part of this country is the plain of Anaselítza, at the foot of the mountain of Grammos, a part of the great central ridge. Here, therefore, was probably situated the chief town of the Orestæ, named Argos in commemoration of its having been founded by Orestes[2]. It would seem from the words "Argestæum campum," which Livy employs in describing a place in Orestis, that

[1] Strabo, p. 326. Hecatæus ap. Stephan. in Ὀρέσται.

[2] Strabo, p. 326.

Digitized by Google

the people of Argos, in conformity with a favourite Macedonian termination of the ethnic adjective, and to distinguish themselves from the natives of other towns named Argos, called themselves Argestæ.

It is in describing an irruption of the Dardani into Macedonia, which recalled Philip son of Demetrius from the Peloponnesus, in the year 208 B. C., that Livy notices this plain. A chieftain named Eropus having taken Lychnidus and some towns of the Dassaretii, the Dardani then entered Orestis and descended into the Argestæan plain [1]. The words "Orestidem jam tenere et descendisse in Argestæum campum," show that the plain of the Argestæ was towards the southern extremity, and could not therefore be the valley of Bíklista, besides which consideration the greater magnitude of the plain of Anaselítza seems better suited to the circumstances. If, therefore, Argos Oresticum was the same place as the Orestia of Stephanus, of which I have little doubt, notwithstanding his having placed among eleven towns of the name of Argos one in Macedonia, without any remark as to its identity with Orestia, it might best be sought for near the issue of the *Haliacmon* from the mountain of Grammos into the plain of Anaselítza; for Stephanus describes Orestia [2] as situated on "a moun-

[1] Ibi .... nuntii obcurrunt: Dardanos in Macedoniam effusos, Orestidem jam tenere ac descendisse in Argestæum campum.—Liv. l. 27, c. 33.

[2] Ὀρεστία, πόλις ἐν Ὀρεσταῖς ἐν ὄρει ὑπερκειμένῳ τῆς Μακεδονικῆς γῆς· ἐξ ἧς Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λαγοῦ.

Ἄργος . . . ἐβδόμη κατὰ Μακεδονίαν.—Stephan. in voc.

Arrian (Jud. c. 18) differs from

Digitized by Google

tain overlooking the Macedonian land," which seems to imply that the mountain was at the extreme frontier of Macedonia. And this accords with all that has already been advanced as to the comparative chorography of this part of Greece, as the ridge of Grammos appears to have been the boundary between *Orestis* and a part of *Dassaretia*. According to the preceding supposition, the march of the Dardani from *Lychnidus* and *Dassaretia* into the plain of the *Argestæ* was obviously through the pass of Tzangón and by Bíklista towards Zeligós, leaving Kastoría to the left.

Between the countries which were occupied by the *Dassaretii*, *Paravæi*, and *Orestæ*, was the district near the sources of the Uzúmi, or southern branch of the *Apsus*, now called Kolónia, apparently a Roman name, and which may have been introduced by a colony of Wallachians, whose language abounds in Latin words, derived from the Roman settlements in *Dacia*. There seems some reason to doubt in which of the three ancient districts just mentioned Kolónia ought to be included. I am inclined to attribute it to *Orestis*; for it is remarkable that Strabo, in whose time the crest of Pindus was considered the separation between Epirus and Upper Macedonia, mentions the Orestæ among the tribes of either province; and

Stephanus as to the birth-place of Ptolemy, whom he states to have been an Eordæan. Craterus was from Orestis, according to Arrian. Hierocles places an Argos in the Second Macedonia of his time, together with Stobi and Pelagonia, and which is certainly the Argos Oresticum of Strabo, if Κελαινίδιον in the vulgar text of Hierocles has been justly corrected into Κέλετρον.

Digitized by Google

a part of the Orestæ having on this supposition dwelt to the westward of the *Pindus*, it would be more easily explained how they were originally considered an Epirote tribe, although the greater part of them having dwelt on the eastern side of the Pindus, and all that country having by its position afforded an easy conquest to the kings of Macedonia, Orestis was in subsequent times considered a Macedonian district. Neither Orestis nor Paravæa are named by Livy and Diodorus among the countries which entered into the composition of the Fourth Macedonia at the Roman conquest. But they were probably both included; Orestis, because the greater part of it at least was situated to the eastward of the Pindus, and Paravæa, because it was almost surrounded by countries which were ascribed to that division of the tetrarchy, namely, Atintania, Tymphæa, and Elimeia.

But this wide extension of Macedonia westward, derived from the conquests of the kings in that direction, did not probably last longer than the tetrarchy. Under Augustus, at least, when the chorography was established, which lasted through the empire, Atintania, Paravæa, and Tymphæa, were all ascribed to Epirus; the natural barrier of Mount Pindus having formed the line of separation between that province and Macedonia.

June 10.—This afternoon, at 5.5, I recross the bridge of Kónitza on my return to Ioánnina, and follow the left bank of the river, where, on either side of the stream, lie many hundreds of large trunks of fir, which were brought down by the

Digitized by Google

plimmýri or flood, besides smaller pieces of other trees. Sawyers' frames are fixed upon the banks of the river, and some of the trees are already cut up into plank. For fifty minutes we follow the same narrow path between the foot of the mountain and the river by which we came, then leave it to the right, and at the same time quitting the river, continue to skirt the foot of the mountain until we arrive in the plain branching south-eastward from that of Kónitza, and which is watered by the great branch of the Viósa named Voidhomáti. After passing some copious sources at the foot of the mountain, we arrive, at a quarter of an hour beyond them, at 6.55, at the bridge of Voidhomáti, where this river issues from the gorges of Zagóri. On either side of the opening are perpendicular cliffs, and below, on the banks of the river, many fine plane-trees, which extend to a considerable distance in the plain. The bridge is of the usual Albanian construction, very high and narrow. The stream, which is about seventy feet wide, is deep and transparent, never fails in summer, and abounds in trout.

The great summit called Lázari above the village of Pápingo appears through the opening. It is one of the highest points of the range of *Pindus*, but apparently not quite so high as Kakardhítza. Though it retains snow all the year, it is always bare in many parts, in consequence of the extreme abruptness of its serrated summit, which is composed entirely of white rocks.

After halting a quarter of an hour we leave the plain to the right, ascend the heights, and

Digitized by Google

soon obtain a view of the mountainous district of Zagóri, where in a hollow just below the great summits is the large village of Pápingo, and nearer to us two others. At 8.10 we arrive at Artzísta, which commands a similar view. The slopes below the village are sown with rye and barley; and a long fine grass is cut in many parts of the surrounding hills, which is dried upon the roofs of the houses. These and the other labours of agriculture are chiefly performed by women, the men being absent the greater part of the year for the purpose of supplying by their industry, as traders, artisans, or labourers, the subsistence which their mountains refuse. They generally return to their native villages in the summer, and remain a month or two.

June 11.—Leaving Artzísta at 7 A. M., we cross a ridge which separates the little territory of that village from a fine vale trending southward, parallel to the plain of Ioánnina, and stretching along the eastern side of Mount Mitzikéli, at a middle elevation between its summit and the level of the lake of Ioánnina. At 8.25 Kato Sudhená is half a mile on the right, and a quarter of an hour farther Apáno Sudhená is on the left. Other small villages of Zagóri are in sight. After having crossed a gorge of Mount Mitzikéli, at 9.55, we enter Dovrá, situated in a hollow on the summit of the ridge, and thus hidden from the plains to the southward and westward. It is remarkable how entirely the boys of these villages adopt from their infancy those habits of idleness which the males of the *Epirote* mountains indulge in when at home,

Digitized by Google

while the girls of a similar age are busily employed in executing the household work, and even the labours of the field. The idleness of the Greek, Albanian, and Vlakhiote mountaineer, however, is not like that of the Turk; he is assiduous, and laborious every where but in his native mountains.

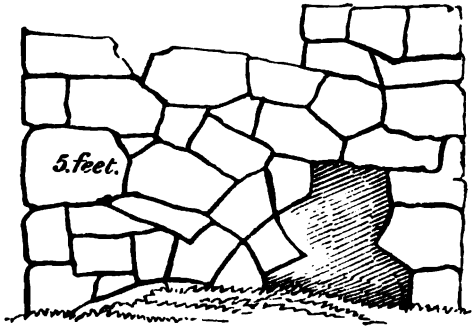
From Dovrá to Ioánnina is a ride of three hours and a half; a tedious descent leads down the side of the mountain to the shore of the lake of Lapsísta, or rather to the narrow marsh which connects that lake with the lake of Ioánnina, and which is here crossed by a bridge or causeway upon arches. At the eastern end of the bridge stands a khan, called that of Alexi, from having been built at the expence of Kyr Alexis Nutzo of Zagóri. A stream flows through the arches from left to right, showing that the origin of the branch of the Kalamá, which flows through the katavóthra of the lake of Lapsísta to Velitzísta, is to the southward of the causeway. A ridge, which descending from the highest summit of Mount Mitzikéli meets the marsh midway between the bridge and the northern extremity of the lake of Ioánnina, seems to form the line of separation between the waters flowing respectively to the lakes of Ioánnina and Lapsísta.

July 3.—The height which rises from the southern extremity of the lake of Ioánnina, and is separated only from it by the causeway which leads to Dhrysko and the pass of Métzovo, and which on every other side is surrounded by the plain, receives the name of Kastrítza from the ruins of an ancient city, which not only covered all the

Digitized by Google

summit, but had a secondary inclosure or fortified suburb on the southern side of the hill, so as to make the whole circumference between two and three miles. Of the suburb the remains consist chiefly of detached fragments, and of remains of buildings strewn upon the land, which is here cultivated. But the entire circuit of the town walls is traceable on the heights, as well as those of the acropolis on the summit. These in some places are extant to the height of eight or ten feet. The masonry is of the second order, or composed of trapezoidal or polyhedral masses, which are exactly fitted to one another without cement, and form a casing for an interior mass of rough stones and mortar. The following I found to be the dimensions of some of the exterior stones: 5 ft. by 3 ft. 5 in. by 2 ft.—5 ft. 4 in. by 3 ft. 1 in. by 2 ft. 2 in.—4 ft. 3 in. by 3 ft. 11 in. by 3 ft. The walls follow the inequalities of the crest of the height, and are flanked at irregular distances with square towers, coeval apparently with the walls, as the angles only are of horizontal courses, the intermediate parts being of polygonal masonry, in the manner shown by the annexed elevation of the face of one of the towers.

Modern repair.



Digitized by Google

Coins and other remains of antiquity are often found on the height as well as in the ploughed lands to the southward. The variety of their dates serves to show that the place has been well inhabited during a long succession of ages; nor less so the repairs, some of Roman and some even of Byzantine times, which the original masonry has evidently undergone. Substructions equally various in their degree of antiquity are to be seen in several parts of the inclosed space, and among them several bottle-shaped cisterns or granaries. A spacious and well-built old monastery, which stands in the middle of the Hellenic enclosure, surrounded by a grove of pirnária, bears the same name as the hill; but although built in great part of ancient materials, it does not preserve a single inscribed or sculptured marble, nor could I find any such relics on any part of the ancient site.

As there can be no doubt that this was one of the leading cities of *Epirus*, and that it flourished about the same period of antiquity as those others, of which the remains subsist at Kastrí near Lélovo, at Zálongo, at St. John and at Kastrí of Fanári, at Paleá Venetía, at Finíki, and several other places, it seems a necessary consequence of identifying the valley of Ioánnina with the *Hellopia* of Hesiod, that the ruins at Kastrítza are those of *Dodona*, though the celebrated temple may perhaps have been in a different situation.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XXXVII.

EPIRUS.

Topography of the district of Ioánnina—Lakes of Ioánnina and Lapsísta, and the intermediate marsh—Katavóthra—Citadel—City—Population—Houses—Schools—Litharítza, and other palaces of Alý Pashá—The island—Productions of the lake—Scenery—Climate—Population and villages of the district—On the site of *Dodona*—Testimony of Homer—Relative situations of *Molossis*, *Thesprotia*, and the *Dodonæa*—Evidence of the site of *Dodona*, from Dionysius, Pindar, Polybius, Hesiod, and others—Objections to other situations in *Epirus*—Adjustment of the *Epirote* tribes on the supposition of *Dodona* having been near Ioánnina—Site of the *Dodonæan* temple—History of *Dodona* and of Ioánnina.

IOANNINA, July, 1809.—Τὰ Ἰωάννινα, as the name of this city occurs in the Byzantine history, and is still written by ecclesiastics, is corrupted in the vulgar idiom to Ἰάννινα, Ἰάνενα, Γιάνενα, or more frequently Γιάννινα, from whence the Italian form Giannina. The ordinary pronunciation conforms to the vulgar spelling, and may be nearly represented in English by Yánnina; but the better educated not only adhere to the orthography derived from the name Ἰωάννης, but preserve also the sound of the omega in vocal utterance.

The valley of Ioánnina is twenty miles in length from north to south, with a breadth of seven in the

Digitized by Google

broadest part, which is about two miles to the southward of the city. It is one of those interior basins not uncommon in the limestone formation of Greece, which are so completely surrounded by mountains that the superfluous waters have no efflux but through the mountains themselves. To this obstruction we may attribute the existence of the two lakes of Lapsísta and Ioánnina, with the intermediate marshes which unite them. From the eastern margin of these waters the mountain Mitzikéli[1] rises with such a degree of steepness, and so near to the city, that it cannot but have a powerful influence upon the climate of Ioánnina: the perpendicular height of the mountain above the lake is about 2500 feet, the summit immediately opposite to the citadel is not more than 6000 yards in a direct line from it; and the breadth of the lake in the same part may be computed at a fourth of that distance. A prolongation of Mitzikéli at a lower elevation, but sufficiently separated from it by a hollow which gives passage to the road into *Thessaly* by Métzovo, is named Dhrysko Anglicè Oakley. This ridge forms the boundary of the southern part of the basin of Ioánnina to the east, and separates it from the narrow vale of the Arta or *Arachthus*.

To the west and south the basin of Ioánnina is inclosed by the chain of rocky heights which I have before described as separated from Mount

[1] Bishop Meletius, who was a native of Ioánnina, writes the name Μουτζουκέλι; but Μιτζικέλι is nearer the real sound, which in vulgar utterance is Mitjkéli, or Mitjkél.

Digitized by Google

Olytzika [1] by a valley watered by a branch of the Kalamá, which falls into that river at Suli of Kúrenda. A continuation of these hills closes the basin of Ioánnina to the north-westward, and embracing the lake of Lapsísta, there unites with the roots of the northern end of Mitzikéli. At the southern extremity the basin is inclosed by the meeting of Mount Dhrysko with some heights connecting it with a long, bare, and lofty ridge, which, under the names of Xerovúni in the north and Kilberíni in the south, extends to the neighbourhood of Arta. Between this ridge and a southerly prolongation of Olýtzika is the long pass which leads from the *Ambracian* Gulf into the plain of Ioánnina, and which is the most remarkable of the great natural communications leading from the western coast into the interior of Greece.

The valley of Ioánnina is divided longitudinally

[1] This is obviously a Sclavonic name, being the same as that of more than one place in Poland. The other principal summits around Ioánnina, on the contrary, seem to be of Greek derivation. Kakardhísta evidently so—Tjumérka perhaps from Κουμέρκι, a Romaic word, signifying a place of toll, which may formerly have existed on a pass leading over this great ridge from the vale of the *Arachthus* into that of the *Achelous*. As μέσον, the middle, or μέσα amidst, often enter into the composition of modern Greek words, and tz a combination unknown to the ancient Greeks, being a common corruption of sound in countries which have been occupied by the Sclavonic race, Metzovo is probably a modification of μεσο-βουνὸν, and Mitzekéli may have been compounded from μέσα τὰ κελλεῖα, as having formerly abounded in ascetic retreats belonging to a monastery which still exists on the summit of the mountain.

Digitized by Google

by a low ridge. The western portion consists of a dry, stony, and not very fertile soil, but which produces wheat, barley, millet, maize, and vines. The eastern plain is occupied entirely, with the exception of a branch from the southern extremity lying between the hill of Kastrítza and Mount Dhrysko, by the two lakes, the intermediate marsh, and the meadows, which border their whole extent, and the breadth of which is much increased in the summer by the retreat of the waters. Near the city and a few villages are gardens and fields of maize; all the remainder is an uninclosed plain of pasture.

Although at first sight there is no appearance of any efflux from the lakes, nor consequently any outlet whatever for the waters which descend from the surrounding mountains into the valley, upon minuter examination it is discovered that each lake has a katavóthra or cavity in the rocks at its extremity, through which a subterraneous current finds its way. The northern lake, commonly called that of Lapsísta from a small village near its margin, almost fills up the northern extremity of the plain in the rainy season, and is then three or four miles in diameter, but in summer it is often reduced to less than half these dimensions. The gradually desiccated ground then furnishes an excellent field for the growth of maize, and a stream is traced flowing from the south-western extremity of the lake into a channel under the rocks in the direction of the copious sources which have been before mentioned as bursting from the

Digitized by Google

side of the hill of Velitzísta, and as descending from thence to the Kalamá.

The lake of Ioánnina is between six and seven miles in length from the hill of Kastrítza at the southern extremity to the village of Pérama, near which begins the narrow marshy tract, five miles in length, which connects it with the lake of Lapsísta. The breadth of the lake varies from about three miles at the southern extremity to less than one opposite to the kastro or citadel of Ioánnina [1], a little to the southward of which it is divided into two channels by the nisí or island [2]. As the only waters which flow into this lake from the surrounding country are the torrents of that part of Mount Mitzikéli which overhangs it, together with those of the heights of St. George on the western side of the city, and a single rivulet from the plain of Barkumádhi at the southern extremity: its principal supplies are evidently derived from subterraneous contributions. Many of these sources are visible at the foot of the mountain, along the margin of the lake, and particularly opposite to the island, at some very copious fountains called Krioneró [3], or the cold water. Though the lake in calm weather appears motionless, the course of its superficial waters to the south is easily perceived in the channel between the island and the foot of the mountain, from whence it may be traced by means of floating bodies moving very slowly towards the

[1] τὸ Κάστρον.
[2] τὸ Νησί.
[3] Κρυονερόν.

Digitized by Google

foot of the hill of Kastrítza, where it enters many small katavóthra in the rocks below the causeway on the road from Ioánnina to Dhrysko. The existence as well of the current in the lake as of the subterraneous discharge, is so well known at Ioánnina, that the channel to the eastward of the island is known by the name of the Trokhotós[1], and the subterraneous channels of Kastrítza, by that of the khonéftres[2] or digesters, though the common Greek word katavóthra[3] is also applied to them.

It would require some very exact observations and experiments to ascertain the course and emissory of this subterraneous stream. It may possibly join the *Arachthus* in the neighbouring part of its course; but a persuasion prevails both at Arta and Ioánnina that it issues at those copious sources which I have described at the pass of Khanópulo near Arta, on the road from thence to Ioánnina; and this opinion is confirmed by the existence in an intermediate position of a succession of deep unfailing pools of water in the southern part of the plain of Ioánnina, which receive the torrents of the surrounding mountains without overflowing. These ponds, therefore, probably discharge a portion of their waters into the subterraneous channel which commences at the khonéftres.

From the silence of ancient authors with regard to the two lakes of the valley of Ioánnina, or the single lake of fifteen miles in length, as it

[1] Τροχοτὸς, from Τρέχω.
[2] αἱ χωνεύτραις.
[3] τὰ Καταβόθρα.

Digitized by Google

may justly be described, an opinion may possibly arise that it had no existence in the time of those writers, but has been formed by the obstruction of the subterraneous channels, of which that branching from the southern lake being, if we suppose its exit to be at Khanópulo, thirty-five miles in length in a direct line, seems peculiarly liable to such an accident in a country very subject to earthquakes. The depth of water, however, in the lake, particularly between the citadel of Ioánnina and the island, where it is never less than thirty feet, will hardly admit of the supposition that there has not always been a considerable body of water in the centre, maintained by the streams which issue from the foot of Mount Mitzikéli, added to the torrents which in this, the most rainy climate in Greece, pour plentifully into it from the vast slope of the mountain.

The two highest summits of the low longitudinal ridge which separates the eastern from the western division of the plain of Ioánnina, are the hill of Paleo-Gardhíki, near its northern extremity, one mile south of Lapsísta, and that of St. George which rises immediately above Ioánnina. The former is between four and five hundred feet above the level of the lake, the latter much less lofty. The city occupies the eastern face of the hill of St. George, together with a narrow level lying between it and the edge of the lake, where a promontory of a quadrangular form advances 500 yards into the lake, and widens to about 600 yards at its eastern or exterior side, where it consists of an abrupt rock higher at the two angles than in the intermediate

Digitized by Google

part, and at those two points rising to about sixty feet above the level of the water. This promontory, which forms the Κάστρον or citadel, is insulated artificially by a wet ditch across the isthmus, within which it is protected by a lofty rampart armed with cannon, and having a single gate in the middle. The other sides of the citadel are defended by high walls, in the few points which admit of access from the lake; and where the shore is most precipitous, by strong substructions upon which various buildings are erected The entire southern shore of the peninsula is thus occupied by the harém of the great palace of Alý Pashá, terminating at the south-eastern cape in a mosque for the use of his household, from whence a covered descent leads to a kiosk built on a level with the surface of the lake, on the eastern side of the peninsula. A long narrow court separates the harém from the public apartments: these form the grand front of the palace which faces the north, and occupies, like the harém, the whole breadth of the promontory. The front consists of a main body with two wings, advancing at right angles to the former. As in Turkish palaces in general, the building has two stories, of which the upper only is inhabited. A double flight of steps in the centre of the building leads up from the court into a wide gallery which communicates with the state apartments.

A great part of the remaining space in the citadel is occupied by the Jewish quarter, which stands near the rampart of the land front, just

Digitized by Google

within the gate[1]. Of these houses the greater part exhibit a picture of misery not to be exceeded in any part of Turkey, many families living all the year in this severe climate in apartments defended only on three sides from the open air. Beyond this unclean quarter, the northern side of the citadel is occupied by a range of official buildings, among which is the fatal prison so much the object of horror throughout the greater part of Northern Greece, and which contains at present 250 persons, some of whom have been two or three years immured here. An irregular esplanade between these buildings and the palace is terminated at the north-eastern angle of the citadel by the principal mosque, surrounded with cypresses, a cemetery, and a small range of buildings for the use of the imáms, with a portico in front of them. This mosque, which is said to have been built, as well as that of the harém at the south-eastern angle, on the site of a Greek church, is a conspicuous object in the beautiful scenery of Ioánnina, and commands one of the finest panoramas in Greece, rich as this country is in the sublime and picturesque. A drawbridge leads out of the gate of the citadel over a small esplanade, which is the ordinary

[1] It is not uncommon among the Turks to allow Jews to occupy their fortresses. This is no mark of respect, because a Jew is an object of greater contempt among them than a Christian; but they are less hated because less feared, and receive some favour because the Greek Christians are known to be particularly odious to them.

Digitized by Google

place of execution, into the bazár. This is an extensive quarter in the centre of the lowest part of the town, and consists of several narrow, intricate, dirty, ill-paved streets, occupied entirely by shops. From either end of it along the margin of the lake, branches a street occupied by the poorer classes of Greeks, and which, though not in its appearance of misery to be compared to that of the Jews, is the abode of more real poverty. All the better houses of the town are towards the slope of the hill of St. George.

Ioánnina contains about 1000 Musulman houses, 2000 Greek, and 200 Jewish. The Musulman families are not more numerous than the houses, but of Greeks there are supposed to be near 3000 families, and of Jews not less than four to each house upon an average. The Christians have six or seven churches served by fifty papádhes, or secular priests, who attend also to the private religious observances of the Greek families. The bishop and the priests attached to the metropolitan church, are, as usual, of the monastic order. There are sixteen mosques, including the two in the citadel, where the Jews have two synagogues. Since Ioánnina has been the residence and capital of Alý Pashá, its permanent population has been gradually in part exchanged for that of a more transitory kind. The town is now constantly full of the natives of other parts of Greece and Albania, attracted here by the affairs or the expenditure arising from its being the seat of government of a large portion of Greece and Albania. Many fami-

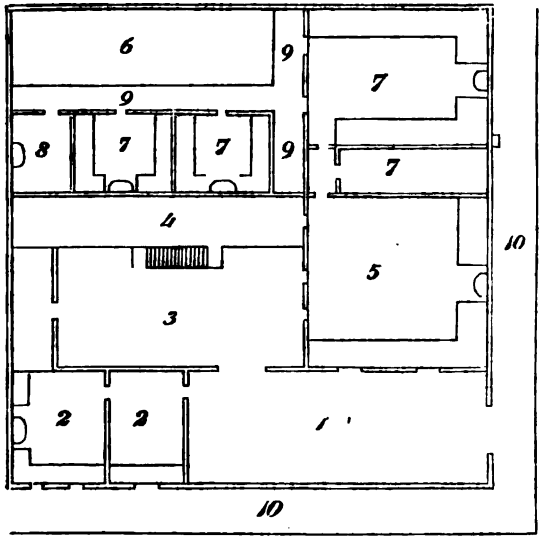
Digitized by Google

lies from distant parts of the country are forced to reside here as a security for the fidelity of their relatives who may be in the Vezír's employment either here or in other parts of his dominions. The household establishment and troops of the Vezír and his sons, together with the Albanian soldiery, who are constantly here in their passage from one part of the country to another, increase the moveable population, but probably have not much augmented the whole amount beyond that which Ioánnina contained fifty years ago, as many of the old families, both Greek and Turkish, have removed elsewhere to avoid the perils and extortion of the present government, and particularly the inconvenience of lodging Albanians, from which the Turkish houses are not exempt.

Some of the Greek and Turkish houses in the higher parts of the town are among the best that are to be found in the provincial towns of European Turkey, though their external appearance gives little indication of it, in consequence of the custom which prevails here, as in other parts of Turkey, of avoiding the appearance of opulence, of having few windows towards the street, and of guarding them with iron bars of the rudest workmanship.

The annexed plan of the house which I occupy will render the description of it more intelligible.

Digitized by Google



1. Outer court.
2, 2. Chambers on a level with it.
3. Middle court.
4. Stairs and principal gallery.
5. Chamber of reception of the master.
6. Inner court.
7, 7, 7, 7. Apartments of the harém.
8. Kitchen.
9, 9, 9. Galleries of the harém.
10, 10. Streets.

This house was built by a Turkish bey, upon whose demise without heirs, or at least without any whose claims the Vezír thought proper to admit, it was seized upon by his Highness. It is situated at the angle of two streets, covers a square of about 100 feet the side, and consists, as usual, of two stories, of which the upper only is inhabited by the family.

The house is divided into three parts, of which the inner was the harém: in the middle the master received and entertained visitors, and the outer

Digitized by Google

served for persons in waiting and their horses, or for strangers, who were not admitted any further into the house. In each division is a court open to the sky. A wide gate, very near the angle of the two streets, sufficient for the admission of wheel-carriages, but used only for horses, there being not even a cart like those of Thessaly in the district of Ioánnina, leads into the outer court, at the end of which are two small chambers on a level with the court; these served to lodge strangers and persons who came to the Bey from the country on business. A second wide gate leads into the middle court, and opposite to it is a flight of steps, which is open laterally to the court, but is protected by a roof and ascends into the principal gallery. These steps are the only stairs in the house, except a sort of ladder, from the third court into the gallery of the harém. The middle court is paved with stone; the two others covered only with coarse gravel. According to Turkish custom, persons of superior or equal rank to the Bey rode up to the steps across the middle court, after which their horses were led back to the outer; but inferiors entered the middle court on foot. The gallery, which is about fifty feet by twelve, and forms an agreeable apartment in summer, opens at the end, to the right, into the chamber of reception, and leads, at the same extremity, by a passage at right angles to the great gallery, into two smaller ones looking down upon the third court and leading into the apartments of the harém. The pavement of the middle court extends under the chamber of reception; this in summer is the only place of refuge from

Digitized by Google

the heat, which, when no clouds intervene, completely penetrates, by the hour of two in the afternoon, all the upper apartments, which have nothing above a slight ceiling but a roof of concave tiles; so that towards the evening every part of the house is intolerably hot, and more than half the night is required to restore it to the temperature of the atmosphere. Such a flimsy construction is of course equally incapable of keeping out the cold in winter, against which there is no complete protection in such dwellings but a clothing of fur. A shed at the end of the middle court, opposite to the chamber of reception, is one of the stables: the other is below the gallery of the smaller apartments of the harém; both are open towards the respective courts, and here the horses stand on the bare stone pavement without any litter, and are watered only in the evening, after which their barley is given. Instead of the chopped straw, which is the common food of horses in Turkey during the day, hay is here substituted, and the quantity of barley at night is smaller.

No windows in the house look to the street, except those of the two rooms on a level with the outer court, together with a single window in one corner of the principal apartment of the harém, which is closely latticed, but projects from the wall so as to afford a view of the street in either direction. A dim light, however, is derived from the street in the two principal apartments by means of small fixed panes of stained glass not far below the

Digitized by Google

ceiling. These, with the painted ceilings and wainscots, some parts of which are very gaudy, are the only decorations in the house. All these windows look into the courts, and are closed with wooden shutters within which are bars of iron. In general, the better houses of Ioánnina have an inner window-frame behind the bars, containing small panes of a very bad kind of glass brought from the Adriatic; this addition, which is seldom seen in Asiatic Turkey or the warmer climates of Greece, is here rendered necessary by the long winter and the rudeness of the climate in every season.

The best Greek houses differ not much in plan from the Turkish just described; but they are rather more comfortable, partly because the Greeks, especially the travelled merchants, have acquired some of the feelings of civilized Europe in this respect, and partly from the difference which is produced in the distribution and economy of the family, from the women not being so much concealed. There is seldom more than one court, and a small one perhaps at the back of the house; but the court is more spacious, with a wider and more ostentatious flight of steps leading to a larger wooden gallery into which all the principal apartments open. The gallery is supported by an arcade of stone continued perhaps along the side of the yard, in which is the gate leading into the street. A small garden sometimes occupies one side of the court, and at the end of the capacious gallery there is generally a raised kiosk. The gallery and kiosk

Digitized by Google

are the usual residence of the family in summer; and here some of the men generally pass the night in that season. As usual both in Greek and Turkish houses, the sofá is the only furniture in sight, the bedding which is spread upon the sofá at night being deposited in closets on the sides of the chambers, and the small table with the round metal tray, which forms the only apparatus for meals, being put aside also when not in immediate use. In these respects Greek customs are nearly the same at Ioánnina as in other parts of Turkey, though in some houses a table and chairs of European form are to be found, and Venetian or German mirrors are commonly suspended on the walls. In one or more of the rooms hangs a picture of the Virgin, with a lamp perpetually burning before it; and generally that of the saint whose name is borne by the master of the house, or who, for some reason, is a favourite. Some of these pictures are covered (except the face) with silver, like those in the churches. All the houses of Ioánnina are constructed in the lower story of small stones rudely squared and very ill cemented; the upper apartments are in general of wood. Every large house is furnished with a well, affording, at no great depth, an abundant supply of excellent water, which is very cold even in the midst of summer. But Ioánnina is otherwise well situated to afford the luxury of cool liquors—Mitzikéli and Olýtzika supplying snow in the early part of the season, and the mountain of Syráko to the latest period.

The domestic manners of the Greeks of Ioán-

Digitized by Google

nina have in general been very little affected by the long residence of many of the merchants in foreign countries, and, as in other parts of Turkey, seem not to have undergone any great alteration since the time of Homer. That they are almost identical with those of the Turks, except in those points in which their respective religions have drawn a line, or given rise to a difference, may be attributed to the tincture of Oriental customs, which is traceable in the language and manners of the Greeks of every age, arising from their position on the borders of the eastern world. But though the resemblance may thus partly be traced to a common origin, the greater part of the Turkish customs have probably been adopted by the Turks in the progress of their conquest of Asiatic and European Greece, during which they gradually exchanged the rude and simple habitudes of Tartary for the refinement and luxuries of the Byzantine empire.

The Greek women of Ioánnina are as uneducated as the Turkish, and are held in that degree of subserviency which is their common lot throughout Greece, and which seems indeed to have been their ordinary condition among the ancients. Little respect is paid to age, especially when the parents, as often happens, are in part maintained by their children, and live in the same house. Girls are never married without a portion; to provide for which, and to make a suitable alliance for their daughters is the most anxious care of the parents, and is generally done without consulting the girl, or even allowing her to see her future

Digitized by Google

lord and master. Brothers often supply their sisters with portions; and it is even common among the young Greeks to refrain from taking a wife themselves until their sisters are married. Young women seldom or never go out of the house before marriage, except to church, which is generally in the night. When they begin to visit, it is considered that themselves and parents have given up all hope of matrimony; but they are the more unwilling to come to this determination, as parents, aided by the custom of seclusion, sometimes succeed in concealing the age of their daughters. From such manners naturally arise ignorance, inelegance, and an early decay of beauty. The walk of the women is particularly uncouth, not so much caused by their confinement or their dress as by a persuasion prevailing among all but the peasantry, who walk as nature has taught them, that a rolling, waddling gait, is a proof of refinement; so that it is a compliment to tell a lady that she walks like a goose [1]. The common employment of the women, besides the usual domestic occupations, are the embroidery of coarse German muslins, in imitation of those of Constantinople.

[1] This is not peculiar to Epirus. The following is an Athenian love-song:—

Νὰ χαμηλώναν τὰ βουνὰ,
Νὰ βλέπω τὴν Ἀθήναν,
Νὰ βλέπω τὴν ἀγάπην μου
Ποῦ πορπατεῖ σὰν χῆνα.

Levelled be the mountains, that I may see Athens; that I may see my love, who walks about like a goose.

Digitized by Google

One of the chief distinctions of Ioánnina is its two colleges for education, and the libraries belonging to them. There is a collection of books also at the metropolitan church, but the Fathers and the Byzantine history are almost the only works which the kaloghéri have to boast of. At the head of the old school, the origin of which is beyond tradition, is Cosmá Baláno, a very respectable old man, whose father was master before him. In this establishment, which lately has derived its chief support from the Zosimádhes, grammar and the usual Hellenic authors are taught, as in many of the schools of Greece. In the other, 100 scholars are instructed in Greek, history, geography, and philosophy. The latter college was founded by Pikrozói, a native merchant, who bequeathed 800 purses, the interest of which, together with other donations, affords a salary of 2000 piastres to the ἀρχιδιδάσκαλος Athanasius Psalídha, besides supporting two assistants, and giving a small yearly donation to each scholar. The same Pikrozói built a church and hospital at Ioánnina. The total of the διάφορον, or annual interest of the funds of the two schools, is now 60 purses. Besides these are several small grammar schools, kept by individuals generally of the secular priesthood, whose acquirements do not extend beyond the Hellenic of the Greek Testament. In the midst of summer it is not uncommon to see one of these teachers seated under a tree in the suburbs of the town surrounded by thirty or forty scholars. They receive generally a piastre a week from the poorest of their scholars.

It is said that one of the most efficient in-

Digitized by Google

strumeńts in persuading the Greeks to establish schoóls as the best mode of improving the nation, was a monk of Apókuro named Kosmá, who during eight years travelled over the country as a preacher, and made this subject a principal theme of his discourses. He was in other respects also a reformer, as he succeeded in persuading the women of Zagóri to lay aside a great shapeless head-dress, similar to those of some of the *Ægæan* islands, for a simple kerchief. He fell a martyr to his zeal, having been put to death in 1780 by Kurt Pashá.

It is probably rather a consequence of the Vezír's indifference to the distant consequences of his measures, and with a view to some supposed immediate advantage, than with any better feeling, that he has always encouraged education among the Greeks. He frequently recommends it to the attention of the bishops, the generality of whom thinking only of accumulation and acting exactly like Turks in office, are too much disposed to neglect it. To the old schoolmaster, Baláno, he often holds the same language, exhorting him to instruct the youth committed to his care with diligence, to give them a good example, and never to entertain any doubts of receiving his countenance and protection. His oppression is light upon monasteries compared with that which he exercises upon villages and individuals, and he has lately in particular favoured the monastery of St. Naoum, between Korytzá and 'Akhrida. Not that he is ever at any personal expence on these occasions: for example, when a rock not long ago, fell upon the convent of St. Pan-

Digitized by Google

deleímona, in the island of the lake of Ioánnina, he ordered the expence of the repairs to be defrayed by an assessment upon some of the chief Greeks of Ioánnina; and Kyr D. A. the most eminent merchant here, having recently given him some cause of discontent, became the principal sufferer by the fall of the rock.

The Greek spoken at Ioánnina is of a more polished kind than is usually heard in any part of Greece Proper; its phrases are more Hellenic, and its construction more grammatical. This is a natural consequence of the schools long established here, and of the residence of many merchants, and others who have travelled or dwelt in civilized Europe. The observation applies however to the Greeks alone. Among the Turks and Musulman Albanians every tenth word of the Greek which they speak is Turkish, and this among the native Mahometans is often all the Turkish they know. In *Epirus*, as in every other part of Greece, some words remain in use among the vulgar, which though not employed elsewhere, nor even entering into the more polished language of the better classes on the spot, are of pure Hellenic derivation; they may not be found perhaps in any extant ancient author, but have been preserved in the same manner as in every country ancient forms are sometimes employed by rustics which have long been obsolete in cities. Among those in the district of Ioánnina may be mentioned τροχοτὸς, the current, or narrow part of the lake, σκιάδιον, the broad straw hat worn by the peasants in time of harvest, but

Digitized by Google

which the fishermen of the lake, who wear the same kind of covering, call from its material καλαμία. The words ἀντλῶ, ἀντλία, τροπωτῆρι, are employed by the fishermen of the lake as well as by the seamen of the *Ægæan*. In Zagóri, θύρα is used for door, not πόρτα, which is the common word in every part of Greece; προσθηλάζω is employed in the same district when a lamb is put to a ewe that is not its mother; κατεθροήθηκαν τὰ ὀρνίθια, the fowls are disturbed, is another Zagorite expression. The long residence of the Sclavonic race in this part of Greece has however left its traces in the dialect, but still more perhaps in the names of places, and in the termination and mode of pronouncing those which are of Greek derivation. Many Italian words have also been introduced into the vernacular tongue from the neighbouring islands, and by means of the commerce of Ioánnina with Italy.

The appearance of Ioánnina has been greatly improved, since I was here in the year 1805, by the large serái, which the Vezír has erected upon the hill of Litharítza, according to the intention which he then communicated to me. In its form and decorations it is preferable to any other of his Highness's buildings, and though not so spacious as the Sultan's palaces on the Bosphorus, deserves still greater admiration in respect of the surrounding scenery. Standing upon the summit of a fortress which now incloses the hill of Litharítza, it forms by its light Chinese architecture a striking contrast with the solid plainness of the basis on which it rests. The parapets of the fortress are armed

Digitized by Google

with cannon, and the lower part of it consists of casemated apartments, so that it may stand a siege after all the upper structure is destroyed. Another building with which Alý has adorned Ioánnina, though not adding like Litharítza new embellishment to the beautiful scenery, because it is concealed by trees, is a large kiosk situated in the midst of a rude park or garden in the northern suburb on the slope of the hill of St. George, where he has built also a small palace, and keeps some deer, a lion, and other wild animals. The Kiosk is a circle having a diameter of about 250 feet, the central half of which is paved with marble, and consists in the middle, as usual in Turkish kiosks, of a basin of water. In the centre is a rude model of a fortress mounted with cannon, which when the fountain is at work spout forth water, and are answered by a similar discharge from *besieging* cannon round the edge of the basin. If instead of this silly bauble in the childish taste of the Turks, there had been some more simple and elegant fountain, the building would have been as perfect a work of its kind as can be conceived. As it is, I doubt whether the Sultan himself possesses any kiosk more elegant, or more agreeable in the heat of summer. The space around the central pavement is divided into eight parts. One of these is an entrance hall, opposite to which, in a corresponding recess, is a narrow staircase and an exit to the garden. The stairs lead up to a chamber having a window which looks down into the kiosk, but is covered with a lattice painted with a landscape in such a manner

Digitized by Google

as effectually to conceal the existence of the window from those in the kiosk. It is of course intended for any of his women whom he may favour by bringing them here, and who may from thence see and hear what is passing below. Of the other six recesses, the two opposite ones of which the axis is at right angles to the two first mentioned, are vacant spaces paved with marble. The others are four apartments splendidly furnished with sofás on three sides, and on the fourth open towards the fountain.

On the western side of the fortress of Litharítza, on an eminence almost equally high, stands the serái of Mukhtár Pashá, and to the southward of it, in a lower situation, that of Velý Pashá. They are both on the edge of the great burying ground, on the southern side of the city, and not far from the shore of the lake. These houses of the two sons of Alý resemble those of Turks of high rank in other parts of the empire, except that the furniture and decorations of Velý's are a little more European than those generally seen in Turkish palaces. Mukhtár's, on the contrary, is correctly in the Turkish taste. The walls display in several places, both within and without, large paintings in their hideous style, representing actions alluding to Mukhtár's several qualities of governor, landholder, and hunter;—such as the decapitation of a Greek, the operations of agriculture, and the sports of the field. Besides the seráis of the Kastro, and Litharítza, and the garden of the north-western suburb, Alý has a large house near the northern extremity of the lake on its eastern shore,

Digitized by Google

at the village of Pérama, where, standing on a rocky insulated height at the foot of Mount Mitzikéli, it commands a fine view of the city, with the mountains towards Arta in the distance. It is particularly agreeable in the spring, as it looks down, in an opposite direction, upon that beautiful meadow which extends from Pérama as far as the lake of Lapsísta, and which then, free from inundation, begins to be clothed with herbage, and a profusion of gay or odoriferous herbs.

The northern and western sides of the hill of St. George are covered with vineyards, which extend also into the plain. Among these vineyards are seen the remains of the intrenchments which were thrown up in the year 1798-9, when all the inhabitants, without exception, were forced to work with the shovel or basket. The bishop and the Pashá's sons were required to set the example. The intrenchment was carried in a semi-circle round the hill of St. George, terminating at either end in the lake, so as to inclose a chapel of St. Nicolas beyond the northern suburb, as well as the whole of the suburb on the south, which lies beyond the burying-ground on the road to Arta. The entire length of the entrenchment was near five miles.

The Nisí, or Island of Ioánnina, is half a mile long and one-third as much in breadth. It contains a house for the Vezír, five small monasteries, and a village of 100 houses, inhabited by fishermen, who pay 15,000 piastres a year to the Vezír for the monopoly of the fishery, besides which they are subject to the kharátj, and to a

Digitized by Google

fixed contribution of fire-wood for the use of the Serái. The village is situated amidst gardens and plane-trees; and the neatness of the cottages is such as would be sought for in vain among the lower classes of Ioánnina, or the villages of its district, or indeed in any part of the surrounding country, except among the Vlakhiotes of Mount *Pindus*. The women spin cotton, and soak and bleach the cotton cloths, which are made in the city. There are only two or three monks in the island, the monasteries being now used for the lodging of prisoners collected from every part of the Vezír's dominions. As the confinement in the island, compared with that in the castle, is health and liberty, it is inflicted only for offences of a lighter kind, or upon those who are detained as hostages for absent relatives. The largest monastery is now occupied by the women and children of the Suliótes, who fled to the Seven Islands when Suli was taken. Among them is a daughter of Bótzari, an interesting child about ten years of age. These poor creatures are allowed only a ration of koromána, and for the rest are dependent upon charity. In the monastery of St. Elias, on the highest point of the island, the wife and children of Zafiráki of Niáusta, whom I knew at Saloníki, have been confined for the last four years.

The commonest fish in the lake are carp and eels; but there are also pike, perch, and tench, and a small fry called τζίμαις, supposed to be a species of perch, which are particularly caught in the Trokhotó, in fine nets of silk made for the purpose. Water serpents are numerous, and may very com-

Digitized by Google

monly be seen in calm warm weather swimming on the surface. Their haunts are along the margin and at the foot of Mount Mitzikéli, where I have often witnessed them suddenly darting upon the frogs, which equally abound there: though the frog died instantly, I could never perceive that the serpent swallowed it. All the shallow parts of the lake, particularly northward of the citadel and around the edges, abound in tall reeds and rushes, intermixed with the nymphæa both with the yellow and white blossom: the first called *νούφαρον*, the latter *ζαμπάκι*. Among the rushes the most common is the *παπύριον*, from whence *τὰ παπύρια* is the term in common use to express the parts of the lake overgrown with reeds and rushes. The papýri has a single round stem without leaves, often ten feet high, of a bright green, soft, and tapering to the top, where it ends in a small tuft. It is full of a honey-combed pith, and is used to make a very useful kind of mat which forms the ordinary carpeting of the houses of Ioánnina, and is exported to Corfú and other places. The reeds of the lake are chiefly used for roofing the inferior class of houses, and for making the huts and sheds of the shepherds. The papýria shelter a few cormorants and cranes, and an immense number of wild ducks of several varieties. Some of these furnish food to the birds of prey of the kite and vulture kind, which build on Mount Mitzikéli, and are often seen soaring above its sides; but the great body of the ducks are decimated by the sportsmen of Ioánnina, who are continually following them in monóxyla. Passages are cut through the papýria

Digitized by Google

for this purpose, and the pursuit furnishes sport occasionally to the Vezír, and still oftener to Mukhtár Pashá, the keenest sportsman of the family, and who allows the public to take their pleasure in the lower part of the lake, provided the northern, which has the best cover, is reserved for himself. When the Vezír goes forth on a shooting excursion, the lake presents a most animated scene; every boat and monóxylo being employed in surrounding the papýria, and in raising the game for him, while every gun in Ioánnina is employed in bringing down the birds.

The elevation of Ioánnina above the sea, probably not much less than 1000 feet, its inclosure of mountains, covered for more than half the year with snow, the frequent showers which refresh it throughout the spring and early summer, added to its marshes and inundated meadows, give it an agricultural character, different from that of Greece in general. The hay harvest in particular is upon a scale not to be seen in any other part of the country. Between the middle and end of June, a long growth of grass, covering the great level which borders the marshes on either side of the city, is mowed, dried, and carried into the town, where it is sold for five piastres a horse-load, the animal being loaded to the utmost. The hay time is precisely the season when showers occur almost daily, and generally fall very heavy. But it is not every day that the clouds, which are always first collected upon the mountains, discharge their contents so low as Ioánnina; and so powerful is the sun at that season, that a single

Digitized by Google

fine day is sufficient to render the grass dry enough for carrying. The mowers are chiefly from the Tomaro-khória, and are paid 100 parás a day, with wine. The harvest of barley and wheat immediately follows that of hay, and is generally finished by the middle of July. In this fatiguing operation, hazardous to the health, and sometimes immediately fatal in consequence of the power of the sun, field labourers, generally satisfied with 25 parás a day, receive 40 with wine; many women are employed, whose hire is equal to that of the strongest palikári. The tillage is negligent, the grain inferior to that of Thessaly and the Moréa, and so much mixed with weeds, that the bread made from it is often unwholesome, particularly in consequence of the narcotic effects of the well-known lollium temulentum, called by the Greeks Γέρα, anciently αἶρα. At the end of the wheat harvest the western division of the valley has as parched an appearance as any plain in Greece. But the ὀψίμια, or latter harvest, which consists of millet and maize, soon chequers the plain with green; and by the time these are reaped in the end of September, the rains have already refreshed the herbage. The edges of the marshes and the heights which surround the basin of Ioánnina on every side supply constant pasture to cattle, sheep, and goats. Some of these flocks belong to the young Pashás, others to individuals of Ioánnina; those of the Vezír himself, especially his sheep, are so numerous as to require a greater range of pasture. The shepherd receives from his employers 30 piastres for six months' care

Digitized by Google

of a κοπάδι or flock, of which the usual number is 200, often belonging to several different proprietors. Those who take care of oxen have 3½ piastres for six months for each pair, besides two okes of bread per diem; all the herdsmen receive also an allowance of vinegar in summer, and of wine in winter.

The climate of Ioánnina renders it more subject to the diseases of Northern than of Southern Europe. In consequence of the post meridian showers the heat is seldom very oppressive until the middle of July, and the air is sensibly cooler in the beginning of September. That long continuance of heat, therefore, which is so pernicious to northern constitutions in many parts of Greece, and the South of Europe, rendering the body unable to resist the effects of the marshy exhalations, or of the first chilly breezes of autumn, is much abridged at Ioánnina, and seldom felt for more than six or seven weeks. Even in that interval it does not often happen that the thermometer of Fahrenheit is above 85° in the shade, though sometimes for several days it rises about 2 P.M. to 95°, and even 100°.

But though the climate of Ioánnina, notwithstanding its marshes, is not generally unhealthy, the lower part of the town forms an exception: here the action of the sun upon the stagnant borders of the lake, and the effluvia of putrid matter which quickly accumulates in the streets when the rains have ceased, being aided by poverty, wretched lodgings, and unwholesome

Digitized by Google

diet, dysentery prevails, as well as autumnal fevers, which if not immediately fatal, are often the commencement of obstinate intermittents, and other disorders. A peculiarity of Ioánnina, or at least of the upper part of the town, is the absence of gnats, at least of that kind which is so tormenting in other southern countries, and an abundance of which is considered by Italians as a sure sign of mal-aria. During two summers which I have passed here, I have never discovered any, though particularly sensible to their tormenting attacks, and have even found a mosquito curtain unnecessary. But if there is something adverse to the propagation of the venomous gnat in the air of this place, it is not so with other winged insects, of which such clouds rise from the borders of the lake in the summer evenings, that unless when the rain was falling, scarcely an evening has passed in which my candles have not been repeatedly extinguished by the immense numbers of them attracted by the flame, particularly a small kind of gnat. Among the nuisances of vermin, are brown rats of the largest kind, and it is almost needless to add, bugs, since not a house in Turkey, except in some of the mountain villages, is, in summer at least, exempt from these pests, or from fleas.

So strongly does a first view of the low situation of the greater part of the town on the borders of an apparently stagnant lake, surrounded by marshes, give the impression of unhealthiness, that it was with great difficulty I could persuade the celebrated Roman artist Lusieri, who arrived

Digitized by Google

here in the latter end of June, to prolong his stay beyond a day or two, so much was he alarmed at those which his Italian opinions led him to consider as infallible symptoms of malaria. But the picturesque beauties of the place had such a powerful attraction for him that he was induced to hazard a longer visit, until his fears having been calmed by my own experience, and that of the Ioannites in general, he prolonged his stay for six weeks. The longer he remained the more he was impressed with the feeling, that in the great sources of his art, the sublime and beautiful, and in their exquisite mixture and contrast, Ioánnina exceeds every place he had seen in Italy or Greece. Early every day he took a station which he had selected, on the side of the hill of St. George, commanding a view of the lake, the citadel, the palaces of the Vezír, and the houses of the town, mixed in the most picturesque manner, with gardens, mosques, and cypress groves; and where the distance comprehends the mountains Tzumérka, Kakardhísta, Syráko, and Mitzikéli. He had not only made considerable progress in this drawing on a very large scale with his usual minuteness, although the afternoon's thunder-storm seldom allowed him to resume his labour after our dinner hour at 2 o'clock, but had also found time before his departure to design the outlines of three other views, one from the foot of Mount Mitzikéli, opposite to the citadel, containing Mount Olýtzika in the back-ground; a second from the southern extremity of the lake near Kastrítza, and a third

Digitized by Google

of the ruins near Dhramisiús, taken on a large scale from the summit of the theatre[1].

The view of Ioánnina, which formed the splendid subject of the first-mentioned drawing, is not very different from that which is presented to the traveller as he attains the crest of the ridge of St. George, in approaching the city from Filiátes or Paramythía, where it has the advantage of taking him by surprise, the lake and town having been hidden from view by the hill. The sudden display of beautiful scenery which there presents itself is the more remarkable, as the first view of the plain of Ioánnina on that route is dreary, and with the exception of the sublime outline of the horizon, by no means agreeable. The three other approaches are, 1st. from the Arta road, which after traversing a suburb consisting of a broad street, inhabited in great part by gipsies, then crosses the great cemetery on that side, leaving the palaces of Mukhtár and Velý on the right, and enters the town between the southern end of the hill of St. George and that of Litharítza. Here also the view of the greater part of the town is a surprise to the traveller, though some of the great objects, the lake, the castle, and Litharítza, being gradually brought into view, render the impression less forcible than on the approach from Paramythía.

[1] These and the entire collection, belonging to the Earl of Elgin, which remained in Lusieri's hands at the time of his death, were lost in H. M. ship Cambrian, at Karabúsa, in 1828.

Digitized by Google

From the northern route leading into Ioánnina from Skodra, Berát, and Premedí, the view of the city is also extremely beautiful, as the traveller approaches under an abrupt cliff in the hill of St. George, where the meadows and gardens at the head of the lake are on the left, and in front the island, with the kastro and town in profile, and the great ridges of *Pindus* in the background.

In every view of the city and its immediate vicinity, the most remarkable object is Mount Mitzikéli, the gigantic proportions of which, resulting from its steepness and proximity, are a feature peculiar to this city. The lofty and graceful outline of the mountain, the deep furrows of its torrents, and the terrors of its precipices, are admirably contrasted with the plain and lake on one side, and on the other with the distant summits of *Pindus*, thus forming between the two an object of intermediate distance and comparison, which completes the harmony of the entire landscape. Although advanced considerably to the westward of the central line of *Pindus*, Mitzikéli is too near to it to be long free from vapours, when a southerly or westerly wind caps all the great summits, or when the regular diurnal changes in summer cover the *Pindus* with clouds. Mitzikéli then often throws the city into shade while the plain is in sunshine, and it is the cause of the frequent thunder-storms to which Ioánnina is subject, especially in the spring and early summer. The clouds, extending from the higher ridges, first collect on the summit of Mitzikéli, and then gradually de-

Digitized by Google

scend its western side, until suspended over the town, they are dissolved in torrents of rain, generally accompanied with lightning, discharged from so short a distance as often to cause fatal accidents, and accompanied with peals of thunder, which are reverberated from the mountain with tremendous violence, and are not exceeded in intensity even in the tropics. Subject as *Epirus* in general is to those atmospheric changes which generate thunder, and which caused Jupiter Tonans to be the presiding deity, there is no inhabited situation in the province to be compared to Ioánnina itself, for its rapid transitions of temperature and the frequency of thunder-storms. These in the winter may often be witnessed accompanying a heavy fall of snow.

It is said that the side of Mount Mitzikéli in face of the city was formerly covered with trees, instead of being, as at present, totally bare, except in the lower parts of the ravines near the lake, where some underwood still remains; and this supposition is the more probable, as the eastern side of the mountain, and its continuation Mount Dhrysko, are still well wooded like all the ridges of *Pindus*, except where they consist of rocky pinnacles, incapable of vegetation. The forests nearest to the town were naturally the first to disappear before the demand of so large a city; as the distance from whence the fuel is to be conveyed has increased, so has the prevalence of the use of charcoal, made in the woods, and brought to the town at a small expence. The *court* however still consumes a great quantity of wood;

Digitized by Google

and one of the severest oppressions to which the villages in the district are subject is their obligation to deliver it in the city at their own expence. Every village in its turn, whether in the vicinity of a forest or not, is liable to this imposition.

The kazá of Yénya (as the Turks call Ioánnina) is divided into four nahiyé, named Malakássi [1], Kúrendo [2], Tzerkovísta [3], and Zagóri [4].

1. Malakássi, or Malakásh, according to the vulgar pronunciation of the ending, comprehends all the southern part of the valley of Ioánnina, beginning from Rapsísta and Katziká inclusive, extending from thence southward to the boundaries of Arta, and eastward to those of Métzovo and Zagóri. The principal places in Malakássi are Kalarýtes and Syráko, then Kótzista of 100 houses on the northern face of the mountain of Syráko; Bozgóli, similarly situated; Khrysovítza, on the opposite side of the Métzovo branch of the Arta; Klaziádhes, on the northern end of Mount Dhrysko, and Lozétzi, the largest of the Katzano-khória. The latter villages, otherwise called Tomaro-khória, are 12 in number, and are situated on the mountain which connects Dhrysko with Xerovúni, the greater part of them on elevated levels or slopes above the right bank of the Arta. The total number of villages in Malakássi is 49, and the houses 2350.

2. Kúrendo contains 71 villages, and 1870 houses; it comprehends the northern part of the valley of Ioánnina, together with the hills which

[1] Μαλακάσσι.
[2] Κούρεντος.
[3] Τζερκοβίστα.
[4] Ζαγόρι.

Digitized by Google

border it on the west and north, extending westward to the confines of Filiátes and Dhélvino, and to the north-west as far as Zagorianí and Kalbáki included, where it borders on Zagóri. Further south it is separated from the same sub-district by the ridge of Mitzikéli. The largest villages are Kúrenda, consisting of several makhalás containing altogether 100 families; Pérama and Zélova, near Ioánnina; Zitza, already described; Kartzúnista, Zélista, and Granitzopúla; the three last lying in that succession, in the direction from Ioánnina towards Filiátes.

3. Tzerkovísta contains only 22 villages and 460 houses; it comprehends the villages situated on the eastern slope of Mount Olýtzika, together with those between its southern extremity and the boundaries of Arta. The largest is Sklivanéus, on the left of the road from Ioánnina to Pendepigádhia near the latter, and containing 70 houses.

4. Zagóri occupies all the highlands of *Pindus* included between the central ridge and the crest of Mitzikéli, together with two villages which lie to the westward of the line of Mitzikéli, namely, Ravénia and Mavrovúni. Zagóri extends northward to the limits of Kónitza, where Pápingo is the northernmost village, and to the south borders on Métzovo and Malakássi. It consists chiefly of two parallel valleys, with a separating ridge named Paleovúni, which is intermediate between Mitzikéli and the central *Pindus*. In the valley next to Mitzikéli is the northern branch of the *Arachthus* flowing to the south. The eastern valley is watered by the *Aous*, flowing in the opposite direction, and

Digitized by Google

which receives a western branch partly from the north-eastern extremity of Mitzikéli, and partly from Paleovúni. I have already remarked, that this latter seems to be the mountain, which by Livy is named Lingon. Zagóri contains 3500 houses in 42 villages. The largest are Laísta, of 200 houses, towards the source of the Viósa and Tzopélovo of the same number on the northern side of Mount Paleovúni. Dovrá, on the northern extremity of Mount Mitzikéli, has 150 houses. The upper and lower Sudhená, a little northward of Dovrá, contain more than 300 between them. The chief villages in the valley of the northern *Arachthus* are Laskovétzi, Frangádhes, and Kalotá, all on the side of Mount Mitzikéli. Twelve of the villages of Zagóri are inhabited by Vlakhiotes, the remainder by Greeks, but the name of the district and of many of the villages show that at one time it was a great Sclavonian settlement. Like the Vlakhiotes and Christian mountaineers of Albania, the people derive their subsistence from trade, or as artisans in various parts of Turkey.

The Vezír's agent in the government of Zagóri is Alexódhimos, son of Alexis, of Kapéssovo, some of whose ancestors have held the same office. He has a large house also at Ioánnina, is engaged in commerce there like several others of the principal Zagorítes, is put to all sorts of expence by Alý, and in return extracts all he can from his government. With the exception of Kalarýtes, Syráko, Matzúki, and the Vlakhiote villages of Zagóri, all the others in the Kazá of Ioánnina are peopled by Greeks. Some of them are Spahilíks in the hands of

Digitized by Google

Turkish beys at Ioánnina, which the Vezír loses no opportunity of obtaining possession of. The total number of houses in the four districts of Ioánnina amounting to about 8,200, several of which have more than one family living in them, the rural population can scarcely be less than 50,000. In the city, where the families bear a much larger proportion to the number of houses than in the villages: the population, including that of a moveable kind, is probably not short of 30,000.

I have already suggested the probability that the valley of Ioánnina is the *Dodonæa*, and the ruins at Kastrítza those of the city *Dodona*. Unfortunately, nothing more than an opinion can be advanced on this subject, as Dodona has neither been described by any ancient author, so as to be recognized by such description, nor have any remains or monuments been yet discovered tending to supply the deficiency. Hence Dodona is now the only Greek city of great celebrity, the situation of which is not exactly known by means of a comparison of ancient history with actual appearances: and hence an opinion upon the question of its site, cannot have any better basis than the negative argument, that there is no other situation in which *Dodona* can be placed so as to accord with the mention made of it in history, or so as to allow of a consistent adjustment of the several tribes of *Epirus* to the modern map. Whether the opinion that *Dodona* stood at Kastrítza be correct or not, a review of the authorities upon which it is founded will at least be serviceable to those further researches which will probably end in leaving no doubt on the

Digitized by Google

question: for it is not to be imagined that Epirus with the same language, religion, and manners as the rest of Greece, should have been destitute of those eloquent monuments which have frequently thrown light on the mythology, history, and topography of other parts of the country, or that the Epirotes were less accustomed than the other Greeks to employ lapidary writing for public and private memorials. Extant specimens prove that the arts were carried to as great perfection in Epirus as in any part of Greece, though in consequence of the desolation which followed the Roman conquest, very few of the productions of those subsequent ages, which have supplied nine-tenths of the ancient monuments discovered in other parts of Greece are to be met with in this province. But for the same reason, they are likely to be as valuable as they are rare, being the productions of times when Greek art was in the greatest perfection. Of the Dodonæan temple in particular it is difficult to believe that some vestiges should not still subsist, or that some remains of the numerous dedications which had accumulated within its walls during the long ages of its sacred celebrity, should not be yet preserved below the surface of the soil, if we knew exactly where to explore, or, having that knowledge, could search in security.

As there is some ambiguity in the allusion to Dodona by Homer, it may be proper to begin by reverting to the passages of his poems in which the name occurs. From the catalogue of the

Digitized by Google

Greek forces in the Iliad, we learn that the Enienes of Dodona, and the Perrhæbi of the river Titaresius, accompanied Guneus of Cyphus, one of the Thessalian leaders, to the Trojan war [1]. In the sixteenth book Achilles prays to Jupiter of Dodona [2], whose ministers were the Selli, "men of unwashed feet, sleeping on the bare earth." In the Odyssey, Ulysses in his feigned speeches to Eumæus and Penelope, pretends that, after having visited Pheidon, king of the Thesproti, he proceeded to consult the oracular oak of Jupiter at Dodona [3].

It was the general belief of the ancient readers of Homer that there were two Dodonæ, one in Thessaly the other in Epirus; the former situated in Perrhæbia, near Mount Olympus, the latter in a part of Epirus which, in the time of the Trojan war, was dependent on the king of Thesprotia: that from the former came the Enienes, who were

[1] Γουνεὺς δ' ἐκ Κύφου ἦγε δύω καὶ εἴκοσι νῆας·
Τῷ δ' Ἐνιῆνες ἕποντο, μενεπτόλεμοί τε Περαιβοί,
Οἵ περὶ Δωδώνην δυσχείμερον οἰκί' ἔθεντο
Οἵ τ' ἀμφ' ἰμερτὸν Τιταρήσιον ἔργ' ἐνέμοντο.
Il. B. v. 748.

[2] Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναῖε Πελασγικέ, τηλόθι ναίων,
Δωδώνης μεδέων δυσχειμέρου· ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοὶ
Σοὶ ναίουσ' ὑποφῆται ἀνιπτόποδες χαμαιεῦναι.
Il. Π. v. 233.

[3] Τὸν δ' ἐς Δωδώνην φάτο βήμεναι, ὄφρα θεοῖο
Ἐκ δρυὸς ὑψικόμοιο Διὸς βουλὴν ἐπακούσῃ
Ὅππως νοστήσῃ Ἰθάκης ἐς πίονα δῆμον.
Od. Ξ. v. 327. T. v. 296.

Digitized by Google

joined with the Perrhæbi of the Titaresius under the command of Guneus; and that the latter was the place alluded to by Ulysses in the Odyssey [1]. As to the prayer of Achilles opinions differed; some of the ancient critics having supposed that prayer to have been addressed to a Jupiter worshipped at Dodona in Thessaly, and who was chosen by Achilles as a γειτνιῶν θεὸς, or deity of his native country, in the same manner as Pandarus prays to Apollo Λυκηγένης, and Chryses to Apollo Σμινθεύς. But in this case, as Stephanus suggests, "how happened Achilles to have named the Selli in his prayer, who were particularly connected with Dodona of Epirus," as several writers show, but particularly Hesiod, who places the Epirote Dodona in Hellopia, a country which received that name from its inhabitants, the Helli or Selli [2].

Nor are the poet's words τηλόθι ναίων altogether indifferent to the question. It is true that Achilles being at such a distance from Thessaly as Troy, might, without impropriety, apply them to the Thessalian Dodona; but it seems more consistent with Homeric diction, to conceive that τηλόθι ναίων was a customary form of address to the particular Jupiter to whom the hero was praying, and that it alluded to the separation of Epirus from the rest of Greece by distance and a chain of lofty mountains, which had caused it to be comparatively

[1] Strabo, p. 327. 441.—Stephan. in Δωδώνη.

[2] Hesiod. et Philochor. ap. Strabon. p. 328. Aristot. in Meteor. l. 1, c. 14.—Strabo, p. 28.

Digitized by Google

barbarous, and to be so unaffected by the political interests of the rest of Greece, that it contributed no forces to the Trojan expedition. We may remark also, in support of this view of the question, that proof is totally wanting of the existence of any sanctuary of Jupiter at the Thessalian Dodona. It seems evident, therefore, that the prayer of Achilles was addressed to the same Thesprotian Jove, whose worship and oracle had acquired great celebrity about that time, as the Odyssey shows, and which appear from Herodotus to have been more ancient even than the colonization of the Pelasgi in Epirus, having been established by some adventurers from Phœnicia and Egypt[1], who probably found the barbarism of Epirus favourable to their superstitious power.

The ambiguity as to the two Dodonæ in the Iliad appears to have arisen from several coincidences. The poet applies to both of them the epithet δυσχείμερος. They were both Pelasgic settlements; Pelasgiotis was the name of the north-eastern part of Thessaly to the latest period of antiquity; and both the Dodonæ had Perrhæbi dwelling in their vicinity. But these resemblances are no more than natural, if Dodona of Epirus received a colony and its name[2] from Pelasgiotis of Thessaly, and if that colony was accompanied or followed by Perrhæbi, a people

[1] Herodot. l. 2, c. 52. et seq.

[2] Apollodorus (ap. Stephan. in Βωδώνη) asserted that the name of the Thessalian city was Βωδώνη, from Bodon, a hero; but in this he evidently differed from Homer or at least from his earliest editors.

Digitized by Google

of the same country. As to the common epithet, both the Dodonæ being situated near lofty mountains, it is not surprising that the poet, who so often repeats his epithets, should have attached the same to them both.

An opinion appears to have prevailed among the ancients, which is supported by the Odyssey, that the Dodonæa appertained first to Thesprotia and afterwards to Molossis. This chorographical change is particularly noticed by Strabo, who supports his remark by a reference to the epithet Thesprotis applied to Dodona by Pindar and the tragic poets[1]. Among the latter may be particularly mentioned Æschylus, who, in describing the oracle of Dodona as that of the Thesprotian Jupiter on the Molossic soil[2], seems to allude exactly to the change which had taken place in the possession of the Dodonæa. It is evident, at least, that the Dodonæa bordered both on Thesprotia and on Molossis; to fix, therefore, the position and extent of those two divisions of Epirus, and to trace the changes which took place in their respective boundaries, is an

[1] Ἡ Δωδώνη τοίνυν τὸ παλαιὸν ὑπὸ Θεσπρώτοις ἦν καὶ τὸ ὄρος ὁ Τόμαρος ἢ Τμάρος (ἀμφοτέρως γὰρ λέγεται) ὑφ' ᾧ κεῖται τὸ ἱερόν· καὶ οἱ Τραγικοὶ δὲ καὶ Πίνδαρος Θεσπρωτίδα εἰρήκασι τὴν Δωδώνην· ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ Μολοττοῖς ἐλέγετο.—Strabo, p. 328.

[2] Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦλθες πρὸς Μολοσσὰ δάπεδα
Τὴν αἰπύνωτόν τ' ἀμφὶ Δωδώνην, ἵνα
Μαντεῖα θῶκός τ' ἐστὶ Θεσπρωτοῦ Διὸς
Τέρας τ' ἄπιστον αἱ προσήγοροι δρυές.
Æschyl. Prometh. v. 828.

Digitized by Google

essential preliminary in resolving the question of the situation of the Dodonæa.

Thucydides, Scylax, Strabo, and Ptolemy, concur in assigning the sea coast of Epirus to the four tribes of Chaones, Thesproti, Cassopæi, and Molossi, as well as in placing them in that order from north to south, though they do not agree in the extent of each portion, which could not indeed be expected from authors of different ages in regard to boundaries, some of the variations of which are sufficiently explained by the history of Epirus.

It was anciently believed, and apparently not without reason, that three or four centuries before the Trojan war two Pelasgic colonies began to civilize the barbarians of Epirus: that which came from the Peloponnesus by sea, very naturally made choice of the fertile plain near the mouth of the Acheron; the other from the Pelasgic settlements in the north of Thessaly crossed the Pindus and occupied Dodona. The former brought with them several Peloponnesian names, such as Dryopes, Thesproti, Ephyra, Acheron, Pandosia, and Pallantium, of which the three last were carried forward to Italy by colonists from Epirus, or by succeeding colonists from the Peloponnesus: the Thessalian colony introduced in like manner, into the more inland parts of Epirus, the names Dodona, Perrhæbi, Hellopia, Selli, and Achelous[1]. This comparatively tardy introduction of the man-

[1] Raoul-Rochette, Colonies Grecques, tom. i. p. 213.

Digitized by Google

ners and language of Greece into Epirus, is strongly confirmed by the fact, that the two centres of Epirote civilization just mentioned are the only two places in this country alluded to by Homer; from whom it appears also that after the Trojan war they formed one kingdom. Ephyra, near the Glycys Limen, was the capital of Pheidon, king of Thesprotia, and Dodona was within his dominions. But about the same time a new colony was established in Epirus, Pyrrhus, or Neoptolemus son of Achilles, who was deprived of his paternal kingdom, having migrated to this country, accompanied by Helenus son of Priam. Buthrotum was supposed to have been the place which Pyrrhus occupied [1], a tradition deriving some support from the name of Phœnice, a city only twelve miles distant from Buthrotum, to which Pyrrhus may naturally have given that name in memory of his friend Phœnix, who was said to have accompanied him from Troy, and to have died on the road [2]. Helenus inherited the possessions of Pyrrhus [3], while Molossus, son of the latter, obtained a settlement in the southern part of Epirus [4], to which his name was ever afterwards attached. As the Chaonian colony extended, Cestrinus son of Helenus founded a city on the right bank of the Thyamis, at a distance of twelve or fifteen miles above its mouth; that frontier of Chaonia received the name of Cestrine, and its chief town, the ruins of which, now called Paleá

[1] Virgil. Æn. l. 3, v. 293.
[2] Apollod. ap. Schol. Lycoph. v. 904.
[3] Virgil. Æn. l. 3, v. 296.
[4] Eurip. Androm. v. 1243.

Digitized by Google

Venetiá, still subsist, seems to have been named Ilium or Troja, in memory of the origin of its founders [1].

[1] Τροία . . . . . ἔστι καὶ πόλις ἐν Κεστρίᾳ τῆς Χαονίας.—Stephan. in voce.

The name Ilium occurs in the Tabular Itinerary on the inland road from Apollonia to Nicopolis, which in all probability crossed the Kalamá or *Thyamis* exactly at Paleá Venetiá, this place being situated a little below the straits of that river, above which the crossing would have led into the mountainous country to the northward of Paramythía; whereas Paleá Venetiá is opposite to the pass of Neokhório, which conducts from thence along the vale of the *Cocytus* in a direct line, and by an easy route to *Nicopolis*. It is true that the numbers in the Table would place Ilium much nearer to Hadrianopolis, assuming the latter to have stood in the plain of the Dryno, near Libókhovo; but as it is obvious that several of the distances on the maritime road are misplaced, a similar error may be suspected on the interior road; and the former is the more probable, as the total distances are consistent with one another, and with the direct distance on the map. The latter is 122 G. M.; the inland Roman road was 166 M. P.; the more circuitous road by the coast 187 M.P. The following are the stations noted on each of them. On the maritime, from Apollonia to Aulon, 16 M.P.—Acroceraunia 33—Phœnice 41—Buthrotum 56—Ad Dianam 8—Glycys Limen 13—Nicopolis 20. On the inland route, from Apollonia to Amantia, 30—Hadrianopolis 55—Ilium 24—a name wanting 12—Nicopolis 45. The former route is found also in the Antonine Itinerary, where it differs from that in the Table in placing 26 instead of 16 M. P. between Apollonia and Aulon (the truth seems to be between the two), and 30 instead of 21 between Buthrotum and Glycys Limen, of which the real distance was not less than 60 M. P. by the road. The obvious error of 56 M. P. from Phœnice to Buthrotum, instead of about 13, is the same in both Itineraries. On the inland route I am inclined to believe that Ilium ought to stand in the place to which no name has been attached; the distance of

Digitized by Google

In subsequent times commercial republics, colonized or augmented, and supported by the wealth and alliance of some of the powerful states of Southern Greece, occupied the entire coast of Epirus. Towards the Ambracic gulf, the descendants of Molossus were confined to the mountains by Ambracia, this noble position having attracted settlers from the Peloponnesus at a very early period, and having received, in the eighth century B. C., a second colony consisting of Corinthians, which people about the same time occupied several places in Acarnania. In the Peloponnesian war, all the maritime part of Epirus, including Thesprotia and Chaonia, was republican, while the mountainous districts of the interior, inhabited by warriors, pastors, and cultivators of the soil, still preserved the monarchical form of government[1]. At that time there were kings of the Agræi, Atintanes, Paravæi, and Orestæ, and we find the Athamanes governed by a king as

Ilium (placed at Paleá Venetiá) from the sites of Hadrianopolis and Nicopolis, would then be tolerably near the truth. Concerning the situation of Hadrianopolis, I have already offered some remarks in Vol. I. p. 76. It is almost unnecessary to add, that the Ilium which stood on the inland road from Apollonia to Nicopolis could not have been the same as that taken by Apustius in his expedition against the borders of Macedonia from the camp of Claudius on the Genusus, B. C. 200, this Ilium having been evidently not very far from Berát (See Vol. III. p. 326.) Stephanus, besides the Troja of Cestria, mentions an Ilium in Macedonia; and there is an allusion by Servius (ap. Æn. l. v. 242), on the authority of Sallust, to a Macedonian colony of Helenus.

[1] Thucyd. l. 2, c. 80; l. 3, c. 111.

Digitized by Google

late as the Roman campaigns in Greece. The poverty or patriarchal simplicity in which the Æacidæ were living in Molossis about the former period is strongly indicated by Thucydides, in the description which he has given of the reception of Themistocles by king Admetus[1]. But it was to their monarchical union, which never ceased among the Molossi, that they were at length indebted for the preponderance which they acquired over the other tribes of Epirus.

The extent and situation of the proper Molossia are clearly described by Scylax. After having stated that the coasts of Thesprotia and of Cassopæa were each half a day's sail in length, that the Cassopæi extended to the Anactoric, meaning the Ambracic gulf, and that the gulf was a little less than half a day's sail in length from the στόμα, or strait of Prévyza, to the μυχὸς, or eastern extremity; he adds, that the Molossi bordered on the Cassopæi, that their sea-coast was 50 stades in length, and that next to it was the shore of Ambracia, extending 120 stades to that of the Amphilochi[2]. The latter distance is confirmed by Dicæ-

[1] Thucyd. l. 1, c. 136.

[2] Παράπλους δὲ τῆς Θεσπρωτίας ἡμίσυ ἡμέρας. Μετὰ δὲ Θεσπρωτίαν Κασσωπία ἐστὶν ἔθνος· οἰκοῦσι δὲ αὐτοὶ κατὰ κώμας· παροικοῦσι δὲ οὗτοι ἕως εἰς τὸν Ἀνακτορικὸν κόλπον. Παράπλους δ' ἐστὶ τῆς Κασσωπῶν χώρας ἡμίσυ ἡμέρας, μικρῷ δὲ ἐλάττων ὁ Ἀνακτορικὸς κόλπος ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἕως εἰς τὸν μυχὸν (σταδίων ρκ)· τὸ δὲ στόμα εὖρος στάδια δ. Μετὰ δὲ Κασσωπίαν Μολοττοί εἰσιν ἔθνος· οἰκοῦσι δὲ οὗτοι κατὰ κώμας· καθήκουσι δὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν, εἰς μεσόγαιαν δὲ πολλῇ· παράπλους δ' ἐστὶ τῆς Μολοττίας χώρας στάδια μ. Μετὰ δὲ Μολοττίας Ἀμβρακία . . . . . παράπλους δὲ τῆς Ἀμβρακίας στάδια ρκ. Μετὰ

Digitized by Google

archus [1]; and as the entire length of the northern coast of the gulf from the shore of Lámari, which was the eastern boundary of the *Cassopæa*, to Makrinóro, which was the frontier of *Ambracia*, and *Amphilochia*, agrees sufficiently with the total of 170 stades, we can have no hesitation in assigning about three miles of the shore on either side of the mouth of the river of St. George as the position and extent of the *Molossic* sea coast.

In the interior, the Molossi bordered to the eastward for a considerable distance upon the Ambraciotæ, and beyond them upon the Athamanes, from whom they were separated perhaps by the river Arachthus. To the westward they confined upon the Cassopæi towards the sea, and further in the interior upon the Thesproti, who occupied the valleys of the Acheron and Cocytus, with all the country as far as the left bank of the Thyamis. Although the Molossi widened from their narrow maritime basis, and extended in the time of Scylax, as he remarks, to a great distance in the interior, by which we may suppose them to have then possessed the Dodonæa, the original *Molossis* was neither large nor productive, having contained little more than the mountainous region lying between the river Arta

Μετὰ δὲ Ἀμβρακίαν Ἀκαρνανία ἔθνος ἐστί· καὶ πρώτη πόλις αὐτόθι Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικόν.—Scylax in Θεσπρωτοί. Ἀκαρνανία.

The words σταδίων $\overline{\rho\kappa}$ seem to be an interpolation, the sense being complete without them, and that distance being too small as well as obviously incompatible with the paraplus of Ambracia.

[1] Σταδίων δ' ὁ παράπλους ἐστὶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι.

Dicæarch. v. 44.

Digitized by Google

and the ridges of Olýtzika and Suli, in which direction it comprehended the valleys of the river Luro and its tributaries, with those of the upper *Acheron*. But in process of time, the kings of Molossis, assisted by their hardy followers, added the Dodonæa to the northward, and the Cassopæa to the westward. From Pindar indeed it would seem that the former acquisition was made by Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, himself[1], but this can hardly be reconciled with Homer, or with the supposition of Chaonia having been the seat of the colony of Pyrrhus, as it would imply an almost entire conquest of Epirus. It is more easy to believe, that the extinction of the Thesprotian kingdom, the colonies of Elis in the former seat of that kingdom, and the encroachment of the Cassopæi upon Thesprotia, gradually gave the Molossi, who continued to be united under a kingly government, such a superiority over the Thesproti as was naturally followed by their acquisition of the Dodonæa from the latter, though it is impossible to say at what period this event may have happened. Cassopæa proper, or the territory of Cassope, seems to have been added to Molossis before the fourth century B. C.; for Alexander, son of Neoptolemus, obtained at that time, by the assistance of his brother-in-law Philip, son of Amyntas, the cities of Pandosia, Buchætium, and Elateia[2], all which were more distant from the

[1] Dionysius of Halicarnassus (l. 1, c. 51) accords with Pindar, inasmuch as he represents Æneias as having found Helenus at Dodona.

[2] Demosth. de Halonneso, p. 84. Reiske.

Digitized by Google

bounds of Molossis than Cassope itself. The latter, therefore, had probably been an earlier conquest of the Molossic kingdom[1]. The Dodonæa and Cassopæa were important additions to the poor Molossic mountains, and were sufficient under a few able monarchs to lead to the acquisition of all the other divided portions of Epirus.

Tharypas, son of Admetus, was said to have been the first of the Æacidæ who encouraged science and literature[2], but Alexander, son of Neoptolemus, third in descent from Tharypas, was the prince who by his valour and talents, and not less by his double alliance with the royal house of Macedonia, brought all Epirus under a single head[3], and made it one of the leading states of Greece. Pyrrhus, who after two short reigns succeeded him, and made Ambracia his capital, was, like several princes recorded in history, destined by character and circumstance at once to raise his country and family to the height of their fortune, and to originate their decline. The Æacidæ were extinct in his fourth successor, after which Epirus was only a loose federacy of republics for about 50 years, when it fell under the Roman yoke, in the year B. C. 167.

If *Thesprotia* and *Molossis* had respectively the extent and position just indicated, and if the

[1] The union of the Molossi and Cassopæi is recorded on a copper coin, having no other type than Μολοσσῶν on one side, and Κασσωπαίων on the other, each word within a wreath of laurel.

[2] Plutarch in Pyrrh.

[3] Diodor. l. 16, c. 72. 91.—Strabo, p. 280.

Digitized by Google

Dodonæa bordered on the inland frontier of them both, there seems no possibility of assigning any other situation to it than that of the district of Ioánnina.

The journey of Æneias to Dodona, as related by Dionysius of Halicarnassus[1], tends entirely to favour this opinion. After having founded *Æneia* at the cape near Saloníki, now called Karaburnú[2], the Trojan hero visited Delus and Cythera, and at both places left memorials which still existed in the time of the antiquary. He then exchanged testimonials of a common origin with the Arcadians, and sailed to Zacynthus, where he founded a temple and established games, and where a dromus was still shown, called that of Æneias and Venus. At Leucas he founded a temple of Venus, which still remained, in the time of Dionysius, on a small island between the Dioryctus and the city[3]. From thence he proceeded to Actium and to Ambracia. At the former Dionysius describes a temple of Venus founded by him; and another of

[1] Dionys. Hal. Antiq. Rom. l. 1, c. 50.

[2] I omitted to remark in the proper place (see Vol. III. p. 451) that although the words of Dionysius seem to place Æneia in Pallene, it is evident by what he says of the Crussæi, compared with Herodotus, that by Pallene he meant the western shore of the Chalcidic Chersonese.

[3] ἱερὸν δ νῦν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ νησίδι τῇ μεταξὺ τοῦ Διορύκτου τε καὶ τῆς πόλεως.—There is not any small island at present, but as no shore is more likely to have undergone a change, the island may perhaps now form part of the promontory occupied by the town of Amaxíkhi.

Digitized by Google

the Great Gods, and at Ambracia there was a heroum of Æneias near the small theatre, which contained his statue, served with sacrifices by female amphipoli. From Ambracia Anchises sailed with the fleet to Buthrotum, while Æneias travelled by land in two days to Dodona[1]. Here he consulted the oracle, and presented many Trojan offerings to the god, some of which, consisting of brazen vases, inscribed with the names of the dedicators in ancient characters, still remained at Dodona in the time of Dionysius[2]. He then proceeded to join his fleet at Buthrotum: the journey occupying near four days[3]: from Buthrotum he sailed to the port of Anchises, the name of which had undergone some change in the time of the historian[4], and from thence crossed over to Italy. It seems evident from the consistency of this relation, that whatever degree of confidence may be given to the facts, the narrative is that of a person well acquainted with the places, and is therefore equally entitled to consideration in a question merely geographical. Arta or *Ambracia* was exactly the place most convenient for landing, and that from whence the passage was easiest and shortest to *Dodona*, on the supposition of the

[1] διανύσαντες ἡμερῶν δυοῖν ὁδόν.—c. 51.

[2] κρατῆρσι χαλκείοις ὧν τινες ἔτι περίεισιν, ἐπιγραφαῖς πανὺ ἀρχαίαις δηλοῦντες τοὺς ἀναθέντας.

[3] τεττάρων μάλιστα ἡμερῶν διελθόντες ὁδόν.

[4] Ἀγχίσου μὲν τότε ὀνομασθέντος, νῦν δὲ ἀσαφεστέραν ἔχοντος ὀνομασίαν,—meaning Onchesmus, which was afterwards changed to Anchiasmus, and thus brought nearer to Ἀγχίσου λιμήν, the original name.

Digitized by Google

latter having been near Ioánnina; and if the journey between these two principal cities by easy passes required two days, (in fact, without considerable exertion the journey from Arta to Ioánnina cannot be performed in one), the route from the latter to *Buthrotum*, across unfrequented districts intersected with mountains, may very well be supposed to have required not much less than four days.

That Dodona was on the eastern frontier of Epirus is clearly shown by Pindar, who describes Epirus as beginning at Dodona, and extending from thence to the Ionian sea [1]. The manner in which Æschylus introduces the Dodonæan mountains as a part of the territory of Pelasgus, seems to connect them with the highest ridge [2], but their vicinity to it is still more strongly indicated by the epithets αἰπύνωτος, attached to Dodona by the same poet [3], and that of δυσχείμερος by Homer. Aristotle and Strabo confirm the supposition that *Hellopia*, or the country of the Helli or Selli, whom Homer and Sophocles, to say nothing of

[1] . . . . Θέτις δὲ κρατεῖ
Φθίᾳ· Νεοπτόλεμος δ' Ἀ-
πείρῳ διαπρυσία,
Βουβόται τόθι πρῶνες ἐξ-
όχοι κατάκεινται
Δωδώναθεν ἀρχόμενοι πρὸς
Ἰόνιον πόρον. Pindar. Nem. 4, v. 81.

[2] Πίνδου τε τἀπέκεινα Παιόνων πέλας,
Ὄρη τε Δωδωναῖα. . . .
Æschyl. Sup. v. 265.

[3] V. sup. p. 173, note 2.

Digitized by Google

later writers, place near *Dodona* [1], was in the vicinity of Ioánnina, by stating that the Selli lived about the Achelous as well as Dodona [2], thus rendering it probable that the distance was not great between the city and the river. Ioánnina, in fact, is only about 17 geographical miles in direct distance from the nearest part of the *Achelous*.

The account which Polybius has given of the destruction of Dodona by the Ætolians, in the autumn of the first year of the Social war, B. C. 219, equally favours the belief, that Dodona was situated towards the south-eastern frontier of Epirus, and that it was exposed to Ætolia on that side. The expedition was headed by Dorimachus immediately after his election to the strategia. "He marched," says the historian, "into the upper parts of Epirus [3], devastating the country, not so much for the sake of plunder as for that of injuring the Epirotes. Having arrived at the temple near Dodona [4], he set fire to the stoæ, destroyed many of the dedications, and overthrew the sacred edifice itself." The words ἄνω τόπους τῆς Ἠπείρου, which the historian employs in this passage, ap-

[1] Il. Π. v. 233.

Ἄ τῶν ὀρείων καὶ καμαικοιτῶν ἐγὼ
Σελλῶν ἐσελθὼν ἄλσος εἰσεγραψάμην
Πρὸς τῆς πατρῴας καὶ πολυγλώσσου δρυός.
Sophoc. Trach. v. 1169.

[2] Aristot. Meteor. l. 1, c, 14.—Strabo, p. 28.

[3] ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τοὺς ἄνω τόπους τῆς Ἠπείρου.—Polyb. l. 4, c. 67.

[4] Παραγενόμενος πρὸς τὸ περὶ Δωδώνην ἱερόν.

Digitized by Google

pear to be a mere synonym for the more common expression ἄνω Ἤπειρον, or Upper Epirus, which, as in the instances of Upper Macedonia and Upper Thessaly, meant the part of Epirus most distant from the sea, or towards the central range of mountains. Among the passages of ancient history which prove this meaning, may be particularly cited the remark of Strabo, that Upper Thessaly contained Dolopia and Histiæotis, that Pelasgiotis constituted Lower Thessaly, and that Upper Thessaly corresponded to and confined upon Upper Macedonia, as Lower Thessaly upon Lower Macedonia; which was the country near the Thermaic Gulf[1]. In fact, Upper Thessaly, Upper Macedonia, and Upper Epirus, all met on the crest of Pindus. Dodona therefore was near this mountain, nor can the words of Polybius furnish an argument to prove that it was in the northern part of Epirus. The desultory nature of the expedition of Dorimachus, and its success without interruption, strongly indicate that Dodona was chiefly exposed to hostile invasion from the Achelous and Ætolia, as Alý Pashá now is to the kleftes from the same quarter. Dorimachus probably followed the valley of the Aspro from Lepenú or *Stratus* upwards, and having crossed the range of *Pindus* about Thodhóriana, entered the valley of the Arta to the northward of the *Ambracian* district, and followed that river until he was separated only by Mount Dhrysko from the plain of Ioánnina. He thus avoided the hostile

[1] Strabo, pp. 430. 437.

Digitized by Google

district of *Ambracia*, which city had recently been taken by Philip and delivered to the Epirotes, as well as the dangers of the pass of Pendepigádhia, or that still more hazardous which ascends from Arta by the valley of the *Arachthus*.

The only author who has described the natural peculiarities of the Dodonæa is Hesiod, in a beautiful fragment of his lost poem the Eœæ, preserved by a scholiast of Sophocles, and in part by Strabo: "Hellopia," says the poet, "was a country of corn-fields and meadows, abounding in sheep and oxen, and inhabited by numerous shepherds and keepers of cattle, where on an extremity stood Dodona, beloved by Jupiter; here the god established his oracle in a wood of ilex, and here men received responses, when bearing gifts and encouraged by favourable omens they interrogated the god[1]."

This description is accurately applicable to the valley of Ioánnina, which, though producing corn, is more remarkable for that which the poet evidently intended to insist upon, namely, its abundant

[1] Ἔστι τις Ἑλλοπίη πολυλήϊος καὶ εὐλείμων,
Ἀφνειὴ μήλοισι καὶ εἰλιπόδεσσι βόεσσιν·
Ἐν δ' ἄνδρες ναίουσι πολύῤῥηνες, πολυβοῦται,
Πολλοὶ, ἀπειρέσιοι, φῦλα θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων·
Ἔνθα τὲ Δωδώνη τις ἐπ' ἐσχατιῇ πεπόλισται.
Τὴν δὲ Ζεὺς ἐφίλησε καὶ ὃν χρηστήριον εἶναι
Τίμιον ἀνθρώποις, ναΐον τ' ἐν πυθμένι φηγοῦ·
Ἔνθεν ἐπιχθόνιοι μαντήϊα πάντα φέρονται.
Ὃς δὴ κεῖθι μολὼν θεὸν ἄμβροτον ἐξερεείνῃ
Δῶρα φέρων ἔλθῃ σὺν οἰωνοῖς ἀγαθοῖσιν.
Hesiod. ap. Schol. ad Sophocl. Trachin. v. 1169, et ap. Strabon. p. 328.

Digitized by Google

meadows, and the numerous flocks and herds which feed upon its pastures.

Such being a summary of the testimony which tends to place *Dodona* near Ioánnina, it may now be right to notice the objections which may be made to that opinion, as well as the arguments which may be adduced in favour of some other situations. The strongest objection is the silence of all antiquity as to a lake at Dodona. But when we consider that the only description of the place which has reached us, is contained in the poetical fragment of Hesiod, who may have alluded to the lake in the very next verses to those which are preserved, the objection loses the greatest part of its force, more especially as there is reason to believe that the existence of a lake in this part of Epirus was known to Pliny, who asserted that the Acheron flowed into the Ambracic gulf, and that it originated in the lake Acherusia at a distance of 36 miles from the coast [1], where the distance from the gulf accords so exactly with that of the lake of Ioánnina, that one can hardly doubt of his having heard of the lake, though he has confounded it with the *Acherusia*. Eustathius proves also the existence of a lake in Molossia, by mentioning a tradition, derived probably from

[1] Ambracius sinus . . . . . In eum defertur amnis Acheron, e lacu Thesprotiæ Acherusiâ profluens XXXVI. M.P. inde, et mille pedum ponte mirabilis. — Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 1.

Martian Capella in like manner: Ambracius sinus faucibus angustis æquor accipiens, in quod defertur amnis Acheron, infernæ fabulæ errore famosus. —l. 6, cap. de tertio sinu Europæ.

Digitized by Google

some ancient author now lost, that Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, when he introduced a Thessalian colony into Epirus, settled on the shore of the lake Pambotis in Molossia[1]. As Pindar, who followed the same legend, considered Dodona a part of the domain of Neoptolemus, it seems clear that the lake Pambotis was at Dodona. Pambotis, moreover, is a word in exact agreement with the description of Hesiod, and is particularly suited to the pastures of the lake of Ioánnina, which in fact is the only lake in the interior of *Thesprotia* or *Molossis*.

But besides this strong presumption as to a lake at Dodona, we have direct evidence of the existence of marshes near the Dodonæan temple. It was supposed by some that the Helli, who were the ministers of the oracle, were so named from the ἕλη, or marshes round the temple[2], which though it may be etymologically erroneous, is an undeniable proof of the existence of the marsh. Again, Proxenus, as quoted by a scholiast on the Odyssey, stated that the oracular oak was found by a shepherd feeding his flock in the marsh Dodon[3]. It is not impossible that there may have been more of a marsh and less of a lake in ancient times than there is now; the partial obstruction of the katavóthra, and other causes, which in many parts of Greece have, in a long course of ages,

[1] Eustathius in Od. Γ. v. 188.

[2] Apollod. ap. Strabon. p. 328.

[3] Proxen. ap. Schol. in Od. ubi sup.

Digitized by Google

increased or diminished the quantity of stagnant or running water, may have changed what was once a marsh, with pools in the deepest parts, into a continued lake. In this case the numerous sources which emerge from the foot of Mount Mitzikéli, close to the margin of the lake or below its surface, would have been more conspicuous, and more likely to have elicited the remark of Theopompus as to the hundred fountains at the roots of the mountain Tomarus[1], near which Dodona was situated[2].

We may now proceed to inquire whether any other situation in *Epirus* will agree with the requisites of *Dodona*. One of the scholiasts of Homer supposes Dodona to have been near Dryiopolis, that is to say, near Arghyrókastro, which he places most erroneously in the ancient Thesprotia; another says that it was in the north of Thesprotia, meaning perhaps the same place; a third fixes it near Leucas. In like manner I have been referred for the site of *Dodona* by the *learned* of Ioánnina, to Vutzintró, to Délvino, to Arghyrókastro, to Velá, to Filiátes, to Paramythía, and to Glyký, without ever meeting with one of them who imagined that it might have been at Ioánnina itself.

Of the modern places just mentioned, we may observe, that although the plains of Délvino, Vutzintró, and the lower Kalamá, have an abundance

[1] Molossi, apud quos Dodonæi Jovis templum, oraculo illustre; Tomarus mons, centum fontibus circa radices, Theopompo celebratur.—Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 1.

[2] Strabo, p. 328.

Digitized by Google

of pasture in their lakes or maritime marshes, and were even famed in consequence for their breed of oxen, they are too near the sea to correspond to the evidence which has been adduced as to the site of Dodona, and we know them to have been occupied by the cities of Phœnice, Buthrotum, Cestria, and others. The valley of the upper Kalamá is not liable to a similar objection, being surrounded by mountains, and containing a lake near Tzerovína, with some marshy tracts at the sources of the *Thyamis*. Both lake and marshes however are too diminutive for those of *Dodona*, and the latter are not permanent. The plain itself is too inconsiderable for the magnificent description of Hesiod, too distant from the *Ætolian* frontier of *Epirus*, and can scarcely be included either in Thesprotia or Molossis, according to their ancient boundaries. The valley of Dryiopolis or Arghyrókastro, although not unsuited in some respects to the picture of Hesiod, yet being marshy only in winter, cannot in this climate possess that distinguishing characteristic of abundant meadows and perennial pasturage, which the *Dodonæa* requires. This plain, moreover, is so near the *Aous*, that the name of Dodona could hardly have escaped mention in the history of the transactions which occurred in that part of the country, had it been so situated. It is evident, likewise, that the valley of the Dryno could never have been included either in *Thesprotia* or *Molossis*, having been a part of Chaonia or Atintania, possessed by the Argyrini and the city of Elæus.

Exclusive therefore of the district of Ioánnina,

Digitized by Google

there is none but the great valley watered by the ancient Cocytus, Acheron, and lake Acherusia, which can be taken for the *Dodonæa*. Here it must be granted that the lofty ridge called Kuríla, which stretches northward from Kako-Súli to the Kalamá, resembles *Tomarus* in the abundant sources which issue from its base, and that the name of Suli has every appearance of having been corrupted from that of the *Selli*, who served the Dodonæan temple and dwelt around it. Nor can it be denied that the noble plain of Fanári and Glyký, which extends 25 miles from Porto Fanári to Paramythía, fully deserves the description which Hesiod gives of Hellopia, especially as the borders of the *Acherusian* lake admit of some perennial pasturage, and that a farther argument in favour of Dodona having been here situated, may be derived from Pausanias, who, immediately after speaking of *Cichyrus*, or *Ephyra*, which was near Porto Fanári, mentions Dodona in a manner naturally leading to the presumption that it was not very distant from Ephyra. From these admissions, it would follow that *Dodona* was probably situated at or near Glyký, just at the foot of the mountain upon which the name of the ancient Selli is preserved in that of Suli.

But there are strong objections to every part of the plains watered by the *Acheron* and *Cocytus* as the *Dodonæa*. Even the most distant point Paramythía is too near the sea coast, and too far from the central ridge of *Pindus*, as well as from the inland frontier of *Epirus* and the *Achelous*, to conform to the combined testimony of Pindar,

Digitized by Google

Æschylus, Aristotle, Polybius, and Strabo. The olive-trees of Paramythía are alone a contradiction to that climate, and that elevation above the sea which is implied by the epithets of Homer and Æschylus. Although the plain between the *Acherusia* and Glyký is marshy as late as the beginning of May, the only district of perennial pasture in these plains is around the *Acherusia*, or not more than from two or three to seven or eight miles distant from the sea. Above all, there appears no mode of explaining in what manner this valley could ever have formed a part of Molossis, being the centre of the original Thesprotia, which contained the cities Ephyra, Pandosia, and two others at Velianí and Paramythía, neither of which has the requisites of Dodona.

As to Suli, it will hardly afford much assistance in the determination of this question. Suli is a common name in Greece, and naturally so, if we suppose it to be a corruption of Σελλοὶ, which was no more than a dialectic form of Ἕλλοι, the people from whom the whole country derived its appellation of Hellas. The name is undoubtedly the more curious in the present instance, as being found in a district which we know to have been inhabited at a comparatively late period by *Selli*. But even here it can only be regarded as an accidental vestige of the people of *Hellopia*, who once occupied all the country around *Dodona*, and it is the less to be relied on as affording any proof of the exact locality of *Dodona*, there being another Suli on the Kalamá, ten or twelve miles to the westward of Ioánnina. Nor can any more precise

Digitized by Google

inference be deduced from the juxtaposition of Cichyrus and Dodona in the passage of Pausanias, who there alludes to the early history of Thesprotia in the time of Theseus, when Ephyra was the capital of king Aidoneus, and the Dodonæa a part of his kingdom, and who introduced the names incidentally, as those of the only places in Epirus which he thought worthy of notice.

It remains to be inquired whether the position of *Dodona* at Ioánnina is consistent with the general arrangement of the tribes of *Epirus* on the modern map. Theopompus of Chius reckoned fourteen of them, and Strabo has named as many, to wit: the Chaones, Thesproti, Cassopæi, Molossi, Amphilochi, Athamanes, Æthices, Tymphæi, Paravæi, Talares, Atintanes, Orestæ, Pelagones, and Elimiotæ[1]. Of the situation of several of these tribes, proofs have already been given. Three of them, the Orestæ, Pelagones, and Elimiotæ, were permanently united not long after the time of Theopompus to Macedonia, to which they naturally belonged, as being situated, the two latter entirely, and the first in great part at least, to the east of Mount Pindus. In the time of Strabo the Athamanes, Æthices, and Talares, were united in like manner with the Thessalians, though as all the three occupied the ridges of Pindus, and immediately bordered on the Molossi, they seem to have been considered by Strabo as properly Epirotic.

To begin from the south-eastward, where the

[1] Theopomp. ap. Straben. p. 323.—Strabo, pp. 324, 326, 434.

Digitized by Google

Molossi bordered upon Ambracia. Proceeding from thence northward, there is every reason to believe, from what has already been stated, that their next neighbours were the Athamanes, separated from them either by the Arachthus or the crest of the mountains beyond it; then the Perrhæbi and Tymphæi at the sources of the Arachthus, and the Talares of Mount Tomarus [1], who may be considered as a subdivision of the Molossi, as Dodona was situated at the foot of that mountain. Beyond the Talares and Tymphæi were the *Paravæi*, whose country was the northern part of Zagóri and the district of Kónitza. To the westward of these, the Molossis, considering the Dodonæa as a portion of it, confined on the southern extremity of *Atintania*, which I have before described as comprehending in general terms the mountainous country between the Mizakía and the valleys at the sources of the Dryno in one direction, and in the opposite, or from west to east, extending from the Lower Viósa and Dryno to the Uzúmi and Upper Viósa. In the remainder of its boundary, Molossis (still considering the Dodonæa as a portion of it) bordered upon the north-eastern extremity of *Thesprotia*; that is to say, towards the Kalamá and its tributaries, which flow from the ridges of Olýtzika and Suli. And thus *Molossis*, together with the surrounding *Epirotic* tribes, forms a

[1] There were two divisions of Talares according to Strabo: that belonging to Thessaly was an *ἀπόσπασμα*, or body separated from those of Mount Tomarus.—p. 434.

Digitized by Google

complete and consistent system of chorography, on the supposition that the *Dodonæa* was identical with the modern district of Ioánnina.

It can hardly be doubted by any person who has seen the country around Ioánnina, and has examined the extensive remains at Kastrítza, that the city which stood in that centrical and commanding position was the capital of the district during a long succession of ages. The fortresses at Velitzísta and Gardhikáki were obviously no more than *comæ*, though they may very possibly have been enumerated among the seventy cities of Epirus destroyed by order of the Roman senate. The hill of Kastrítza, moreover, answers much better than either of those places to the ἐσχατίη, or extremity upon which Hesiod states Dodona to have been built, while the adjacent Mitzikéli will be found to correspond perfectly to the mountain, below which, according to Strabo, the temple stood. This commanding ridge, therefore, which in every point of view arrests the attention of the spectator, I conceive to have been the celebrated *Tomarus*. The numerous sources at its foot, which are the chief supplies of the lake, are in exact agreement with the hundred fountains issuing from the base of Tomarus, as described by Theopompus. Nor is the name *Tomarus*, though no longer attached to this mountain, quite obsolete, being still preserved in that of the Tomarokhória, or villages situated on a part of the southern extremity of Dhrysko, which is a continuation of Mitzikéli.

The temple of Jupiter Dodonæus seems not to

Digitized by Google

have been within the city of Dodona. Polybius describes it as περὶ Δωδώνην; in such a hasty invasion as that of Dorimachus, it could not have been so easily destroyed as the historian relates, had it stood within a fortress such as we cannot but suppose Dodona, like all the towns of Epirus, to have been, nor could there well have been in a fortified town, space sufficient for the temple, its courts, porticos, and dedications, its sacred grove, and the dwellings of its servitors. Strabo, in reporting from Ephorus the cruel treatment of one of the priestesses of the temple by the Bœotians[1], shows the unprotected condition of the building which Menedemon, an author cited by Stephanus, describes as being surrounded with tripods instead of walls[2]. But in this inability to resist an enemy it differed not from other hiera of great celebrity in Asia and Greece, such as those of Samus, Branchidæ, Sardes, Eleusis, Rhamnus, the Isthmus, Epidaurus, Olympia, Nemea, Abæ, Ptoum, and that of Trophonius at Lebadeia. None of these were included within the fortifications of the neighbouring cities, but appear to have been inclosed by a simple peribolus, having been placed under the guardianship of their sanctity, the violation of which in the instance of Dodona, branded the Ætolians with the character of men regardless of the laws which governed the rest of mankind in peace and war[3].

If the city of *Dodona* was at Kastrítza, and the temple in some other part of the adjoining dis-

[1] Strabo, p. 402.
[2] ap. Stephan. in Δωδώνη.
[3] Polyb. l. 4, c. 67.

Digitized by Google

trict, there seems no place so well adapted to it as the peninsula now occupied by the citadel of Ioánnina. Such a situation equally accords with the good taste which the Greeks always evinced in the position of their sacred edifices, as with their mythology, which conceived the gods to delight in places rendered remarkable by natural causes, and with that tact which taught the priests to avail themselves of every thing which contributed to elevate the religious veneration of the people, and to promote their own influence through its means. This position is not, indeed, at the foot of Mount Mitzikéli, as Strabo may seem to require; but the commanding steepness and striking proximity of that mountain in face of the Peninsula, are perhaps still better adapted to his words[1]. There is no place in all Greece more subject to thunder storms than Ioánnina, none more worthy of having been the abode of the Thunderer, whose bolt was the type of Molossis and Epirus[2]. Here, therefore, in place of the dirty streets and bazárs of the modern town, we may imagine a forest, through which an avenue of primæval oak and ilex conducted to the sacred peninsula. Within the porticos which inclosed the temple were ranges of tripods supporting cauldrons, the

[1] τὸ ὄρος ὁ Τόμαρος ὑφ' ᾧ κεῖται τὸ ἱερόν.—Strabo, p. 328.

[2] The coins of Epirus have reference almost exclusively to the worship of Jupiter of Dodona; they bear heads of Jupiter and Dione, an eagle, a thunderbolt, a tripod, a garland of oak. The most common coin of the Molossi has a fulmen on both sides; on one within a garland of oak, on the other upon a shield.

Digitized by Google

greater part of which had been contributed by the Bœotians in consequence of an annual custom, and which were so numerous and so closely placed, that when one of them was struck the sound vibrated through them all; many others had been dedicated by the Athenians, whose theoria or sacred embassy brought yearly offerings; but the most remarkable of the anathémata was a statue dedicated by the Corcyræi, holding in its hand a whip with three thongs loaded with balls, which made a continual sound as they were agitated by the wind against a cauldron [1]. In a picture of the temple of Dodona which has been described by Philostratus, the prophetic oak was seen near the temple, and lying under it the axe of Hellus, with which he struck the tree, when a voice from it ordered him to desist. A golden dove, representing the bird of Egypt, which uttered the voice, was perched upon the tree; garlands were suspended from its branches, and a chorus from Egyptian Thebes was dancing around it, as if rejoicing at the recognition of the sacred dove from their native city. The Selli were seen employed in prayer or sacrifice, or in decorating the temple with fresh boughs and garlands, or in preparing cakes and victims, while the priestesses were remarked for their severe and venerable appearance [2]. Whether this

[1] For the various authorities on Dodona, see Stephanus in Δωδώνη, and the notes of Berkel.

[2] Philostrat. Icon. l. 2, c. 34.

Digitized by Google

be the description of a real picture, or the ideas of Philostratus for the subject of one, it is probably a faithful portrait of the hierum of Dodonæan Jove in the height of its reputation, when it may easily be supposed that the temple, the porticos, the dedications, and the dwellings of the sacred servants, were sufficient to occupy the greater part of the peninsula [1].

In the time of Strabo the oracle was already in an expiring state [2], though it may perhaps have partially recovered, like Greece in general, in the second century, as Pausanias still represents the temple of Dodona and the sacred ilex as the objects most worthy of a traveller's notice in Epirus [3]. Long after the introduction of Christianity, Dodona maintained its ascendancy among the towns of Epirus by means probably of its fertile district, strong site, and important position at the entrance of the passes leading into Thessaly. The names of several bishops of Dodona are found in the acts of the councils. The latest was in the year 516; and as the earliest record of a bishop of Ioánnina occurs in 879, when a council was assembled at Constantinople for the restoration of Photius to the patriarchal throne, it is probable that between those two dates the peninsula of Ioánnina, already

[1] Polemo, the same author who wrote a work on the Acropolis of Athens, and who lived in the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes, left a description also of the hierum of Dodona. —Suidas in Πολέμων.—Stephan. in Δωδώνη.

[2] ἐκλέλοιπε δὲ πῶς καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον τὸ ἐν Δωδώνῃ καθάπερ καὶ ἄλλα.—Strabo, p. 327.

[3] Pausan. Attic. c. 17.

Digitized by Google

cleared of its idolatrous worship, pagan edifices, and sacred grove, was chosen as a more defensible position than that of Kastrítza, against the increasing invasions of the Sclavonic tribes, and thus became the capital of the *Dodonæa*[1]. The new fortress was named probably in honour of the saint under whose protection it was placed, and whose church is known to have occupied the site of the mosque at the N. E. angle of the kastro[2]. The sacred buildings of the hierum, if any remains of them had survived the ages of Christian warfare against paganism, were converted undoubtedly to the construction of buildings in the new fortress, where the continued existence of habitations from that time to the present will sufficiently account, as it does in so many other places in Greece, for the disappearance of all remains of Hellenic antiquity. It is by no means impossible, however, if the kastro of Ioánnina be really the site of the *Dodonæan* temple, that some relics of architecture or sculpture may yet afford proof of this fact, and may even serve as a scale and elements whereby to form a judgment of the magnitude and architecture of the temple.

[1] Constantine Porphyrogennetus mentions Dodona as the chief town of the Theme of Nicopolis in the beginning of the tenth century; but he seems to refer more to the ancient than to the actual Dodona; and little confidence, as Gibbon has remarked, can be placed in the imperial authority. Both Nicopolis and Dodona had probably been for some time extinct.

[2] Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Πρόδρομος, one of the most honoured saints of the Greek Church.

Digitized by Google

The history of Ioánnina is almost as obscure as that of Dodona; but enough remains to show that it gradually became the chief city of Greece to the westward of Mount *Pindus*, the only other place of importance having been *Ambracia*, which, about the same period of time, under the new name of Arta, recovered from *Nicopolis* that population and importance, which, during seven or eight centuries, had been absorbed by the Augustan colony, and became again the chief city of the country bordering on the *Ambracic* Gulf.

Western Greece is so separated by nature from a government ruling at Constantinople, that a strong vice-regal power is required to maintain it in submission. If the authority of the Sultán is easily disputed here, it is not surprising that under the weaker sway of the Greek emperors their governors of Western Greece were generally independent or left to their own resources. From the seventh century to the eleventh, Northern Greece was a field of contention to the Byzantine Greeks, the Wallachians, and the Sclavonians, and large colonies of the two latter people settled in the country. To the Sclavonic tribes is to be attributed almost all the names of places in Southern Albania and Western Greece which are not of Greek derivation. Ioánnina, however, seems to have maintained itself as a Greek city until a new race of adventurers made their appearance. It was taken by Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard the Norman, in the year 1082. He intrenched his army among the vineyards which still occupy the

Digitized by Google

heights of St. George, repaired the kastro, and under the walls of the town defeated the Greek emperor Alexius Comnenus[1]. On the capture of Constantinople in 1204, Western Greece formed an exception to the provinces partitioned among the Frank conquerors, and continued, under a branch of the Comneni, to be a Greek principality, called the Despotate of Ætolia, or of the West, extending at first from *Dyrrhachium* to the *Corinthiac* Gulf, but gradually curtailed by Franks, Albanians, and Servians, until it contained only the central part of Old *Epirus*, to which condition, or nearly so, it was already reduced when it was conquered, about the year 1350, by Stephen Duscian, king of Servia, who placed his brother Siniscian, or Simeon, in the Despotate. On the death of Stephen, a few years afterwards, Nicephorus, son of the last Greek Despot, recovered for a short time the Despotate, but was defeated and slain in a battle on the *Achelous*, in which he was assisted by a body of Turks, against the Albanians, who had then made some acquisitions in *Acarnania* and *Ætolia*. Simeon having found sufficient employment in Servia and *Thessaly*, Ioánnina was left to defend itself against the Albanians by its own resources for about eight years, when Simeon being applied to for aid, sent thither as governor, in 1367, his son-in-law Thomas Prélubo, under whom the Greeks had a complete foretaste of Mussulman cruelty and oppression. He was succeeded by Inico de Davalos, by the Greeks named Ἰζάουλος or Ἰζαοῦ, an Italian noble, who had been made

[1] Anna Comn. l. 5, p. 133. Paris.

Digitized by Google

prisoner and taken into favour by Thomas, when the latter was assisting Spata, the Albanian lord of Arta, against the Franks, and who, on the death of Thomas, in the year 1385, married his widow. Izáulo was disliked by his subjects, maintained himself (like Prélubo) with difficulty against the Albanians, and when at length he formed an alliance with Spata, lost a part of his Ætolian possessions to Charles Tocco, second Count of Cefalonia of that name, Duke of Leucas, and who at length obtained both Arta and Ioánnina[1], when to his other titles he added those of Duke of Ioánnina and Despot of Western Greece. He was the most powerful of the Frank princes of the Islands; his continental possessions having comprehended a large portion of *Acarnania* and *Ætolia*, with some part of *Achaia*. Charles died at Ioánnina in July 1429, leaving Arta and Ioánnina to his nephew Count Charles III., and *Ætolia* in possession of two illegitimate sons. The disputes which arose between the cousins rendered the whole country an easy conquest to the Turks, to whom Ioánnina capitulated in October 1431[2]. The name of Karlilí, or the country of Charles, is still attached by them to a large portion of *Acarnania* and *Ætolia*.

[1] Izaulo was still at Ioánnina in the reign of Sultan Musa (1410—1413), to whom he sent his son Prébulo to implore assistance against the Franks. But Prélubo was taken by his enemies, and deprived of his sight.

[2] For this historical sketch, see Cantacuzenus, l. 4, c. 43.—Chalcocondylas, l. 4, p. 112, l. 5, p. 126.—Ducas, c. 20.—Phranza, l. 2, c. 9.—Ducange Fam. Dalmat. 111. 62. xv. 4.—Hist. de Constantinople, l. 8, c. 25, 26; and the Metéora MS., concerning which see the additional note at the end of this volume.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

EPIRUS.

To Kalarýtes—Return by Tzímovo to Ioánnina—Omér Bey Vrióni—Alý Pashá—Climate—Arta—Subdivisions and population—Alý Pashá's revenue from Arta, Ioánnina, and other places—To Peta, Kombóti, Kóprena, Vlikha—Neokhóri, *Argos Amphilochicum—Battles of Olpæ and Idomene—Crenæ, Mount Thyamus, Agræa*—Return from Prévyza by Luro and Rogús *(Charadra)* to Ioánnina.

JULY 29.—Setting out yesterday evening at sunset, I rode from Ioánnina to the monastery of Eleókali on Mount Drysko, on the way to Kalarýtes, and this morning at daybreak proceeded as on a former occasion, by the Khan on the left bank of the river Arta, and by that of Golfí, on the ascent to the church of St. George, where we arrived at 9.30, A. M. A wide portico round the church is the only accommodation for travellers. Our arrival having been announced to the town by the firing of musquets, a party of the principal inhabitants, headed by Kyr K. Turtúri, acting as hodjá-bashi for his brother, and accompanied by the Subashí, or Albanian governor, preceded by a gypsey band of music, arrive in an hour at the church. They bring with them a lamb roasted

Digitized by Google

whole, wine, bread, and salad; and soon after their arrival we all sit down to dinner. A long cloth is spread in the portico, the meat is partly cut and partly torn in pieces by the servants, and spread about the cloth; some sit upon carpets, and some upon the pavement. The gypsies strike up their music, which consists of two drums, two violins, two tabors, a sort of oboe, with another wind instrument, and a fife out of which they produce the most piercing notes. The vocal performances with which they accompany it are equally distressing to the ears, to make as much noise as possible being the chief concern.

After dinner we have some Kleftic songs, of which the exploits of the Suliote heroes are the subject, and those of the celebrated robber Kartz-Andónio, who slew the no less famous Bolu-báshi Velý Gheghe, sent against him by Alý Pashá. These heroic songs[1] are followed by erotic[2], with a chorus of Po, Po, Po[3]. The Albanian governor then rises, and leads the dance with bare feet.

At 10 we descend the ridge through the wood before described[4]; both Turks and Christians firing their musquets as we proceed, and causing a surprising increase of sound and echo amidst the precipices which overhang the winding river. It is remarkable, that at the river itself the same

[1] *πολεμικὰ τραγούδια.*

[2] *ἀγαπητικά.*

[3] This is an Albanian interjection of admiration. Bah, ahah, signify assent; and so does the drawing up of the air through the lips, which Alý Pashá often uses in conversation.

[4] See Vol. I. p. 273.

Digitized by Google

explosion produces no more than the ordinary sound, without any echo. After three quarters of an hour consumed in ascending the zig-zag path from the river to the town, we enter it among crowds of spectators. Kalarýtes has increased since 1805 in riches and comfort, and is almost the only place that reflects any credit upon Alý's government. Every year the return of the merchants to their native country produces some new houses. There are now upwards of 500; and 620 heads of families are enrolled in the tax-book, those of the first class are rated this year at 800 piastres, the second at 400, the third at 200, and the fourth, which consists of many sub-divisions, from 100 to 5. A few of the poorest families pay nothing. The whole amount received by the Vezír is 70,000 piastres, or about 4,000*l.* sterling. The town has now a public debt of 250 purses, the interest of which is to be provided for, in addition to the sums just mentioned; it is lower than in any other place, on account of the better security, and 10 per cent. from the *κάσσα*, or public chest of Kalarýtes, is considered by the monied men of Ioánnina as preferable to a higher gain anywhere else. The Vezír sometimes however, when he wishes to satisfy a favourite, sends him with a buyurdí, ordering the Kalarytiótes to take the bearer's money at 12 per cent. whether they want it or not.

The lands around the village, which formerly supplied the inhabitants with corn for a part of the year, have been neglected with the increase of wealth and population, as it answers better in

Digitized by Google

general to import corn and flour than to cultivate such a wretched soil. In the present year, however, they feel the loss of this culture, in consequence of a dearth of corn in Thessaly, which, it is reckoned, has caused an expenditure of 60,000 piastres for provisions beyond that of last year.

A part of the territory is destined to the pasture of oxen, for which 3 piastres a head are paid to the kassa of the town: for a horse or mule fed on another common destined for them, 5 piastres. The remaining pastures are destined to sheep and goats, the charge for which is 500 piastres a year for a mandra of 2000. The Eleftherokhória of the mountains of Greece in general derive their principal revenue from their pastures, which are common property. This illustrates the ancient ἐπινομία,—a privilege which was often conferred, together with other rights of citizenship, on foreign benefactors, who then had the right of feeding their sheep and cattle on the same terms as citizens. Sometimes the pasturage was in part let for the benefit of the ταμεῖον, or public chest, or allotted as security for borrowed money.

Building is expensive at Kalarýtes. A woman who brings a large stone upon her back from the quarry, which is about a mile from the extremity of the town, receives each time 6 parás, and can make ten trips per diem; the expence in quarrying is 2 parás more, so that by the time the stone is put into the wall it costs not less than 10 parás: the smaller stones are brought by mules. Plákes, or rough slabs of the same kind of cal-

Digitized by Google

careous stone, for roofing, are 10 piastres the hundred, great and small. Timber is cut and brought from Prámanda and Melisurgús, or from a large wood on the eastern side of the mountains in the road to Tríkkala, distant about 3 hours. A scantling of fir from the forest of Prámanda, which is generally brought on the shoulder of the person who shapes it there, is sold here from 35 to 40 parás.

According to a sumptuary custom of this republic, which has all the force of a law, the head of a family of the first class cannot give his daughter more than 1000 piastres dowry, her wardrobe included: the other classes in proportion. Another confines the dresses of the women to particular kinds of stuff.

The Albanian Subashí who is head of the police has only two palikária to assist him. He decides all trifling differences, receiving a fee from the parties, and even adjudicates in small processes for debt, for which he takes 10 per cent.; but all the more important civil questions are subject to the arbitration of the primates, and are ultimately submitted to the Vezír. Another perquisite of the Subashí is 2 per cent. for collecting the contributions, according to a list furnished by the hodjá-bashi and his assessors. The Subashí has the power of punishing in three modes: 1. by imprisonment; 2. by quartering his palikária upon the house of the offender; 3. by turning out the family and sealing up the door; all which in the greater number of instances may be remitted for money. Without quarrels in the

Digitized by Google

village the Subashí would starve, as he receives no pay from his master. But in fact his place is so desirable for a poor Albanian soldier, that he takes care never to exceed his powers, or to give cause for complaints against him by the primates.

Matzúki has become a tjiftlík of the Vezír since my last visit to these mountains. Unable to pay the impositions, the poor villagers were obliged to borrow money at Ioánnina or elsewhere, at an interest of 20 per cent., or even at 2 per cent. per mensem. Their difficulties having been of course increased by this measure, some of the inhabitants fled to 'Agrafa, the rest presented themselves to the Vezír with an offer to sell the whole village and its territory. The price demanded was 12 purses and the public debt. His Highness had no difficulty in declaring the place his tjiftlík; but instead of 12 purses he gave only 2, and instead of paying the debts, referred the creditors to the Matzukiótes who had fled to 'Agrafa.

Khalíki, at the sources of the *Achelous*, once the most important modern village of *Pindus*, and from whence came many of the chief families of Kalarýtes, is on the point of being deserted on account of the excessive burthen of the taxes, and of a debt of 100 purses. When the village was in its prosperity the inhabitants abandoned their corn for sheep, and have now very little of either, their property consisting almost entirely of horses and mules, with which they gain a livelihood as carriers. Yet the annual contribution is still from 400 to 700 piastres from the head of a family. Last winter an avalanche buried ten or twelve

Digitized by Google

of the houses in the village, and filled the bed of the river. I before remarked that the name Khalíki, a common Romaic corruption of *Chalcis*, explains a verse of Dionysius Periegetes, in which he states that the Achelous rises at Chalcis, but I was not then acquainted with a passage of Stephanus, which confirms it. It is in alluding to the involution of the Echinades in the mud of the Achelous that the remark of Dionysius occurs, in reference to which Stephanus observes that Chalcis was a city of Ætolia, from whence the Achelous flows [1]. There may be some inaccuracy in describing this country as Ætolia, but neither Stephanus nor Dionysius could possibly have had in view the Chalcis of Ætolia, as some critics have supposed, for that place, of which the ruins still exist on the coast opposite to Patra, was more than 20 miles distant from the nearest part of the Achelous.

The only ancient position besides Chalcis in the mountainous country around Kakardhísta that can be stated with any confidence is that of Theudoria, a place mentioned only by Livy, on the authority of Polybius, but from whom it appears to have been one of the chief towns of the Athamanes. The resemblance of name seems to identify it with the modern Thodhóriana, a village situated near

[1] Τρίτη Αἰτωλίας, ἀφ' ἧς ὁ Ἀχελῶος ῥεῖ. Διονύσιος ὁ Περηγητὴς,—

Νήσων τ' ἀλλοίων, ὅσσας τ' ἀπὸ Χαλκίδος ἔρτων
(Δίνῃς ἀργυρέῃς Ἀχελώϊος ἀμφὶς ἑλίσσει.)

Stephan. in Χαλκίς—Dionys. v. 496.

Digitized by Google

Mount Tzumérka in a pass which leads from the *Achelous* to the *Arachthus*. Theudoria was recovered from the Macedonians, with the other towns of Athamania, by the expelled king Amynander, with the assistance of the Ætolians, in the year B. C. 189, just before the siege of Ambracia by the consul Fulvius. Argithea is mentioned by the historian on this occasion as the capital of Athamania, and as situated amidst rocky mountains and deep valleys. Tetraphylia was the royal treasury; the other towns were Heracleia and Theium, besides which were Ethopia, near Argithea, and the fortress Athenæum, apparently not far from Gomphi. Philip, as soon as he heard of the defection of Athamania, marched with all his forces from Gomphi towards Argithea, but having been repulsed at Ethopia, he was obliged to effect a retreat to Gomphi, during which he sustained great loss until he had crossed a certain river, in consequence of the mountainous nature of the country, and the better knowledge of it possessed by his enemies, the Athamanes and Ætolians[1]. As *Gomphi* was in some part of the plain of Tríkkala, it follows, if *Theudoria* was at Thodhóriana, that *Athamania* extended from the plain of Tríkkala to the crest of the Tzumérka chain, or perhaps to the river Arta, thus comprehending the modern Aspropótamo, and a part of 'Agrafa. That a large portion of the valley of the upper Achelous was included in Athamania, seems evident from the name Paracheloitis, which Livy shows to have

[1] Liv. l. 38, c. 1, 2.

Digitized by Google

been a part of Athamania[1]. The districts of Matzúki, Kalarýtes, and Syráko, which are so remarkably separated from the rest of the world by the surrounding ridges, I take to have been the country within the narrow limits of which the once extensive western Perrhæbi were reduced in the time of Strabo, for the geographer describes them as situated to the north of Ætolia, near the Athamanes and Dolopes, and as occupying the western side of the summits of Pindus[2].

Aug. 20.—This afternoon having recrossed the bridge at the foot of the mountain of Kalarýtes, I leave to the right the ordinary road to Ioánnina, which crosses the ridge of St. George, and follow that which leads to Prámanda and Arta along the eastern side of the same ridge. At the end of an hour from the bridge, we arrive at Kiepína, a monastery formed like that of Megaspílio in the Moréa, by means of a wall built in front of a cavern, but on a diminutive scale compared with that building, and containing only a small church with two apartments, inhabited by two monks and a young laic. The cavern is very curious, as being the entrance of a horizontal passage into the body of the mountain, of which the monks affirm, that neither they nor any other person have ever yet reached the extremity. I followed the passage for 20 minutes by the watch, without any con-

[1] At the congress of Tempe, where the Powers pleaded their cause before the Roman Commissaries, Philip complained, "Paracheloida, quæ sub Athamaniâ esset, nullo jure Thessalorum formulæ factum."—Liv. l. 39, c. 26.

[2] Strabo, pp. 61. 434. 437. 442. 450.—Exc. l. 10.

Digitized by Google

siderable ascent or descent, over a level ground of hard clay, and without meeting any impediment, except occasionally that of stooping under some projections of the roof, or of climbing over some hollows where a single plank would save the trouble. Not having been able to procure a sufficiency of candle, I was obliged to return; the air was cold and loaded with vapour, which increased as I advanced. Near the entrance of the cavern, the sides are a bare calcareous rock; in the farther parts are some large stalagmatic columns. The monastery is situated exactly in the gorge which gives passage to the united stream, formed by the three branches of Matzúki, Kakardhísta, and Kalarýtes, or Syráko, and not far above the junction of this river with the Arta, or *Arachthus*. It commands a magnificent view of mountain scenery. Below the monastery, on the side of the hill towards the river, are some gardens watered by springs, which there issue from the mountain. A few years ago Kiepína was a scene of action between the people of Kalarýtes and Syráko, upon an occasion on which they ought rather to have united against Alý Pashá, but which exemplifies the characteristic readiness of neighbours in every part of Greece to break out into hostility. A Kalarytiote was on the eve of marriage with a Syrakiote girl, whose family was connected with his own, when the Vezír having received intimation of the beauty of the girl, by a Kalarytiote who is in his service, dispatched some men who took her out of her father's house at night. All Syráko was instantly in arms, and intercepting the road

Digitized by Google

to Ioánnina, forced the abducers to retire into Kiepína, where they were blockaded by the Syrakiótes. As the monastery belongs to Kalarýtes, the Vezír's agent had no great difficulty in persuading a body of his countrymen to proceed to the rescue of His Highness's emissaries. Some fighting ensued, when the affair appearing serious, Alý affected to consider the persons who carried away the girl as belonging to a band of robbers, and ordered peace to be made between the two towns, on condition that the girl should be taken out of the monastery to Kalarýtes, and from thence be restored to her parents at Syráko; and thus for once the Pashá was obliged to give up his point.

Some shepherds who are feeding their flocks around Kiepína confirm the existence of an absurd custom in these mountains, which I had often heard mentioned by the Kalarytiótes. With the view of making their sheep healthy and strong, and the flesh coarse and ill-flavoured, the first for the sake of enabling the sheep to resist the weather, and the latter to render it less tempting to the wolves, they are in the habit of taking a piece of the fibula of a dog, two inches long, and of inserting it into the fleshy part of the thigh of the lamb when it has nearly attained its growth, after which the opening is sewed up. So persuaded are they of the efficacy of this custom, that the shepherd at Kiepína expressed his belief, that lambs born of a ram or ewe so treated have a similar bone. Such a practice could only obtain, where the greater part of the lambs were destined

Digitized by Google

only to be shorn, to breed, and to make cheese. The bone, doubtless, is soon carried away by suppuration. As education extends in Greece, this absurd custom, which is already ridiculous among the higher class, will gradually cease, as well as the use of charms and some other superstitious practices which still prevail among the common people, especially among the women. It would be difficult now to meet with an example of the most barbarous of all those superstitions, that of the Vrukólaka. The name being Illyric, seems to acquit the Greeks of the invention, which was probably introduced into the country by the barbarians of Sclavonic race. Tournefort's description is admitted to be correct. The Devil is supposed to enter the Vrukólaka, who, rising from his grave, torments first his nearest relations, and then others, causing their death or loss of health. The remedy is to dig up the body, and if after it has been exorcised by the priest, the demon still persists in annoying the living, to cut the body into small pieces, or if that be not sufficient, to burn it. The metropolitan bishop of Lárissa lately informed me, that when metropolitan of Grevená, he once received advice of a papás having disinterred two bodies, and thrown them into the *Haliacmon*, on pretence of their being Vrukólakas. Upon being summoned before the bishop, the priest confessed the fact, and asserted in justification, that a report prevailed of a large animal having been seen to issue, accompanied with flames, out of the grave in which the two bodies had been buried. The bishop began by obliging the priest to pay him

Digitized by Google

250 piastres: (his holiness did not add that he made over the money to the poor). He then sent for scissors to cut off the priest's beard, but was satisfied with frightening him. By then publishing throughout the diocese, that any similar offence would be punished with double the fine and certain loss of station, the bishop effectually quieted all the vampires of his episcopal province.

Aug. 21.—We pursue the road from Kalarýtes to Prámanda to the foot of the mountain, cross and recross the river, and then ascend a beautiful woody slope where the soil appears fertile, to the small ruined village of Mikhalítzi, distant one hour and twenty minutes from Kiepína, and thence, in an hour and a half, through rocky passes over a bare mountain which borders the left bank of the *Arachthus* to Kuliarádhes, a village in a lofty situation, not far short of which is στὸ Καστέλι, a place so called from the foundations of a Hellenic building of small dimensions, which were brought to light not many years ago in clearing the ground of wood. Opposite to Kuliarádhes, beyond the precipitous gorges of the *Arachthus*, is seen the district of the Tomaro-khória, one of which, Fortósi, stands on the edge of the cliffs immediately opposite to Kuliarádhes. Four or five of these villages are situated on an elevated, fertile, and well-cultivated vale, lying below the northern side of the summit called Xero-vúni, and watered by a tributary of the *Arachthus*. The remaining villages stand on more distant slopes of the same mountain towards the plain of Ioánnina. Lozétzi, the largest of the Tomaro-khória, lies to the northward of Fortósi,

Digitized by Google

in a lower situation. Farther on the descent occurs Serianá[1], a small place three hours from Ioánnina, where are said to be some remains of antiquity.

Kuliarádhes is a tjiftlík of Mukhtár Pashá. The inhabitants complain of the expence to which they are subjected in finding fire-wood for his use, and that of the Vezír, their lands not producing any. But none of the villages within a certain distance of Ioánnina are exempt from this charge. The supply of snow to the palace is another severe angariá; and the more burthensome to individuals, as it is required only from the places which are near the glaciers. In the beginning of summer the snow is furnished by the villages of Mount Mitzikéli, then by Kótzista and Bozgóli, and towards the end of the season by Syráko. On leaving Kuliarádhes our road lies for an hour along the summits, where the land produces corn or feeds cattle. On the right of us, in a high situation, is Vestavétzi; soon after passing which, we begin a very steep and tedious descent to the Arta, where the road is rendered so difficult by the loose soil and stones, that it is only practicable on foot. We cross the river at the ruins of a bridge where formerly stood some mills. The place is called Tjímovo[2]. In building the bridge advantage was taken of a great rock in the middle of the river which served for a pier. There are some remains of other piers made of bricks and mortar, apparently of the time of the Roman or Byzantine empire. From hence, in

[1] Σεργιανά. [2] Τζίμυβος.

Digitized by Google

three-quarters of an hour, we cross the heights to Prodhováli [1], a village of eight families, situated at three hours' distance from Kuliarádhes, on the edge of the plain which separates Mount Dhrysko from the hill of Kastrítza. Having lodged here under an arbour of vines attached to one of the cottages, I proceed in two hours to Ioánnina, on the morning of the 22d of August.

Ioánnina, September—October, 1809.—On the 1st of September, Omér Vrióni Bey, of Verghiondí [2], near Berát, entered Ioánnina with a suite of led horses and mules, baggage, and attendants, on his return from Egypt, after eight or ten years spent in warring with the Mamluks and plundering the country. His harém and treasures have been sent forward to his native town. Several of the led horses are destined as presents to the Vezír, together with a valuable Damascus blade, richly mounted, a mule which cost 8,000 piastres, and a hedjín, or saddle-camel, with its furniture.

The Porte, having little hope of regaining its authority in Egypt while the Albanians remain there, is endeavouring to detach the principal chiefs from Mehmét Alý, in which Alý of Ioánnina willingly concurs, having heard of the riches which many of his countrymen have accumulated in that excellent field of plunder, and having a good

[1] Προδοβάλι.

[2] The family of Vrióni is very ancient in Albania, and is supposed to be the same which the Greeks translated into Bryennius. The name originates perhaps in that of the native place of Omér Bey.

Digitized by Google

prospect of obtaining a portion of whatever may reach Albania. A mulatto, brother of Hassán Agá of Margaríti, who, before he went to Egypt, was a robber among the Khaitalí of Thrace, and who submitted himself[1] to the Vezír some years ago at Monastír, is now one of the richest Albanian Beys in Egypt, and refuses to return, being equally afraid of Alý Pashá, and of his own brother, who is still in Albania, and with whom he had never been on good terms.

Τούρκον εἶδες; ἄσπρα θέλει, a modern proverb, meaning literally that a Greek never sees a Turk approach without knowing that he is coming to demand money, is too applicable to the character of the Turks in general, and especially to those in office, from the highest to the lowest degree. There may be a few examples of moderation in Asia Minor, but among the far greater number of chieftains who have established an independent authority, such as has left them at liberty to pursue their own ideas of governing, the same extortion has prevailed as under the obedient delegates of the Sultán, nor have the countries so ruled experienced any relief from the fatal influence of the Turkish system. It is evident from the account of those who have lately returned from Egypt, that the remark applies not less to Mehmét Alý of Cairo than it does to Alý of Ioánnina.

Alý, since he has become of political importance in Europe, shows some wish that foreigners should

[1] ἐπροσκύνησε.

Digitized by Google

have a favourable opinion of him. Nevertheless, he has little scruple in alluding to those actions of his life which are the least likely to obtain such favour, though he generally endeavours to give such a colouring to them as shall make them appear less criminal. Sometimes he manifests a wish to perpetuate his power in his own family, but evidently without great hopes of success, betraying proofs not only that he has little confidence in the ability of his sons to maintain his conquests, but that he even entertains lively fears for his own safety, as he often inquires whether, in case of being driven out of his native country, he should find security for his person and property in the British dominions. Sometimes he listens to counsel for a moment, and endeavours to amend the vices of his government. In August, by advice of the bishop of Lárissa, he summoned deputies from all the villages of Tríkkala, deposed the hodjá-bashis who had acted oppressively, and substituted others. But this is the extent of his reforms. He is perfectly aware that his subjects detest him; and lately in conversation with one of his ministers, remarked, that he should very much prefer the love of his people if it answered equally well to his treasury. He is not incapable of understanding that it might answer better in the end; but his habits are now too inveterate to allow him to act upon such views, and his favourite maxim of *νὰ εἶμαι καλὰ ἐγὼ*, which has actuated many an illustrious despot, not so honest as Alý in declaring it, will doubtless continue to be the rule of his conduct to the end, as well as that sentiment naturally

Digitized by Google

arising from it, which Nero is said to have expressed in the words ἐμοῦ θανόντος, γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί. He may perhaps find some excuse for such short-sighted policy in the constant state of anxiety and suspicion in which he is placed by the known treachery of the Supreme Government, by the hatred which the Osmanlís in general entertain against him as an Albanian, by the personal hostility of the Sultan, and by the conduct of his ambitious neighbours in the Islands. It can hardly be doubted that he would better consult his safety by increased efforts to strengthen himself, as well by military power as by cultivating an influence among those who constitute three fourths of his subjects, having already paved the way for the latter by plundering and degrading almost all the Mahometans within his reach, while he favours and employs the Christians, though in neither instance with any longer views than those of immediate advantage. In augmenting his possessions and power in Albania, he seems to proceed upon a more settled principle, and one which offers the better prospects to his ambition, as the Turks have never so completely subdued Albania as to destroy hereditary power and influence, or have been able to keep the country in a state of subjection, but by promoting a balance of power between the principal chieftains,—the best policy, in fact, for the Sultán to adhere to, as he is sure of the mercenary services of the Albanian soldiers whenever they are wanted, and cannot reasonably hope, even if he were to achieve such a conquest of Albania as Mahomet the Second succeeded in

Digitized by Google

effecting, to maintain a permanent and complete authority in the country, which neither that victorious monarch, nor any of his successors, when the military character of the Ottomans was in its meridian, were able to accomplish.

It must be admitted that the success with which Alý has indulged his ambition in Greece and Albania, not only in defiance of the Porte, but hitherto with a constant increase of influence over the Supreme Government, is a proof of skill, foresight, and constancy of purpose, in which few statesmen or monarchs have ever excelled him, and shows that had he any enlightened and steady views of benefit to his country, he has the talent requisite for pursuing them to completion. He sometimes compares himself to Burros, because Pyrrhus was his predecessor in Epirus, and possibly because Pyrrhus is the only great man of antiquity he ever heard of except Alexander; of Alexander's father at least, whom Alý most resembles in character, I find he has no knowledge. He shows equal art and activity in the various measures of force or fraud by which his advantages are obtained, and exhibits a degree of patience and command of temper, especially when the object is to gain partisans to his cause, which in such an impetuous character is very remarkable. It is surprising to see with what apparent good humour he listens to the interminable discourses of every petty Albanian officer, whose momentary importance may give him the enviable privilege of conversing with the great chieftain. Alý himself also probably takes some pleasure in

Digitized by Google

a mode of transacting business from which he has derived advantage through the whole course of his career, and in exercising upon these men his talents of flattery and deception.

He professes his determination not to make peace till he has obtained Berát, but admits that he is tired of the contest, which has already cost him 1500 purses, though it began only in May, and that in addition to his expenditure in Albania, he is obliged to meet the loss of credit at Constantinople, which has been the consequence of his having undertaken this contest against the will of the Porte. In fact, it operates as a diversion in favour of the external enemy, by preventing many of the Albanians from recruiting the Grand Vezír's army on the Danube.

Though there is great difficulty in ascertaining correctly what passes in the Vezír's harém, it is known that he never had but one wife, the sister of Khotád and Mortezá, Beys of Ayghyrókastro, who is still alive; unless the widow of a rich Turk of Ioánnina, whom he married for a day in order to obtain her property, may be called another. He asserts that he has 200 women in his harém; for these are subjects on which he has no scruples in conversing. Like most Turks, he is desirous of consulting medical men, the great objects of such inquiries being philters and poisons. His women are all either slaves bought at Constantinople, or presented to him by Turks, or they are Greek women, noticed for their beauty by him or some of his servants, and conveyed by his order to the serái. His only favourite at present is a Christian

Digitized by Google

Albanian, from the neighbourhood of Tepeléni, whose father having been ordered to Ioánnina, with his whole family, for some real or imputed offence about ten years ago, this girl, then a child, was remarked by Alý, and ordered to be educated in his harém. She is still a Christian, and allowed to have her chapel, and service performed by a papás in the palace. Indeed, he never troubles himself to make religious converts of either sex; on the contrary, it is more common to see the boys who are brought up in the serái in his service, reading and writing with the Greek papás than with the Turkish hodjá. Nor has Alý ever deprived any of the higher class of Greeks of their daughters. With the exception of the favourite and two or three of her attendants, whom he often removes in a close carriage at night from one palace to another, at which he intends to pass the ensuing day, not one of the unfortunate inmates of the harém in the castle ever quits her prison, unless, as a rare instance of favour, to be married to one of his servants. There, very indifferently clothed, fed, and lodged, confined to latticed apartments, without amusement or exercise, in a situation where the air in summer and autumn is unhealthy, they cannot but soon lose their health and attractions. Indeed it may be said that when once the palace in the castle becomes their constant residence, they are as much neglected as the building itself. As few women, even of the higher classes in Ioánnina, possess either elegance or beauty, it cannot be supposed that these peasant girls can have much to recom-

Digitized by Google

mend them after the first glow of health is worn off in their sickly confinement. Not many weeks ago a country girl was recommended to the Vezír by his Kalarytiote secretary, who caused her to be brought to the palace. In the course of a few days he resolved to have her married, and fixed upon P. a young man of Kalarýtes for her husband, but who having obtained intimation of the honour intended him, immediately made off for Corfú, accompanied by another person of the same town and family. They had nearly reached the coast when the emissaries of Tahír Agá overtook them, and not knowing exactly which was the destined bridegroom, brought them both back to Ioánnina. In the mean time, however, the Proestós of Kalarýtes, having interceded with the Vezír, P. escàped marriage, and the girl was sent back to her parents. Scarcely any two persons agree as to the number of female children which Alý has had, but it is generally believed that several have been put to death. It is difficult to understand his reasons for this cruelty, as he has made so good a use of female alliances in the furtherance of his political projects, but the practice is supposed to be not uncommon among the great Turks, including the Sultán. They think probably that it enhances the honour of the alliance to have no more than the exact number of daughters required. It has often been remarked, that the life of a man is of no consideration in the East, compared to that which is attached to it among the nations of civilized Europe; but it is difficult for a native of the latter to conceive how much

Digitized by Google

more strongly this remark applies to the female sex.

The daily rains ceased at Ioánnina towards the latter end of June, after which the heat was excessive till about the 10th of July; showery weather then followed, with a cool northerly wind till the 21st; the heat then increased daily till about the 26th, when it arrived at its maximum, the thermometer at 2 P.M. ranging from 85° to 95° in the coolest parts of the house, and so continued during the first half of August. About the 12th of that month the cold north wind again set in, causing dysentery on board our ships off the coast. These sudden changes of temperature are one of the worst peculiarities of the climate of Ioánnina. I have known the north wind blow for several days almost as hot as an Egyptian khamsín, and then suddenly become cold, without any rain having fallen within the visible horizon. At Kalarytes in the middle of August, the thermometer fell below 60°; on my return to Ioánnina, on the 22d of August, the weather for about a week was calm, with a light north-west wind, and hot though very moderate compared with the two former periods of heat. About the first of September the southerly winds began, and continued with an accompaniment of violent rain and thunder for a fortnight. A letter which I received from Capt. Brisbane, senior officer of the ships on the coast, dated Sept. 16, stated that he had been prevented for many days from approaching the coast, and that the weather at sea had been severe in the extreme. After this little monsoon there was a

Digitized by Google

series of the fairest and calmest days with sometimes very light north-westers in the afternoon, till the 28th September, when the southerly winds again set in, and the rains became almost incessant until I departed for Arta, on the 20th October. The wind seldom blows for twenty-four hours from between the west and south-east without bringing rain.

From these and other remarks which I have before incidentally made, it is apparent that, in respect of climate, Ioánnina is more northerly than any part of Italy, except the mountains, and may perhaps be ranked with Vienna. It is possible, however, that this year has hardly been an average one, and that there has been more rain during the winter and spring, and less hot and dry weather in the summer than usual. In some years the drought is said to be distressing, and in consequence of the dry gravelly soil is probably much sooner felt here than in *Thessaly*, for Providence seems to have admirably adapted the soils to the climates on either side of the *Pindus*, the deep rich mould of *Thessaly* requiring a much smaller degree of moisture to render it productive than the light stony calcareous soil of the greater part of *Epirus*, but particularly the plain of Ioánnina, which can only be rendered productive by frequent and copious irrigation.

Arta, October 1809.—The district of Arta contains 170 villages, in eight kolis or subdivisions:—1. Kambo, or the plain; 2. Luro; 3. Lámari; 4. Laka; 5. Kervasará; 6. Vrysis;

Digitized by Google

7. Radhovízdhi, or Radhovísi; 8. Tzumérka, or Tzumérniko[1].

The chief villages in Kambo are Mehmetjáus and Rakhi, to the westward of Arta—Kostakiús, half an hour from Arta in the road to Salaghóra, and Neokhóri, 2 hours from the sea on the right bank of the river of Arta, which is so far navigable to small vessels. Kambo is divided by the river of St. George from Luro, which contains the valley of Luro as far as the mountains of Suli. In Lámari, are Libókhovo, before described, as well as Kastro-sykiá or -skiá, Kamarína, Mikhalítzi, and Mýtika. In Laka, are Lélovo —Pogórtissa, one hour and a half from Tervitzianá, which is in the district of Ioánnina—Filipiádhes on the river of St. George half an hour from Strivína—Podhogorá, in the plain of Lélovo opposite to that village, and Papadhátes in a lofty situation an hour and a half from Podhogorá and 2 hours from St. George. In Kervasará are Strivína, Kometzádhes, Mulianá, Klisúra, near Pendepigádhia, and Akóghi. In Vrysis, Peta is the only considerable village. In Rhadhovísi are Kombóti, Skulikaryá, and Velitzikó, the two latter in the mountains. In Tzumérka are Prámanda, Melisurgús, Thodhóriana, Lupsísta, and Vurgaréli. The villages above named contain about 2000 families; all the others in the district of Arta being small, have not more than 3000, so

[1] Κάμπος, Λοῦρος, Λάμαρι, Ῥαδοβίζδι, or Ῥαδοβήσι, Τζουμέρκα, or Τζουμέρνικος. Λάκα, Κερβασαρᾶς, Βρύσις,

that the whole rural population of Arta is about 30,000, to whom may be added for that of the town, 5000 Greeks, 500 Turks and as many Jews.

The plain of Arta and the sub-district of Lámari belong entirely, with the exception of two Turkish tjiftlíks, to the Vezír or his sons; and it is computed that the yearly revenue of their lands and flocks amounts on an average to 1400 purses. From the farmers he receives four-tenths of the crop in kind, which includes one-eighth in wheat, barley, and oats, and one-tenth in rokka, due to him as vóivoda. Wheat and kalambókki are the principal produce of Arta, then wine, of which there are 20,000 horse-loads, but of indifferent quality, as the vineyards are in the plain; barley, oats, cotton, flax, tobacco, rice, and pulse. The landlord's wheat and maize are partly consumed by the troops and household of the Pashá and his sons: the tobacco and rice are sold at Ioánnina. The exports by sea from the district in the commodities abovementioned, to which are to be added the oranges, lemons, and hazel-nuts, of the gardens of Arta, are reckoned to be of the annual value of 1000 purses. The Vezír pays to the Porte for the mukatá of the voivodalík 300 purses, and receives more than that sum from the persons alone to whom he underlets the customs, and who collect them at Arta, Mýtika, Luro, and Kastroskiá.

For the tithe of the lands not owned by him he receives annually 290 purses. A duty on wine collected at the wine-houses, he lets for 16,000 pias-

Digitized by Google

tres; the kumérki, or excise on goods entering the town, together with the statíri, or fee on public weighing, for 10,000 piastres; the monopoly of tobacco, for 16,000. About 15,000 piastres are collected by his agent for the kumérki, or toll upon sheep and goats passing through Arta from the mountains of *Epirus* to feed in the winter in *Acarnania*. The subashilík and vostína, which are fees paid to the Vezír as possessing the ziaméts and timária of Arta, comprehending about a fourth of the district, amount to 13,000 piastres. Other contributions of various kinds accruing to him as governor are reckoned at 75,000; so that the amount of his revenue from his gain upon the mukatá added to the produce of his landed property, including that of his sons, is near 2000 purses, or 60,000*l.* sterling, from the kazá of Arta alone.

The customs of Ioánnina, of the ports of the Forty Saints and Vutzintró, are let by the Vezír, together with the voivodalík of Ioánnina, and an excise levied upon merchandize passing over the bridge of Ráiko, or in entering the gates of Ioánnina, for 450 purses. His estates in that district are more extensive than in Arta, but probably not more productive: he possesses, however, various sources of superior profit in the larger population, and the amount of his net revenue from both, may be estimated at 120,000*l.* per annum. It is supposed by the person who gave me the particulars of his Artenó property, and who is one of the farmers of the revenue, that his whole net income, exclusive of payments and presents at Con-

Digitized by Google

stantinople, is about five millions of piastres, or 300,000*l.*—a sum capable of effecting twice as much as in England, but for which he is charged, it must be remembered, with all the expence of the civil government and military defence of the country.

The djezýe-guebrán (tribute of the infidels) commonly called the kharádj, is farmed by the Vezír from the farmer-general of this well-known capitation tax on male non-Musulmans. It amounts to three, six, or twelve piastres, according to the person's age, and amounts in the kazá of Arta to 35,000 piastres; in that of Ioánnina to nearly twice as much. Upon this the Vezír makes some profit. Besides this and the other imposts which have been mentioned, each family is assessed for the local expences by the Proestí; the whole sum levied under this head in the district of Arta is about 100,000 piastres, without taking into account avanías and forced loans, which are seldom or never repaid *in toto*. To these burthens must be added also the quartering and feeding of soldiers, Turks, and public characters of all descriptions, as well as angaríes, or contributions of horses, personal labour, and materials, which the Vezír frequently demands for public works, or more properly speaking, for the execution of his caprices in building palaces and castles.

The old inhabitants of Arta speak with great respect of Suleymán, who was cut off by the Porte forty-five years ago, and in whose time those who now pay 700 piastres in khréi were not taxed more than 30, which, however, was equal to 150 at the present day. At that time the spahilíks

Digitized by Google

of the district belonged to Turks, and the remaining lands almost entirely to Greeks, subject to a tithe of about an eighth, the kharádj, and a few other general or local taxes. The mode in which Alý has acquired all this property, and the effects of the change upon Arta, is exemplified in the house in which I am lodged: like many others in the town it is large, and shows signs of former comfort and opulence, but belongs to a poor widow who can only afford to occupy a part of it, the Pashá having purchased all her landed property at her husband's death for his own price. He was much indebted to Kyr P. of Arta for having arranged his finances in this district, and for having in particular made the customs much more productive than before. When at the close of his labours P. made an humble application for some remuneration, the only answer he received was: Turn and sit down prudently; your father died rich, yet I never tormented you [1].

Arta supplies Ioánnina with the greater part of its fruits and vegetables, particularly with the orange tribe, which are in a state of maturity here nine months in the year. The blossoms only which expand in September and October, produce fruit that does not ripen. The following method of planting slips of orange-trees is generally practised at Arta; the bark having been taken off round the place where the separation is to be made, a strip of sheep-skin leather is tied tight

[1] *Σύρε νὰ κάτζαι φρόνιμα· ὁ πατέρασσου ἀπέθανε πλούσιος καὶ δὲν σὰς ἐπείραξα.*

Digitized by Google

round the wood. A quantity of earth contained in two half pots is then placed at the ligature, and bound so as to be supported by the main body of the tree, in order that the branch may not be injured by the weight. Roots soon strike into the earth from the branch, after which it may be cut off and placed in the ground. In this manner a tree may be planted with fruit upon it, and will bear a good crop in one, two, or three years, according to its strength, instead of ten, which the seedling requires in coming to perfection. It is found that a tree, however good, improves in its fruit by being grafted every three or four years: the graft is taken from a choice tree, and sometimes from the same tree.

In the church of the εὐαγγελισμὸς τῆς Παναγίας stands a square stele of marble or hard limestone, three feet high, adorned at the top and down the angles with a plain moulding, but broken and incomplete at the bottom. Whether this monument was not discovered at the time of my former visit, or whether I missed it, trusting too much to the guidance of Bishop Ignatius, I cannot assert. It is a dedication by the community of the deacons in the priesthood of Canopus to Sarapis, Isis, Anubis, and Harpocrates [1]. Both priest and deities seem to have been an importation from Egypt in

[1] Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν διακόνων Σαράπει, Ἴσει, Ἀνούβει, Ἁρποκράτει, Κάνωπος Ἱερεὺς,—Σώτων Καλλιστράτου, Διόδωρος Μενάνδρου, Ἀντίπατρος Πασίωνος, Εὔνους Ἀπολλοφάνεος, Κράτης Ἡρακλείτου, Ἡράκλειτος Κρατῆρος, Ἀγαθίδας Καλλικράτεος, Τιμόδαμος Σωσιστράτου, Διονύσιος Πλάτορος, Ασκλαπίων . . . . . —V. Inscription, No. 170.

Digitized by Google

the time of the Ptolemies, with which date the form of the characters accords.

Oct. 25.—Peta is a village of sixty houses, distant an hour's ride to the N.E. of Arta, on the heights just above the *Arachthus*, where it issues into the plain. On the river's bank, below the village, stands the monastery of Theotóki. Two hours higher, at Sarandáforo, the Arta is joined by a large tributary flowing from Mount Tzumérka, above the left bank of which, on the mountain facing Tzumérka, are Vurgaréli and the monastery of Velá. Between these places and Peta is a range of fertile heights, which are now quite uncultivated, the small villages, which formerly occupied them having been totally ruined by robbers. Peta, which has lately become a tjiftlík of Mukhtár Pashá has a small territory producing oil, corn, and kalambókki, all which are of excellent quality: its tobacco is not in such repute.

Oct. 26.—From Peta to Kombóti: distance 1 hour and 45 minutes, without baggage. To the right of the road, in the valley which is included between Petro-vúni, as the ancient *Perrhanthe* or hill of *Ambracia* is called, and the heights of Peta and Kombóti, we pass the ruin of a building apparently of the time of the Lower Empire. The territory of Kombóti is a fertile slope at the foot of the range of inferior hills which are backed by the great range, the continuation of Tzumérka. Kombóti was once a large Eleftherokhóri, but having become a tjiftlík of Mukhtár Pashá, is now in a declining state. It still produces, however,

Digitized by Google

corn, wine, maize, tobacco, and oil, and consists of 120 houses. A river here issues from the mountains, and crossing the plain enters a lagoon which stretches along the shore from the north-eastern angle of the gulf to within a short distance of the mouth of the Arta. Formerly there was a salt-work in this lagoon. At the head of the valley, above Kombóti, an hour distant from thence, are said to be the remains of a Hellenic town, at a place called Kastrí.

After dining with the Proestós, I descend to Kóprena, the name of an anchorage at the mouth of the river of Kombóti, and embark at sunset in a Kefaloniote boat which I had ordered from Salaghóra. Kóprena is midway between the mouth of the river of Arta and Menídhi, a small bay at the north-eastern angle of the gulf, exactly at the beginning of the pass of Makrinóro. On a height which rises from the bay of Menídhi to the N.E. are the remains of a Hellenic fortress which commanded the northern entrance of the pass. The ruins are called Paleópyrgo. In the night we sail to Vlíkha, a distance of about eight miles in a right line, but by land reckoned a march of five hours, of which the pass of Makrinóro is about the half in distance, but greater in time, the road being very bad and impeded by woods.

Arápi and Vlikha are small tjiftlíks, each consisting of a tower and quadrangle of cottages, situated, the former at the northern, the latter at the southern end of a height called Mavro-vúni, which is covered with wild olives, and projects to the westward of the general line of the coast, thus

Digitized by Google

forming a promontory at the head of the gulf. Between Mavrovúni and the great range of mountains which fall on the opposite side to the *Achelous* is a plain, commencing at the southern extremity of the Makrinóro, and extending to the valley of Xerókambo, which is on a higher level. From Arápi the coast retires eastward, and forms the bay of Katafórno, where a lagoon occupies the lower part of the plain, extending two miles from the foot of the height of Arápi. Here was formerly a valuable fishery, which has been abandoned in consequence of the kleftic wars. Two torrents descend into this lagoon, one from the back of Makrinóro, the other from the mountains on the eastern side of the plain, where are situated the villages of Sýndhikno and Dúnista.

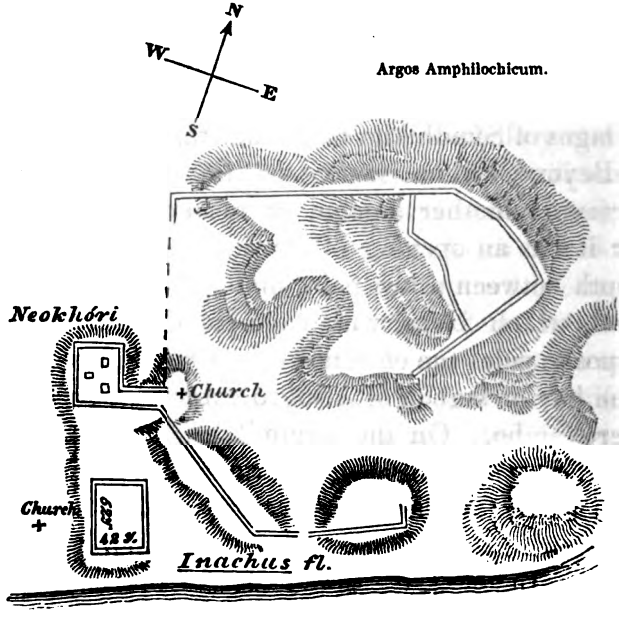
Beyond Vlikha, southward, the coast retires to Armyró, another lagoon, or rather shallow bay; for it has an opening of considerable breadth and depth between a low point and the cape of Spartovúni, which forms, with cape Kendrómata on the opposite side, the entrance of the bay of Kervasará. The bay or lagoon of Armyró extends eastward to Xerókambo. On the summit of the cape which terminates the ridge of Spartovúni, are the ruins of a small fortress called Kastriótissa, which consists partly of Hellenic and partly of more modern work. Below it, on the border of the bay, are a few houses named Armyró.

The plain of Vlíkha, although not less fertile than that of Arta, is now cultivated only about Arápi, Vlikha, and a third hamlet called Neokhóri, lately established by the Vezír, and peopled

Digitized by Google

with Prévyzans, whom he has deprived of their property at Prévyza on pretence of their having aided the French against him in the war. The plain in the uncultivated parts is chiefly covered with fern, and there are many large plane-trees on the banks of the torrents.

Oct. 27.—At Neokhóri, distant three-quarters of an hour eastward of Vlikha, on the last fall of the mountain, are the ruins of an ancient city, the general form of which may be understood from the annexed sketch.



The walls were more than a mile in circuit; and though very little of them remains above ground, they are traceable in every part, except in a marshy level near the village. The

Digitized by Google

masonry, like that of *Ambracia* at Arta, is nearly regular, and is thus unlike that of the *Acarnanian* ruins, which are generally of the second order. A peaked hill formed the citadel, the wall of which is still traceable. Without the walls, on the southern side, are the foundations of a large quadrangular building, probably a temple; but not a fragment of sculpture is anywhere to be seen, except a fluted cippus in the village church. The city was well protected by the mountain, which rises abruptly to the east, by a deep ravine to the north, and to the south by that of the river of Ariádha, which here enters the plain, and seems recently to have taken a course to the southward of its former direction. The ancient site is in many places overgrown with trees; and not far from it inland begin the impassable woods, consisting of large oaks mixed with underwood, which extend to the Aspro, with the interposition only of a little cultivated land around a very few villages. Ariádha, the largest, is two hours above Neokhóri, bearing east from Vlíkha.

Notwithstanding some objections which may be deduced from Strabo and Thucydides, I believe these to be the ruins of *Argos*, and that the river of Ariádha, which flows on the southern side of them, is the *Inachus*—a name derived, as well as that of the city, from the Peloponnesian Argos, from whence a colony founded the Amphilochian Argos about the time of the Trojan war[1]. The

[1] Hecatæus ap. Strabon. p. 271. Ephorus ap. Strabon. p. 325. Thucyd. l. 2, c. 68. Ephorus represents both Acar-

Digitized by Google

following are the objections to this opinion. Strabo reports Hecatæus to have asserted that the river of Amphilochia, which took its name from the Inachus of Peloponnesian Argos, had its rise in the same Mount Lacmus in which were the sources of the Æas or Aous; that the former flowed to Argos, and discharged itself into the Achelous; the latter into the Adriatic Sea [1]. In some verses of Sophocles cited by the geographer, the same origin is ascribed to the Inachus, and the Perrhæbi are said to have occupied the country at the sources of the river [2]. If this were a correct description of the *Inachus*, it could not possibly have flowed

nania and Amphilochia to have been colonized by Alcmæon before the Trojan war. According to Thucydides, Amphilochus founded Argos after the war.

[1] . . . . . Βελτίων δ' Ἐκαταῖος, ὅς φησι τὸν ἐν τοῖς Ἀμφιλόχοις Ἴναχον, ἐκ τοῦ Λάκμου ῥέοντα, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ὁ Αἴας ῥεῖ, ἕτερον εἶναι τοῦ Ἀργολικοῦ, ὠνομάσθαι δ' ὑπὸ Ἀμφιλόχου, τοῦ καὶ τὴν πόλιν Ἄργος Ἀμφιλοχικὸν καλέσαντος· τοῦτον μὲν οὖν οὗτός φησιν εἰς τὸν Ἀχελῷον ἐκβάλλειν, τὸν δὲ Αἴαντα εἰς Ἀπολλωνίαν πρὸς δύσιν ῥεῖν.—Strabo, p. 271.

Τὸν δὲ Ἄωον Αἴαντα καλεῖ Ἐκαταῖος καί φησιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τόπου, τοῦ περὶ Λάκμον, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μυχοῦ, τόν τε Ἴναχον ῥεῖν εἰς Ἄργος πρὸς νότον καὶ τὸν Αἴαντα πρὸς ἑσπέραν εἰς τὴν Ἀδρίαν.—Strabo, p. 316.

[2] ῥεῖ γὰρ ἀπ' ἄκρας
Πίνδου Λάκμου τ' ἀπὸ Περῥαιβῶν
Εἰς Ἀμφιλόχους κ' Ἀκαρνᾶνας,
Μίσγει δ' ὕδασι τοῖς Ἀχελῴου·
. . . . . ἐνθένδ' εἰς Ἄργος
Διὰ κῦμα τεμὼν, ἥκει δῆμον
Τὸν Λυρκείου.

Sophocl. ap. Strabon. p. 271.

Digitized by Google

into the Ambracic Gulf, and *Argos* of *Amphilochia* should be sought for to the eastward of the great ridge lying between the gulf and the *Achelous*. But *Argos* was certainly near or upon the shore of the gulf, as appears from Strabo himself, who, in contradiction to the tenor of his citations from Hecatæus and Sophocles, testifies that the Amphilochi occupied the coast of the Ambracic Gulf, between Ambracia and Acarnania, and that the Inachus flowed into the gulf[1]. And of this there cannot remain any question, upon a reference to the still better authority of the historians, Thucydides, Polybius, and Livy[2]; the first of whom relates some transactions which absolutely require a position for Argos on or very near the shore of the gulf; while Polybius describes Argos as 180 stades from Ambracia, towards Acarnania; and Livy, who copies him, states the same distance at twenty-two Roman miles. From these facts it is evident, that the plain of Vlikha was a principal part of the *Amphilochia*, and that *Argos* was in some part of that plain. It would seem, therefore, that Hecatæus was misinformed as to the course of the Inachus and the situation of Argos, and that Strabo had not a knowledge of the country sufficient to correct the historian. As to the verses of Sophocles, their weight, as a geographical testimony, is much diminished by their forming part of a passage in which the poet repre-

[1] Ἴναχον δὲ τὸν διὰ τῆς χώρας ῥέοντα ποταμὸν εἰς τὸν κόλπον.—Strabo, p. 326.

[2] Thucyd. l. 2, c. 68. 80; l. 3, c. 105. Polyb. l. 22, c. 13. Liv. l. 38, c. 10.

Digitized by Google

sented the Inachus, after flowing to the Achelous, as then crossing the sea, and re-appearing in Lyrceia of Argolis, an acknowledged fable, justly compared by Strabo to that of the Alpheius flowing to the fountain Arethusa at Syracuse, to that of the Nile flowing to the Inopus of Delus, and to that of the origin of the Sicyonian Asopus in Phrygia [1].

The strongest objection to Neokhóri as the site of *Argos* is, that Thucydides describes Argos as a maritime city [2], which, it must be admitted, better

[1] Strabo, p. 271.

[2] Ἀργείων πόλεως ἐπιθαλασσίας οὔσης.—Thucyd. l. 3. c. 15.

Digitized by Google

suits the remains at Kervasará, the only place besides Neokhóri near the eastern shore of the gulf, where any remains are found deserving the character of a polis,—all the others in this quarter being those of fortresses or of comæ. At Kervasará there are not only the fortifications of a large town, but they stand so near the sea as to answer perfectly to the description of ἐπιθαλασσία. Kervasará, however, is considerably more than twenty-two Roman miles from Arta: there is no river corresponding to the *Inachus*, and the position seems exactly to accord with the description of *Limnæa*, as lying on the confines of the country of the *Agræi*, and as being the nearest harbour to *Stratus*, or that which afforded the most short and convenient approach to that city from the *Ambracic* Gulf[1].

It may be thought, perhaps, that assuming the ruins at Kervasará to be those of *Argos*, *Limnæa* may be placed at Lutráki, or at Ruga, where the situation of the ruins in a lake would be well adapted to that ancient name; but in this case Argos would have been exactly interposed between Limnæa and the Agræi, which is contrary to Thucydides. Nor would Limnæa in that case have been on the road from Argos to Stratus, as it appears to have been upon two occasions described by the same historian:—1. When Cnemus the Spartan, in the third year of the Peloponnesian war, (B. C. 429,) invaded Acarnania, in conjunc-

[1] Thucyd. l. 2, c. 80; l. 3, c. 106. Polyb. l. 5, c. 5, 6. 14. See Vol. I. p. 144.

Digitized by Google

tion with the Epirotes and Ambraciotæ; on which occasion he proceeded from Ambracia through the Argeia, and having ravaged Limnæa [1], marched from thence to Stratus. 2. When Eurylochus in the sixth year was opposed to the Athenian allies in the Amphilochia [2], to which occurrence I shall presently revert. It is true that Thucydides in the former passage describes Limnæa as a small *unfortified* town [3]; which is better suited to Lutráki, where no vestiges of Hellenic antiquity are visible, than either to Ruga or Kervasará. We may easily conceive, however, that the importance of the situation of Kervasará may have caused that place to have been augmented and fortified subsequently to the events related by the historian: nor is the name *Limnæa* unsuitable to Kervasará, there being a marsh near two miles in length, at no great distance inland from the ruins. I am still, therefore, disposed to adhere to the opinion that Kervasará was the ancient Limnæa.

It is no slight evidence of *Argos* having been near Vlikha, that I purchased from the peasants of that village three coins of that city in copper, of great rarity, and which I had never before met with; for coins of cities in that metal, unless where the coinage was very abundant, are seldom found at any distance from the places themselves. As to the adjective ἐπιθαλασσία applied by Thucydides to Argos, it is to be observed, that the inlet of Armyró, although very shallow, does not re-

[1] Thucyd. l. 2, c. 80.
[2] Thucyd l. 3, c. 105.
[3] κώμην ἀτείχιστον.

Digitized by Google

semble the other lagoons around the gulf of Arta, which, like such lakes in general, are separated from the sea by stripes of very low land, through which there are one or two narrow entrances. Armyró, on the contrary, has a considerable depth of water at the entrance, with a breadth of three or four hundred yards, and is still one of the Skales or harbours of the gulf. It is very possible, therefore, that the part of the inlet nearest to Neokhóri, which is now a marsh or a lagoon, according to the season of the year, may have been rendered shallower than it was formerly by the alluvion of the rivers, or by other causes which constantly though variously operate on the coasts of Greece, and that it may once have afforded a commodious harbour to *Argos*.

There may still perhaps be another conjecture as to the site of *Argos*, namely, that it stood at Vlikha, a word having some appearance of being a corruption of *Amphilochia*, and that the ruins at Neokhóri are not those of *Argos*, but of some other city,—for example, that of the *Agræi*. But this would leave an insufficient space at the head of the Gulf for the *Amphilochia*. Nor will this or any other situation, except that of Neokhóri, perfectly accord with the mention of Argos by Thucydides on the occasion already referred to, when in the winter of the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war, the Amphilochi and Acarnanes, headed by Demosthenes the Athenian, gained a complete victory over the Ambraciots and their Peloponnesian allies, under Eurylochus the Spartan. Eurylochus, after having failed in an attempt

Digitized by Google

upon Naupactus, had marched into Ætolia, and instead of returning into the Peloponnesus, had remained at Proschium in that province until the winter, with the view of assisting the Ambraciotæ against Argos, after which it was intended, in case of success, to proceed against the allies of Athens in Acarnania. When Eurylochus learned that 3000 Ambraciot hoplitæ, advancing from Ambracia, had occupied Olpæ, a strong fortress upon a height above the sea[1], 25 stades from Argos, he advanced from Proschium, through the territories of Phœtiæ, Medeon, and Limnæa, into the Agrais, which was friendly to him, and from thence, having crossed Thyamus, an uncultivated mountain, he entered the Argeia in the night, passing unperceived between Crenæ, where a body of Acarnanes had been stationed to prevent him, and the city Argos, where the rest of the Acarnanes were assembled with such of the Amphilochi as had not been prevented by the Ambraciotæ[2]. Having thus effected a junction with the Ambraciotæ at Olpæ, he took post with the combined force at Metropolis, soon after which Demosthenes arriving in the Gulf, anchored near Olpæ[3] with twenty Athenian ships, on board of which were 200 Messenian hoplitæ from Naupactus, and sixty Athenian archers. Having disembarked these, and taken the command of the Acarnanes and

[1] Ὄλπας, τεῖχος ἐπὶ λόφου ἰσχυρὸν πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ.—Thucyd. l. 3, c. 105.

[2] οἱ γὰρ πλείους ὑπὸ Ἀμβρακιωτῶν βίᾳ κατείχοντο.—c. 107.

[3] περὶ τὰς Ὄλπας τὸν λόφον ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐφώρμουν.

Digitized by Google

Amphilochi, he encamped near Olpæ, where he was separated only by a great ravine[1] from the army of Eurylochus. It was not until the sixth day that the opponents drew out their troops for battle. Demosthenes, who was on the right with the Messenians and the archers of Athens, opposed to Eurylochus and the Peloponnesians, finding himself in danger of being outflanked by means of the numerical superiority of the enemy, concealed 800 Acarnanians, half hoplitæ and half light armed, in a hollow way[2]. The stratagem was successful: Eurylochus in attempting to turn the right of his adversary was attacked in the rear by the Acarnanians, who were in ambush, and was slain, with many of his best men. The Ambraciotæ in his right wing, meantime, had so far prevailed over the Acarnanes and Amphilochi opposed to them as to drive them towards Argos, when perceiving the defeat of the other part of their line, they turned, and found some difficulty in making good their retreat into Olpæ. The next day Menedæus, who succeeded to the command, made proposals for permission to retreat, when Demosthenes, with the concurrence of the Acarnanian leaders, and with a view to bring the Peloponnesians into discredit in that part of Greece, agreed to allow the latter to retire separately. This was soon afterwards effected; the Peloponnesians, who went out from Olpæ on pretence of gathering herbs and dried bushes for

[1] χαράδρα μεγάλη.

[2] λοχίζει ἐς ὁδόν τινα κοίλην καὶ λοχμώδη.

Digitized by Google

firewood[1], were permitted to move forward and escape, while the Ambraciotæ who followed them, ignorant of the secret treaty of the former with Demosthenes, were slain. There fell, however, not more than 200, because having been colonists of Corinth, and hence resembling the Peloponnesians in armour, customs, and language, it was difficult for the enemy to distinguish them. All those who escaped took refuge with Salynthius, king of the Agræi, whose territory confined on the Amphilochia[2], from whence they proceeded to Œniadæ[3]. In the mean time Demosthenes, who had received advice that all the disposable force of the Ambraciotæ was advancing through Amphilochia towards Olpæ, from whence their comrades had sent for assistance on the first arrival of the enemy, detached parties to beset the roads and seize the strong posts, particularly one

[1] *πρόφασιν ἐπὶ λαχανισμὸν καὶ φρυγανῶν ξυλλογὴν ἐξελθόντες.*—c. 111.

The custom of collecting *φρύγανα* and *ἄγρια λάχανα*, as well as the use of the words themselves, has continued among the Greeks to this day. Aristophanes alludes to the custom.

Ἀγριοῖσι τοῖσι λαχάνοις αὐτὸς τραφείς.
Thesmoph. v. 463.

It is a common employment of the women in the spring and early summer, when an abundance of edible herbs and roots are produced on all the uncultivated grounds of Greece, and the fact mentioned by Thucydides is exemplified on almost every halt of a body of Greek or Albanian soldiers, who are to be seen dispersed around the halting place, employed in lachanizing for their suppers.

[2] *διέφυγον ἐς τὴν Ἀγραΐδα, ὄμορον οὖσαν.*—Thucyd. l. 3, c. 111.

[3] c. 114.

Digitized by Google

of the summits of the mountain Idomenæ, the other pinnacle of which, called the lesser Idomene, the Ambraciotæ occupied in their advance. In the evening Demosthenes moved forward to the pass[1] with half his army, sending the remainder, which consisted chiefly of Amphilochi, into the Amphilochian mountains. Before daylight the next morning he attacked the Ambraciotæ, and the surprise was rendered more complete by the Messenians, who, advancing in front, addressed the enemy in Doric. The consequence was that the Ambraciotæ were all either slain on the spot, or that endeavouring to escape into the mountains they fell into the hands of the Amphilochi, while some, to avoid these their most rancorous enemies, (as neighbours often were in Greece) preferred rushing into the sea, in order to swim to the Athenian ships, which happened at that moment to be near the coast. Demosthenes then endeavoured to persuade the Amphilochi and Acarnanes to attack Ambracia, which might easily have been taken, so great had been its loss of men, had not the Acarnanes been afraid of making the Athenians too powerful in this quarter. Soon afterwards the Acarnanes and Amphilochi made a treaty of peace and alliance with the Ambraciotæ for a hundred years[2].

From this interesting narrative which so well

[1] ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσβολῆς.—c. 112.

[2] ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα σπονδὰς καὶ ξυμμαχίαν ἐποιήσαντο ἑκατὸν ἔτη.—c. 114.

The same term of 100 years is found in the treaty between the people of Elis and Eva, on a bronze tablet in the British Museum, which is probably two centuries earlier than the treaty here mentioned by Thucydides.

Digitized by Google

illustrates the military system, the manners and the politics of Greece, we learn that the mountain of which the abrupt termination at the head of the *Ambracic* gulf, in the great line of communication between the northern and southern provinces of Western Greece, causes the pass to be one of the most important in the whole country, was named Idomene, or Idomenæ in the plural, with reference to the two summits, both which were fortified posts, if not in the time of the Peloponnesian war, at least at a subsequent date, as remains of them still exist. Of that at the northern end there are considerable ruins, now called, as I before remarked, Paleópyrgo. The ἐσβολὴ, through which Demosthenes advanced on the eve of his second victory, seems clearly to have been the pass of Makrinóro itself, especially from the circumstance of the routed Ambraciotæ having endeavoured to swim to the Athenian ships. It follows that the southern extremity of the mountain above Katafórno was that which Demosthenes occupied, that the northern at Menídhi was the position in which the Ambraciotæ were attacked and defeated, and that Paleópyrgo was the *lesser Idomene*. By taking possession of the southern summit, Demosthenes obtained a post which both protected the advance and secured the retreat in case of ill success, as well of the division which he led through Makrinóro as of that which marched through the mountains to the right.

The anchorage of the fleet of Demosthenes seems to have been in the bay of Katafórno. Arápi, or more probably a position on the ad-

Digitized by Google

jacent part of Mavrovúni, where some Hellenic remains are still said to exist, exactly at the distance of 25 stades from Neokhóri, which the historian gives as the interval between Olpæ and Argos, I conceive to have been the site of *Olpæ*, of which name Arápi is a very natural corruption. The torrent which separated the combatants seems to have been the northern of those which enter the lagoon of Arápi, and *Metropolis* to have been a place on its right bank, at the southern extremity of Makrinóro. The hollow way where Eurylochus fell was probably a higher part of the same ravine which separated the two armies. As changes have occurred on all the alluvial coasts of Greece since the time of the Peloponnesian war, in some instances by the filling up of harbours, as I conceive to have happened at *Argos*, in others by the extension of the low coast, and the formation of lagoons within the beach, which is likely to have been the case at the bay of Katáforno, the lagoon near Arápi may not have existed, or may not have been of such extent as it now is, in the time of the Peloponnesian war. Armyró I conceive to have been the position of *Crenæ*, where the Acarnanes were stationed to intercept the enemy; for that place lying on the route from the southward into the *Amphilochian* plain, was exactly suited to that purpose. But Eurylochus suspecting, or having intimation of their design when he arrived in the vale of *Limnæa*, crossed Mount *Thyamus*, which is thus identified with Spartovúni, and descended into the plain of Vlikha, between Armyró and Neokhóri.

The same transactions in the fourth year of the

Digitized by Google

Peloponnesian war leave no doubt of the situation of the *Agrais*, or country of the *Agræi*, which appears to have been separated from the district of *Limnæa* in *Acarnania* by Spartovúni, and farther inland from the *Medionia* by a continuation of the same ridge, thus comprehending the vale of the Kekhriniátza up to the ruined fortress of that name, which was probably on the frontier of the *Agrais* and *Stratice*. The *Agræi* comprehended therefore the modern villages of Varetádha, Serdhinianá, and Ariádha, and separating the *Aperanti* from the *Amphilochi*, touched the southern borders of the *Oreitæ*, and the north-western frontier of *Ætolia*. At Xerókambo and cape Kastriótissa they extended to the shore of the Gulf. As I learn from Captain Mitjo Kondoiánni, who commands 200 armatolí in Valto, and is therefore well acquainted with that and the neighbouring districts, that the only Hellenic ruins which can be compared with those at Neokhóri, Surovígli, and Prevéntza, are at Serdhinianá, this was probably the position of the chief town of the *Agræi;* if therefore the name Ariádha has been formed from Ἀγραΐδα, it is in a situation different from that of the ancient city, in the same manner as Vlikha, if it be a corruption of *Amphilochia*.

Captain Kondoiánni describes another great ruin, called Syvísti, near the left bank of the *Achelous*, about 4 hours above the monastery of Tetárna, in a part of 'Agrafa named Velághora, but it seems rather to be the remains of a town of the lower Empire, though possibly occupying the site of a city of the *Eurytanes*. The *Achelous*, according to the same informant, often contains very little

Digitized by Google

water in summer above Tetárna, where it receives a large subterraneous stream; and a little lower down its principal tributary, the Mégdhova, or Mígdova, which is composed of three rivers. Of these, the western rises near the village 'Agrafa, from a range of heights, beyond which are situated Leontíto, Petrílo, and several other large Agrafiote villages. The middle or main stream of the Mégdhova, rises on the eastern side of Mount Karáva, flows first through an extensive valley named Nevrópoli, and then traverses a more confined country between the *Dolopian* ridges bordering upon *Thessaly*, and a secondary parallel range, until it receives the Agulianó or river of Karpenísi; after which, turning to the north-west, it joins the Agrafiótiko; and at no great distance below that junction falls into the Aspro, at a spot to which the union of a third stream from the mountain of Sýndekno to the westward gives the name of Tripótamo. Not far below Tripótamo, the river is said to flow between precipices so closely approaching, as to be crossed by a bridge of ropes, whence the place is called Sta Kremastá. If the Mégdhova be the *Campylus*, as I before suggested [1], the name may have been derived from its reflex course, caused by the southerly projection of the mountain of Kerássovo, near the southern extremity of 'Agrafa. This remarkable peak is visible from Prévyza, a few degrees to the right of the still more striking Kalána, which latter lies from Saint George at Prévyza, exactly in a line with the two capes forming the entrance from the gulf of

[1] Vol. I. p. 156.

Digitized by Google

Prévyza, into that of Arta. Viéna, or *Panætolicum*, opposite to Vlokhó, is also visible from the same station, as well as the northern summit of the same great ridge near Arákhova, in Suválako, in the district of Karpenísi, the latter subtending 15°¼ with the centre of Kalána and the two capes, the former 28°.

November 9.—From Prévyza to Luro in 3½ hours, the loaded horses in 5 hours. The road passes through the ruins of *Nicopolis*, and over the height of Mikhalítzi into the plain of Lámari, which has the same rich kind of soil as that of Prévyza, but is overgrown with small oaks and brambles, and supplies only pasture to the Vezír's flocks. Near Prévyza the hawthorn was in blossom, and there were lambs of a month old. As we advance towards the interior the season is less forward. The castle of Luro, built only a few years ago, is already falling to ruin, having been constructed like the dwelling houses of *Epirus*, of loose stones and mud interposed between strata of wood. In the opening of the vale above Luro, Suli presents itself to view in a very imposing manner. The vale and the slopes of the adjacent mountains, as far up as Suli and Tervitzianá, are covered with oaks. These are for the most part small and of the veláni kind; towards the river of St. George are some of larger girth.

In the afternoon I proceed in 3 hours to Memetjáus, or Mamutjáus. At Kanzá we leave the pass which leads into the vale of Lélovo to the left, traverse soon afterwards a marsh where the water comes up to the horses' knees, and arrive at a wooden bridge across the river of St. George,

Digitized by Google

from whence a winding muddy path leads through a plain of the most fertile soil, but producing only a small quantity of maize, to Riba. This is a small village on the left bank of the river of St. George, opposite to the ruins called Rogús, which occupy an extremity of the hills. The remains are those of a fortified town of the Byzantine empire, built upon Hellenic foundations, and composed in part of materials of ancient times. Although the place has probably for ages been ruined and deserted, the name still gives title to a suffragan bishop of the metropolitan See of Arta. It is found among the bishoprics of the metropolis of Naupactus, in the tenth century [1], when Arta was not yet an episcopal See, and from Cantacuzenus it appears to have been one of the chief towns or fortresses of Epirus in the fourteenth century [2]. The Hellenic remains seem from Polybius to have belonged to a town named Charadra, for he relates that Philip passed by *Charadra* [3] in his march from *Ambracus* to the strait of *Actium*, that is to say, from Fidhó-kastro in the marshes of Arta to Prévyza, from which line the marshes towards the sea would have caused a divergence to the northward. When Fulvius the Roman consul was preparing to besiege Ambracia, in the year B.C. 189, some Ætolian deputies, who had been intercepted

[1] Not. Episcop. Græc. p. 394. Paris. It may have been a century older, as we know the bishopric of Ioánnina to have been, the first catalogue in the Notitiæ of the time of Leo, not containing the names of any but the metropolitan Sees of Greece.

[2] Cantacuz. l. 2, c. 34, et seq.

[3] ἦγε παρὰ Χαράδραν.—Polyb. l. 4, c. 63.

Digitized by Google

by the Epirotes on their way to Rome, were sent to Charadra as prisoners, and from thence transferred by the Epirotes to Buchætium [1]. The name occurs also in a fragment of Ennius [2], which seems to refer to the good quality of a particular kind of shell-fish in the adjoining river or marshes. The town evidently took its name from the river which forming a continued cataract from one of its chief sources at St. George to the plain of Lélovo, well merited the appellation of Charadra. This stream, after emerging from the gorge between Strivína and Rogús, follows the foot of the woody heights to Rogús, and then turns towards Luro, receiving that river and joining the gulf not above two or three miles to the northward of the mázoma of *Nicopolis*. The marshes which intersect the plains below Lámari and Luro, and around Rogús, aided by the wild vegetation which surround them, render the maritime *Molossis* very unhealthy in summer, and scarcely any persons then remain in the villages except those engaged in the harvests.

Nov. 10. — The road from Mamutjáus to Ioánnina takes the direction of Arta, but winds very much in order to avoid the marshes, which seem to be chiefly formed by the river of Strivína and by sources between that place and Rogús, added to those of Khanópulo. In the latter marsh there are two streams, one of which joins the St. George, the other finds its way separately to the sea. There is no plain in Turkey where drainage would be attended with greater profit. Having

[1] Polyb. l. 22. c. 9.

[2] Mytilenæ est pecten Charadrumque apud Ambraciai.
Ap. Apuleii Apol. p. 468.

Digitized by Google

arrived in two hours at Khalikiádhes, which is about one hour west of Maráti, the suburb of Arta, we join, in another half hour, the paved dervéni, at a point one hour distant from Arta, and proceeding from thence by the beylík, or high road, through Pendipigádhia, reach Ioánnina, at the end of twelve hours and twenty minutes from Mamutjáus, having halted one hour and twenty minutes on the road. This route, the only one practicable at all seasons from the coast to the plain of Ioánnina, is now paved in all the difficult places, and may be travelled in a four-wheeled carriage.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XXXIX.

EPIRUS. THESSALIA.

From Ioánnina to Métzovo, Stagûs, and Tríkkala—Sub-divisions of Tríkkala district—'Agrafa, its topography, population, and produce—*Dolopia, Athamania, Tymphæi, Æthices, Talares*,—River *Ion*—*Oxyneia*—College of Dervises at Tríkkala—Gardhíki, *Pelinnæum*—Tzighióti—Ferry of the *Peneius*—*Phacium*—Alífaka—Lárissa—Túrnavo—River *Titaresius* Cities of *Pelasgiotis*—Dhamási—Dheminíko, *Cyretiæ*—Inscriptions—Mológhusta—*Mallæa, Eritium, city of the Perrhæbi, Oloosson*—Vlakho-iánni—Leftherokhóri—*Ericinium*—Gritziáno, *Pharcadon*—Bridge of Tzighióti—Vlokhó, *Peiresiæ* or *Asterium*—Rivers *Enipeus, Apidanus*—Petrinó, *Phyllus*—Mount Mavrovúni—Orfaná—Férsala.

Nov. 19.—From Ioánnina to the three Khans[1] seven hours. From October the 20th to this day the weather has been equally divided between fair and showery. At Prévyza there was a heavy rain for five days, with very little intermission, succeeded by a north-east wind for seven days, with an atmosphere perfectly serene. For the last four days there has been rain, with a south-west wind. This day, the wind having moved more directly westward, has brought only light showers. Mounts Kakardhísta and Tzumérka were permanently tipped with snow on the first of this month. On the 10th, Kahardhísta, the ridge of Métzovo,

[1] Τὰ τρία χάνια.

Digitized by Google

and the summits of Zagóri, were entirely covered with snow, the first more extensively than the others, while Nemértzika and Olýtzika had not any. All the summits around Kalarýtes had been sprinkled two or three times during the rains of October; but the snow had all disappeared, even from Kahardhísta, on the 20th of October.

Our route, although it is the high road to Constantinople, and the only frequented communication between *Epirus* and *Thessaly*, is in the most neglected condition. The late autumnal rains have left it only just passable. The ascent and descent of the hill of Dhrysko, which divides the plain of Ioánnina from the valley of the *Arachthus*, is in the worst possible state. After a halt at the khan of Dhrysko, we descend from thence to the Zagóri branch of the Arta, cross it by the bridge τῆς Κυρᾶς, follow up the bed of the Métzovo branch for near an hour; and then, after passing for a short distance along the right bank, cross to the opposite side by a bridge of one arch, follow the heights on that side, again descend into the bed, and then follow the right bank to the Three Khans.

Nov. 20.—From Tria Khánia to Métzovo two hours and a quarter. We continue to follow the river along its bed, or over the heights on the left bank, as far as the bridge, which is a little below the junction of the tributary descending from the mountain of Khalíki; then quit the river, and ascend to Prosílion, or the northern Makhalá of Métzovo, where I am lodged in the house of Kyr

Digitized by Google

S. N., a merchant who usually resides at Ioánnina —receive visits from the primates, the stipendiary physician, who is a Neapolitan; the bolu-báshi a Tepeleniote, and Captain Dehli-Iánni a native of Métzovo, chief of the armatolí who defend the pass, and the terror of the robbers.

The fields of the Metzovítes producing only a small quantity of corn, they are now paying ten parás an oke for barley at Grevená or Tríkkala, chiefly for the use of the horses of travellers. Though complaining of the Vezír's extortions, they admit that he is not quite forgetful of the expences to which their situation in this great dervéni renders them liable; and, like most of his subjects, they allow him the merit of defending them from inferior agents and highway robbers, though he seldom suffers any good opportunity to pass of plundering them himself: for instance, my host was three months in prison this year, under the pretext of being concerned in a correspondence with the Russians, and was obliged to pay the Vezír 1000 sequins to obtain his liberty; nor would it have been effected at this price without the intercession of Omér Bey Vrióni, whose assistance was wanted by Alý against Berát.

The affair of Berát has already cost His Highness so much that he is collecting money from all quarters. A tatár overtook us to-day, going to collect 80 purses from fifteen villages of Aspropótamo; only in three or four of which, as Captain Iánni informs me, are there any inhabitants left, the rest having fled from the robbers into the plain of Tríkkala. The most conspicuous building in

Digitized by Google

Anílio, the quarter of Métzovo on the opposite side of the ravine, is a house which has been lately built by Mukhtár Pashá for a favourite youth of that place.

Nov. 21.—A southerly gale, succeeding a single serene day, set in last midnight with great violence, and continues all this day, with torrents of rain.

Nov. 22.—The southerly wind of yesterday had melted the snow upon the ridge, but last night it fell again and covered all the woods on the summit; but by no means to such a degree as when I crossed the Zygós a week earlier, in the year 1805, which was noted for the early severity of the weather. During the last two years there has been no permanent snow before January. Our passage today is not difficult; especially as I have the assistance of ten or twelve khamálidhes, or porters of Métzovo, who were directed by the Vezír's commandant to accompany me, together with nine of his palikária. We arrive at the khan of Malakássi in three hours and a half. A very useful khan has been established since my last visit, just under the eastern side of the summit. Here the Metzovítes are responsible for having hamáls constantly in attendance.

Nov. 23.—A fall of snow during the night renders the road extremely bad; and, together with the effect of the late rains in swelling the Salamvría, and obliging us to follow the akres on the left bank, lengthens the time to Kalabáka an hour and a half. In descending the heights to the river of Krátzova or Mirítza, which we cross by a high

Digitized by Google

bridge, the view opens of the entrance into Thessaly between the superb rocks of the Metéora on the north, and the woody mountain opposite to them on the south, together with a part of the plains of *Upper Thessaly*, not far from Tríkkala; with the exception of this part of the landscape the whole is now covered with snow. The river of Krátzova in the lower part of its course flows through a thick wood of large planes. Farther up, its valley is well cultivated, and on the heights still farther, at the distance of six or eight miles to our left, is seen the large village of Mirítza. On the northern side of this valley the heights are covered with oaks, which extend also over the mountains, inclosing the vale of the Salamvría, but where the forest is not so thick, the trees being in general intermixed with vineyards around several villages: few of the oaks are of any considerable size.

Nov. 24.—Kalabáka has suffered extremely of late from the vexations of the last hodjá-bashi Ianáki, who built a superb house with the produce of his plunder, and ended his days in the prison at Ioánnina. But it is injured more permanently by the expence of konáks, to which it is continually subject, in consequence of its lying at the exit of the most frequented pass in Greece.

The master of the house in which I lodge, who among his other misfortunes has left an eye with the thieves, had the honour not long since of having a Bey with a party of Albanians quartered upon him for ten or twelve days: they burnt his furniture and his silk frames, and finished by borrowing a valuable mule, which he saw no more.

Digitized by Google

To increase the misery of Kalabáka, the crop of silk has been bad this year, and the spinners have been obliged to purchase it at 30 piastres the oke, instead of 20, the usual price. The bishop τῶν Σταγῶν, who being an Ioannite[1] is more polished than the generality of caloyers, confirms the information which I received on my former visit as to the existence of some vestiges of a Hellenic city at the distance of two or three miles from Kalabáka, on the opposite side of the river, in the direction of the Portes. A detached conical height at the foot of the mountain, sends forth a low ridge reaching to the river. Here some ancient sepulchres have been observed, and there are some remains of Hellenic walls on the height itself. The village Niklítzi stands on the slope, but the ancient site is known by the name of Skúmbos, which might be supposed a corruption of στοὺς Γόμφους, and a proof of its being the position of *Gomphi;* but I cannot obtain any confirmation of this conjecture, as the Greeks follow Meletius in believing that *Gomphi* occupied the site of Stagús—an erroneous opinion, the inscription which exists here in honour of Severus and Caracalla leaving no reasonable doubt of Stagús being the position of *Æginium*[2]. It is scarcely possible that *Gomphi*, which stood near the entrance of the passes leading by the shortest and easiest route through *Athamania* to *Ambracia*, could have been so far to the northward as the hill of Niklítzi, which, like *Æginium*, is at the entrance of the

[1] Ἰωαννίτης.

[2] See Vol. I. p. 421.

Digitized by Google

pass leading into the *Dodonæa;* the main communication between *Upper Thessaly* and the inland parts of *Epirus*, and the most important of all the defiles of Northern Greece. From Stagús or Kalabáka to Tríkkala is a ride of three hours and twenty minutes. At 1.30 from Stagús Voivóda is on the left, and an hour farther Mertzi: the brook Kumérki flows through the former, and another which rises at Aghía Moní through the latter. Towards Stagús the soil is sandy, near Tríkkala it is a soft rich mould, now in a state of mud.

Nov. 25.—The Liva of Tríkkala, in Turkish Tírhala, one of the divisions of the Eyalét or province of Rumilí, comprehends all ancient Thessaly, together with the surrounding mountains; it is bounded northward by the Livas of Selaník and Okhri, and southward by those of Enebékht and 'Egribos. For the last 22 years it has been governed by Alý, who very soon added to it the pashalík of Ioánnina, and notwithstanding the great increase of his power since that time, is still officially no more than governor-general of Ioánnina and Tríkkala, as he lately signed himself in a letter addressed to the King of England [1]. The kazá or jurisdiction of Tríkkala is divided in Alý's system of government into eight kolis, containing altogether 180 villages, the police of each koli being under the direction of a captain of armatolí. The kolis are,—1. Poliána, or the plain around Tríkkala, where among many others

[1] γενικὸς διοικητὴς Ἰωαννίνων καὶ Τρικκάλων.

Digitized by Google

is a village of that name; 2. Zarko, in which are Zarko of 400 families, Tzighióti of 150, Grísano of 60; 3. Ardhámi, or Ardhám, containing Stagús, Turcicè Kalabák, which name is very commonly used also by the Greeks, though as in many others adopted from Turks and Albanians, they add a vowel at the end. Ardhámi is a village standing in the midst of the heights to the north of Tríkkala. Voivóda, and Sklátina, a few miles to the northward of Voivóda, in a valley branching from thence, are the two other principal villages in Ardhám. 4. Klínovo extends to the sources of the *Achelous* at Kraniá and Khalíki, and contains Klínovo, Kastaniá, and Vendísta in the situations before described[1] on the tributaries of the *Peneius*. These five villages have between two and three hundred houses each. This koli borders westward on the Nakhe of Malakássi, in the kazá of Ioánnina. 5. In the kóli of Porta are Kardhíki on the river Aspro, on the confines of Tzumérka, in the kazá of Arta; Dhesi, eastward of Kardhíki; Pira, still farther eastward, in the midst of the fir forests of Mount Aspropotamítiko; Tirna, between Pira and Kato-Porta. These are villages of from 80 to 150 families. Klínovo and Porta form the district called Aspropótamo. 6. Rizó, so called as being situated at the foot of the mountain of Kótziaka, contains Lepenítza and Megárkhi. 7. Krátzova, or Krátziova; in this koli are Mirítza, the position of which has already been mentioned, and higher up

[1] See Vol. I. p. 417.

Digitized by Google

the river, Bózovo, near which there are ancient ruins. Velimísti is two hours eastward of Mirítza, and midway between Kalabáka and Grevená, five hours from each. At Velimísti the road from Tríkkala to Grevená, which ascends the vale of Voivóda, falls in with that from Kalabáka to Grevená. 8. Khassiá, as a koli, now contains only six small villages: Dhissikáta, which has 300 houses, on the borders of the *Macedonian* plains, five hours from Grevená, as many from Sérvia, and ten from Tríkkala, once belonged to Khassiá, but now pays its contributions at Zitúni. Zimiátza in like manner, which is situated also on the northern side of the mountain of Khassiá, on this side of Dhissikáta, now belongs to Lárissa. Khassiá, which, as well as Aspropótamo, is an old Greek chorographical division, formerly comprised, and is still in common parlance applied to, all the mountainous region which extends from the Trikkaline plains to the confines of Lárissa, Dheminíko, Sérvia, and Grevená.

'Agrafa (τὰ Ἄγραφα) is another division of the country which existed under the Greek empire. It contains the mountains to the southward of Tríkkala, and though considered as a part of the liva of Tírhala, has enjoyed particular privileges dating perhaps from a remote period in the Byzantine empire, when the villages were "not written down" in the publicans' books, and the inhabitants of the district accounted in a body for their taxes. To judge from the names of places, and from the absence of every language but the Greek, 'Agrafa had preserved itself before the Turkish

Digitized by Google

conquest from admixture with Bulgarians and Wallachians in a greater degree than most other parts of Greece. Fifteen years ago it still enjoyed the self-government which it obtained by capitulation with Mahomet II. when he had conquered Albania; the imperial χρυσόβουλον which he granted to the Agrafiótes on that occasion they assert to be still in existence in the Fanári at Constantinople. Every year there were chosen by ballot an archon and five or six assessors, forming a council, which had the power of inflicting capital punishment. A Christian captain with 200 men and a Mahometan Albanian with 300, kept the police of the district, and ensured the safety of the roads, under the direction of the archons.

Of late years various circumstances have injured the republic, and have had the effect of diminishing in some degree its population. Internal dissensions, both in individual and between neighbouring villages, have been a leading cause, to which may be added the natural advantages of the northern or *Thessalian* side of 'Agrafa over the southern or *Ætolian*, giving rise to an assumption of superiority by the former portion of the people, and sometimes to positive ill-usage on their part towards the latter. Meantime the pursuit of Greek and Albanian robbers has given Alý as Derventlí a pretext for entering the country with his troops; while steadily pursuing his object of permanently establishing his own Albanians as guardians of the police of the district, in the room of the armatolí employed by the Agrafiótes, he has encroached on their privileges, fomented their jea-

Digitized by Google

lousies, and raised contributions upon them. One of his first acts was to obtain possession of the person of Tjolák Oglú of Rendhína, whom he kept in prison until he had extorted 80 purses from him. He then gave him permission to return home; but as many of the dismissed armatolí had become robbers themselves, and thrown the country around Rendhína into a state of insecurity, the proestós declined the favour, and intreated permission to reside at Ioánnina, preferring, as he told His Highness, to be cut off by the sword of a Vezír, to being shot by a κλεφτικὸν παλαιοτουφέκι (the rusty musket of a robber). In general it may be remarked that compliments and asseverations to His Highness, turn chiefly upon hanging, drowning in the lake, shooting, or beheading.

'Agrafa may be described as comprehending the mountains bordering on *Thessaly* which connect *Pindus* with *Othrys* as well as with *Œta*; for the two latter ranges, though separated from one another towards the sea by the vale of the *Spercheius*, are united inland, Mount Velúkhi or *Tymphrestus* forming the common link of connexion. In the direction of west and south, 'Agrafa extends to the *Achelous*, and comprehends the valleys and inclosing ridges of the tributaries of that river. To the northward it is separated from Aspropótamo by the river of Portes, and touches on the *Upper Thessalian* plain from the Portes or Gates of Tríkkala[1], where that river issues into the plain as far as the borders of

[1] αἱ Πόρται τῶν Τρικκάλων.

Digitized by Google

Dhomokó; to the southwest of which, Iannitzú, the easternmost village in 'Agrafa, borders upon the Turkish kazá of Badradjík, from whence the boundary of 'Agrafa following a westerly direction touches the kazás of Karpenísi and Vrakhóri, terminating to the S.W. at the junction of the Aspro with its great eastern branch; from thence the boundary follows the *Achelous* upwards, confining upon the Arta Kázasi until it arrives in the latitude of Portes at about twelve miles above the bridge of St. Bessarion, commonly called that of Kórako or Koráki[1]. This bridge, which is in the route from Tríkkala to Arta, forms the only communication between the two banks of the Aspro in that part of the country when the river is swollen. It was built at the expence of the monastery of Dusikón in Kótziaka. The length of 'Agrafa from S.E. to N.W. is about fifty English miles direct, the breadth about thirty-five.

'Agrafa contains 85 villages and 7685 houses, in which, fifteen years ago, there were more than 50,000 inhabitants, but their number is now supposed to be somewhat reduced. There are fifteen large and many smaller monasteries, and the remains of about eighteen Hellenic towns or fortresses. The chief town, formerly the residence of the archon and council is Rendhína[2], which contains 450 houses: it is situated three or four hours to the westward of Iannitzú[3], and consequently,

[1] *τὸ γεφύρι τοῦ Κοράκου*, or *Κορακίον*.

[2] *Ῥενδῆνα*.

[3] *Ἰαννιτζοῦ*.

Digitized by Google

like many other capitals, is very far from being in a central situation. Next in importance to it are Petrílu[1], and Megáli Kastaniá[2]. The former stands near the sources of a branch of the Aspro, which joins that river above the bridge of Koráki, being collected from the valleys on the southern and western sides of Mount Karáva, which is the highest point of the range, bordering on *Thessaly*, and bears S.S.W. from Tríkkala. Kastaniá is on the opposite side of the same ridge, in a lofty situation commanding a view of the *Thessalian* plains, at the foot of a peak called 'Itamo, probably an ancient name. The other principal towns of 'Agrafa are Furná[3], situated westward of Rendhína on a tributary of the Mégdhova or eastern branch of the Aspro; Blazdhu[4] and Fanári[5] on the edge of the plain of Tríkkala; the latter about ten miles south of that town. On the *Ætolian* side of 'Agrafa, where the villages are generally smaller and poorer than on the *Thessalian*, Franghísta[6] and the neighbouring Kerássovo[7] are the largest.

The chief monasteries are: 1. Tetárna[8], four hours to the W. of Franghísta, at the south western extremity of 'Agrafa. Near it the river Aspro is joined by a great subterraneous stream called Mardháka[9]. 2. Stavropíghi[10], commonly called

[1] Πετρίλου.
[2] Μεγάλη Καστανιά.
[3] Φουρνά.
[4] Μπλάζδου.
[5] Φανάρι.
[6] Φραγκίστα.
[7] Κεράσσοβο.
[8] Τετάρνα.
[9] Μαρδάκα.
[10] Σταυροπήγιον.

Digitized by Google

the monastery of Rendhína, between Rendhína and Iannitzú. 3. Mukha[1], above Kastaniá. 4. Koróni[2], above Blazdhu, noted for its antiquity and for some paintings with which this monastery was decorated by an imperial interpreter named Kuskolá. 5. Petra, near Katafyghí[3], a large village in the way from Fanári to Kastaniá.

Ecclesiastically 'Agrafa is divided among several bishoprics. That of Thaumacus[4] comprehends Rendhína and all the eastern extremity of 'Agrafa, with the exception of Iannitzú, which is under the metropolitan of Neópatra[5]. Farther to the N.W. on the northern side of Mount Vurgará are several villages, among which are Thrapsími[6], Lakrési[7], and Apidhiá[8], which are peculiars of the metropolitan of Lárissa. All the remainder of the northern side of 'Agrafa is in the archbishopric of Fanári[9]. A portion of the western frontier confining on Radhovízdhi of Arta forms a part of the bishopric of Radhovízdhi[10]; all the remainder of 'Agrafa, as well as Karpenísi, is under the bishop of Litza and 'Agrafa[11], who, as well as the bishops of Thaumacus and of Radhovízdhi, is a suffragan of the

[1] Μοῦχα.
[2] Κορώνη.
[3] Καταφυγή.
[4] Θαυμακοῦ.
[5] Νέων Πατρῶν.
[6] Θραψίμη.
[7] Λακρέσι.
[8] 'Απηδιά.
[9] Φαναρίου ἀρχιεπισκοπία.
[10] 'Ραδοβιζδίου.
[11] Λήτζας καὶ 'Αγράφων. This see is named together with Radhovízdhi, Thaumacus, Stagi, Tricca, and several others of Thessaly, among the suffragans of Thessaly or Lárissa in a catalogue of the tenth century, but many of them were probably more ancient.

Digitized by Google

metropolitan of Lárissa. 'Agrafa is the name of a small village in a very rugged and secluded position to the south of Petrílu.

Of the Paleá kastra the greatest is said to be that already mentioned at Syvísti[1]. Higher up the river, on the same side, are other Hellenic remains at Little Vranianá[2], and at Liáskovo[3], which is not far southward of the bridge Koráku. One of the most remarkable ruins is said to be at Knísovo[4], a small village in the country northward of the same bridge, and not far from Bokovítza[5]. These I suspect to be the ruins of *Argithea*, the capital of *Athamania*. In the eastern part of 'Agrafa, the chief remains of antiquity are reported to be at Rendhína and Kaítza: and those on the northern side, at or near Smókovo, Katafyghí and St. George; of these, the Paleókastro at Smókovo is said to be the largest. No very confident opinion, however, as to the relative importance of the ancient places can be formed from this information, as the walls of a small fortress in good preservation, sometimes attract more notice than mere vestiges of an extensive city.

Although 'Agrafa consists of mountains and narrow rocky valleys, the chief exceptions being the plain called Nevrópoli, near the sources of the eastern branch of the Aspro, and the eastern declivities of the moun-

[1] Συβίστη.
[2] Μικρὴ Βρανιανά.
[3] Λιάσκοβο.
[4] Κνίσοβο.
[5] Μποκοβίτζα.

Digitized by Google

tains to the southward of Megáli Kastaniá, industry, security, and in some parts a fertile soil, had enabled the Agrafiótes to export several kinds of agricultural produce to the rich but desolate districts around them. The following are stated to have been the exports:—15,000 fortómata of wine, of 100 okes the fórtoma; 100,000 okes of butter, 200,000 of cheese, 200,000 of wool, 4000 of silk, 2000 of honey, 40,000 γηδυπρόβατα, or head of sheep and goats; 2000 of oxen and cows. The prices at present are, butter one γρόσι or piastre the oke; cheese 15 parás; honey 20 parás; wax 5 piastres; wine 8 piastres the fórtoma; a sheep 8 piastres; a goat 5 piastres; a cow 30 piastres; an ox for labour 30 piastres; wheat six parás the oke; a hen 15 parás; a chicken 10 parás. The corn produced in 'Agrafa is seldom sufficient for its consumption, but requires the addition of about a sixth.

The villages which are least favoured in respect of soil have resources in the manufacture of various articles of cotton and wool, such as coarse cloths, shawls for the head and girdle, and towels. It is reckoned that one-third of the inhabitants of 'Agrafa gain a livelihood by weaving. There are also many workers in gold and silver; and at Sklátina is a fabric of sword-blades, gun-barrels, and locks of pistols, which last are sold at 15 piastres each. A large proportion of the Agrafiótes, like the other mountaineers of Greece, gain a livelihood abroad as shopkeepers or artisans, or as carriers in the neighbouring districts. The mountains to the northward and eastward are of

Digitized by Google

dark-coloured rock, and covered with woods of pine and oak: in the opposite direction the rocks are white, bare, and full of caverns, in some of which are monasteries and remains of hermitages, particularly a convent named Staná, and another near Karítza. The southern and western streams produce trout in great number; in those flowing towards Thessaly the most esteemed fish is called briáni [1]. There is only one lake, that of Derelí, which abounds in fish of various kinds.

The people of 'Agrafa seem to be no better acquainted with the ancient geography of their country than the learned in other parts of Greece. As far as their belief that the northern side of 'Agrafa was anciently occupied by *Thessalians* and *Dolopes*, one may agree with them; for the cities near the edge of the plain probably formed a part of the κοινὸν Θεσσάλων, or Thessalian community [2]; and as the *Dolopes* confined upon *Phthia*, they seem clearly to have been the inhabitants of the mountains adjacent to the southern extremity of the Upper *Thessalian* plain, which extend as far as the confines of the *Ænianes*, *Dryopes*, and *Ætolians*. But with regard to the ancient geography of the country to the southward of their great ridge, the Agrafiótes seem to be in a deplorable state of darkness. They believe the branch of the *Achelous* which rises in a mountain called Zyghiastá Neá, near Rendhína, to be the *Peneius*; that the country which is traversed by this and the other

[1] μπρηάνι.

[2] The greater portion of the ancient money of Thessaly, of a date subsequent to Alexander the Great, was thus inscribed.

Digitized by Google

eastern branches of the *Achelous* was inhabited by the *Perrhæbi*; that the Mardháka at Tetárna was the *Titaresius* flowing into the *Peneius*, as Homer describes; and that this source has its origin in the lake of Ioánnina, which they suppose to have been the Styx of Homer. To make the confusion more complete, they acknowledge the Aspro above Tetárna to be the *Achelous*. In some of these opinions they seem to have been misled by the name Kýfu [1], which is still attached to a ruined village and paleókastro in or near the plain of Nevrópoli, and which by the learned of 'Agrafa is supposed to indicate the *Cyphus* of Guneus, leader of the Perrhæbi, who dwelt on the banks of the Titaresius [2].

As the Dolopes were a Thessalian people, and never connected with Ætolia but by occasional alliances [3], it is highly probable that the crest of the ridge of 'Agrafa formed the ordinary boundary between *Ætolia* and *Thessaly*. In that case Mount Karáva was the extreme northern point of *Ætolia*: to the westward of a line drawn from thence to Mount Kótziaka, the country, as far as the Tzumérka chain, composed *Athamania*, corresponding to the modern Aspropótamo, with the exception of its northern extremity, which was occupied by a portion of the *Tymphæi*, and by a few *Perrhæbi* about *Chalcis* and the sources of the *Achelous*. The extent of *Tymphæa* may be inferred from the facts, that the *Arachthus* had its

[1] Κύφον.

[2] Il. B. v. 748.

[3] Strabo, p. 434. 437. 450. Liv. l. 33, c. 34; l. 38, c. 3.

Digitized by Google

origin in Mount *Tymphe*, and that *Æginium* was a town of the *Tymphæi*[1]; whence it appears that the *Tymphæi* possessed the country from Métzovo to Kalabáka, and all the great valley of the Salamvría on the route from the one town to the other: Mount *Tymphe* would seem also from the same testimony to have comprehended all the ridges which separate the sources of the two rivers, including the Zygós of Métzovo, which I suppose, as before stated, to have borne the specific name of *Lacmus*. One of the towns of the Tymphæi was named Trampya, and it was probably their capital, as Diodorus, speaking of the same place, names it Tymphæa. It stood in a lofty position, and was noted for being the place where Hercules son of Alexander the Great, was poisoned at supper by Polysperchon the Tymphæan[2]. As Polysperchon styled himself king of the Æthices, it may be presumed that the Æthices and Tymphæi were conterminous; and the same inference may be drawn from Strabo, from whom it would further appear that Æthicia in general was nearer to the Thessalian plain than Tymphæa, the Æthices, like the Athamanes, having been originally an Epirotic tribe, but afterwards ascribed

[1] Strabo, p. 325. 327.

[2] Ὅ τ' αἰπὺ ναίων Τραμπύας ἐδέθλιον,
Ἔν ᾗ ποτ' αὖθις Ἡρακλῆ φθίσει δράκων
Τυμφαῖος ἐν θοίναισιν, Αἰθίκων πρόμος.
Lycoph. v. 800.

Diodor. l. 20, c. 28.—Plutarch. Eumen. et Tzetzes in Lycophr. ubi sup.—Pausan. Bœot. c. 7.

Digitized by Google

to Thessaly, whereas the Tymphæi always continued to be Epirotic[1]. Stephanus, on the authority of Marsyas, places the Æthices between the Athamanes and Tymphæi, which, taking the *Athamanes* to have reached to the plain of Trík-kala at Portes, and the *Tymphæi* at Kalabáka, seems to place the *Æthices* exactly in the district of Kótziaka, including Klínovo, Kastaniá, and the adjoining ridges, as far as the confines of *Athamania*. It is not surprising that the inhabitants of such rugged mountains should have had the reputation of being barbarous and addicted to plunder[2]. In fact, though the natives of Klínovo are not to be thus described, there is no country more frequently the resort of robbers than Kótziaka and the adjacent heights. One of the passages of Strabo, from which the position of Æthicia is deducible, supports the belief that there was a town of that name bordering both upon Æginium and upon Tricca[3]; whence it is probable that the ruins at Niklítzi are those of the city of the *Æthices*, which may perhaps have borne likewise some other name, like *Trampya* of the *Tymphæi*. The latter city I am inclined to place in the plain of Politzía, near Métzovo, this being the largest

[1] Strabo, p. 326 ,327, 434.

[2] *ἐν Θετταλίᾳ δ' ᾤκουν ἐν τῷ Πίνδῳ ὄρει. Μαρσύας δὲ μέσον τῆς Τυμφαίας καὶ Ἀθαμανίας κεῖσθαί φησι τὴν χώραν. Τὸ δὲ ἔθνος ἐπιεικῶς παράβολόν τε, καὶ βάρβαρον καὶ λῃστείας ἐπιεικῶς προσκείμενον.*—Stephan. in *Αἰθικία*.

[3] *Αἰγίνιον δὲ Τυμφαίων ὅμορον Αἰθικίᾳ καὶ Τρίκκῃ.*—Strabo, p. 327.

Digitized by Google

level in the mountainous district, which anciently formed the Tymphæa. The town may have stood at Métzovo, or on the same site as the Roman or Dacian settlement indicated by the modern name Imperatoria. Politzía, the appellation of the plain, may be derived perhaps from ἡ πόλις, as containing the capital and only considerable city of the *Tymphæi*, except *Æginium*.

Another tribe, once Epirotic but subsequently Thessalian, was the Talares, whom Strabo describes as an *apospasm* of the Talares[1], who dwelt near Mount Tomarus, and as inhabiting the Pindus itself[2]. Hence they seem to have been farther removed from the Trikkaline plain than the *Æthices*, having occupied perhaps the ridges on the north-eastern side of the great *Tymphæan* valley, or those now forming the koli of Krátziova, in which case it is probable that the unnamed tribe on the Thessalian side of Pindus, who disputed with the Tymphæi concerning the sources of the Peneius, were the Talares[3]. Possibly the galactítes lithos[4] may have been the fountain which the *Talares* maintained to have been the real source of the *Peneius*. The best part of the territory of the *Talares* (thus placed) was the valley of the river of Miritza, or great branch of the *Peneius*, which joins it a little above the Metéora. This

[1] Strabo, p. 434.

[2] ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ Πίνδῳ.—Strabo, p. 327.

[3] καὶ αἱ τοῦ Πηνειοῦ πηγαί· ὧν ἀμφισβητοῦσι Τυμφαῖοι καὶ οἱ ὑπὸ τῇ Πίνδῳ Θετταλοί.—Strabo, p. 327.

[4] See Vol. I. p. 415.

Digitized by Google

stream there can be little difficulty in identifying with the *Ion*, which, according to Strabo, was the chief tributary of the Peneius, and joined it near Æginium. And hence *Oxyneia*, a town situated on the *Ion*[1], perhaps the capital of the *Talares*, occupied probably the valley of Mirítza..

Nov. 26.—Many of the Turkish houses in Tríkkala are now in ruins, or empty: some are let entirely to Greeks, and of many others the haréms only are inhabited by the Turkish masters, the other apartments being let to Christians, who come here in the winter from the mountain villages, some with their flocks, others to avoid the rigour of the winter, and others in every season to obtain a livelihood as artisans or labourers. Lodgings of this kind are designated at Ioánnina by the modest appellation of μάνδραις or folds; here they are called αὐλαὶς or halls. So numerous are the temporary lodgers in Tríkkala, that although the houses originally Greek are not more than 200, while the Turkish are 1000, the Greek population is greater than the Turkish. There are about 50 families of Jews. In the Trikkaline plain, all the inhabitants are Greeks, with the exception of the Spahís and Subashís; but there has lately been a considerable emigration of Greeks to the better governed districts of Serres, Smyrna, and *Pergamus*. The plain is still, however, in a tolerable state of cultivation, producing wheat, barley, maize,

[1] καὶ πόλις Ὀξύνεια παρὰ τὸν Ιονα ποταμὸν . . . . . πλησίον δὲ καὶ αἱ Ἀλκομεναὶ καὶ Αἰγίνιον καὶ Εὔρωπος καὶ αἱ τοῦ Ἴονος εἰς τὸν Πηνειὸν συμβολαί.—Strabo, p. 327.

Digitized by Google

and pulse, of excellent quality. But even the fertile Thessaly is subject to bad harvests, as occurred in the present year, in consequence of a succession of frost and snow too soon after the seed had been committed to the ground in the autumn. Northerly winds bring with them the heaviest rain or snow; with southerly winds, fogs and mists prevail, and these, which continue through a great part of the winter, seem to constitute the weather most adapted to fertilize the light rich mould of the Thessalian plains. Hay is brought into the town for the summer food of cattle. Ten to one is the ordinary produce of wheat, which is a very hard and durable grain, with a long beard and a strong straw of great length. Spring corn is here called triminío, not dhiminió, as in most other places: it will not bear the heat of the sun in the plains, and grows only in the mountains. The cotton is finer than that of Serres; they spin, dye, and weave it in the town, but the manufacture is chiefly confined to the kind of kerchiefs used for encircling the head and girdle. The water of Týrnavo is reckoned the best for the dyeing of cottons, that of Tríkkala for woollens and silks; but this place is more noted for its red goats'-skin leather, which is in request in all parts of Greece for slippers and boots. The dye is a secret, but two of the ingredients are known to be cochineal and blood from the butcheries.

The Hodjá-bashí gives me the following rate of the prices of provisions at the present day, and as he remembers them forty years ago:—

Digitized by Google

		PARAS.
Beef 15 parás the oke :—forty years ago		2
Mutton 20 do.	do. . . .	4
Wheat, weighing 25 okes the tagári, 7 piastres,	do. . . .	20
Rokka or maize 5 do. not much in use.	do. . . .	10 and
Barley 3½ do.	.	10

Beef is here a common article of provision, even among the Turks, but it is killed only by Greeks or Jews, who generally make use of lean oxen unfit for work. At Ioánnina and Saloníki the Greeks have a prejudice against beef, and none but Jews kill the oxen. The largest Greek houses in Tríkkala pay 600 piastres a year in ordinary contributions: those of a middling class 200. The master of the house in which I am lodged, who has another at Porta, but is established here as a manufacturer of cotton stuffs, pays 1000 piastres a year in all. The bishop receives a piastre from each house in his diocese; from the richer classes in the town four or five piastres for ἁγιασμὸς or benediction, and as much as the family chooses for λειτουργίαις, or domestic masses which are generally called for by the women. The present bishop tried to pursue the same oppressive system as his brother of Ioánnina; but the Vezír, upon the complaint of the inhabitants, soon brought him to reason. It is a common sentiment among the laity of Greece, that the bishops have been a great cause of their present degraded state, nor have the Greeks in general any esteem for their higher

Digitized by Google

clergy, or for the monastic order from which the prelates are promoted. This, however, is in some degree an injustice; for although the clergy are often an instrument of oppression, and a bishop can hardly avoid acting like a Turk in office, the regular clergy have kept the Greek language alive, and have prevented, perhaps, the dissolution of all national union.

The Christian Trikkaliní admit that Alý Pashá has relieved them from the insolence and oppression to which they were formerly subject from the Turkish beys. Velý Pashá is following the same plan in the Moréa, where the Turks were much in want of this discipline. His Highness and his sons adopt the surest method of effecting it, by obtaining all the landed property of the Turks:

Nunc prece, nunc pretio, nunc vi, nunc sorte supremâ.

by every possible contrivance of fraud, injustice, and oppression. At a small expence they have thus converted the greater part of the plain of Tríkkala formerly belonging to the beys of Tríkkala, or to the Elefthero-khória of the Greeks into tjiftlíks of their own. Alý and Mukhtár transport their share of the crops to Ioánnina to feed their Albanians, and that of Velý is sent to the Moréa for the same purpose; while the Porte, according to its usual practice in several of the most fertile districts of the empire, is supplied with a certain quantity of grain from Thessaly at its own price. Thus, in the midst of a most productive country, the inhabitants retain no more than is barely sufficient for existence; and the price, even of the necessaries of life, is

Digitized by Google

beyond their means. The wars of the Porte on one side, and those of Alý on the other, are the chief cause of this distressing oppression, which the people of Tríkkala never recollect to have been so great as it is at present; and for this reason alone have hopes of seeing diminished: one of their complaints is, that the Vezír's Subashís, for the purpose of irrigating his lands, draw off the water of the river, upon which the town chiefly depends; so that in summer nothing but a little heated muddy water remains in the bed of the *Peneius*. Nothing can more strongly show the misery of the place than the want of this commonest of all Turkish conveniences, especially as fountains might easily be supplied by an aqueduct from numerous sources in the hills of Khassiá.

One of the primates of Tríkkala reads to me his account of a tour through Greece, which he made upon coming to his property upon his father's death. He visited 'Agrafa, Karpenísi, Apókuro, Vrakhóri, Lidhoríki, Neópatra, as well as some of the *Macedonian* districts immediately northward of Tríkkala. The journal of a modern Greek traveller in his own country is a novelty, and might have been expected to furnish some useful hints for the exploring geographer; but it contains a mere catalogue of places without a single criticism on ancient history, although the author's Hellenic education had not been neglected. This same gentleman has lately been in prison at Ioánnina: his statement is, that he was placed there by Alý Pashá in consequence of the unfounded complaints of an enemy of his, and was released on paying a moderate sum when the Vezír dis-

Digitized by Google

covered his innocence. In his opinion, half the oppression and cruelty of Alý are owing to the malicious disposition of the Greeks themselves, who envy all above and trample on all below them, while the Pashá takes good care to turn all their quarrels to his own profit.

Nov. 27.—Tríkkala has lately been adorned by the Pashá with a new Tekiéh, or college of Bektashlí dervíses, on the site of a former one. He has not only removed several old buildings to give more space and air to this college, but has endowed it with property in khans, shops, and houses, and has added some fields on the banks of the *Lethæus*. There are now about fifteen of these Mahometan monks in the house with a Sheikh or Chief, who is married to an Ioannite woman, and as well lodged and dressed as many a Pashá. Besides his own apartments, there are very comfortable lodgings for the dervises, and every convenience for the reception of strangers. The Bektashlí are so called from a Cappadocian sheikh who wore a stone upon his navel; in memory of which his followers wear a stone which is green and of this form suspended to the neck, and hanging upon the naked breast. The important part which Hadjí Bektásh played in the establishment of the Janissaries is well known. The Bektashlí particularly insist like other Mahometans on the unity of the Deity, but do not exalt Mahomet so high as other Musulman sects, and are free thinkers in the practical part of their religion, considering that every thing is given us for enjoyment, and there-

Digitized by Google

fore they smoke and drink and live merrily. It is their doctrine to be liberal towards all professions and religions, and to consider all men as equal in the eyes of God. Though the sheikh did not very clearly explain his philosophy to me, he often used the word ἄνθρωπος, with some accompanying remark or significant gesture conveying a sentiment of the equality of mankind. The Vezír, although no practical encourager of liberty and equality, finds the religious doctrines of the Bektashlí exactly suited to him. At the time that Christianity was out of favour in France, he was in the habit of ridiculing religion and the immortality of the soul with his French prisoners; and he lately remarked to me, speaking of Mahomet, καὶ ἐγὼ εἶμαι προφήτης στὰ Ἰωάννινα: and I too am a prophet at Ioánnina. It was an observation of the bishop of Trikkala, that Alý takes from every body and gives only to the dervises, whom he undoubtedly finds politically useful. In fact, there is no place in Greece where in consequence of this encouragement these wandering or mendicant Musulman monks are so numerous and insolent as at Ioánnina.

In a bridge which conducts over the *Lethæus* to the Tekiéh is a marble inscribed in four elegiac verses, to the memory of a "godlike physician named Cimber, by his wife Andromache[1]." It

[1] Φῶτα θεοῖς ἴκελον, στυγερῶν ἰήτορα νούσων
Μοίρῃ ὑπ' ἀτρέπτῳ Κίμβερα τύμβος ἔχει,
Ὃν πιυτὴ παράκοιτις ἀνιηρὸν ποθέουσα
Θάψεν ἀκοιμήτοις δάκρυσιν Ἀνδρομάχη.
V. Inscription, No. 171.

The

Digitized by Google

is curious by its apparent connection with the celebrity of Tricca, as the resort of invalids for the cure of their diseases in the temple of Æsculapius [1]; and probably those attached to the temple were physicians as well as priests and attendants. The medical fame of Tricca, therefore, which was as ancient as the Trojan war, seems still to have continued in the time of the Roman empire, which is the date of the inscription. The name of this town assumed its present form at some period between the sixth and eleventh centuries, Τρίκκη being found among the towns of Thessaly after the final division of the empire [2], and Anna Comnena in the beginning of the twelfth employing the present name [3]. In Procopius indeed we find the word "Τρικάττους," referring to the people of this place [4]; but this is, perhaps, a textual error for Τρικκαίους. Tzetzes a little later associates Τρίκκαλα with several names, some of which were undoubtedly obsolete at that time, as if he considered Tricala the ancient

The writer of the epitaph in the word ἰήτορα had probably Homer in view, who describes Podalirius and Machaon, the sons of Æsculapius who led the Triccæi to Troy, as Ἰητῆρ' ἀγαθώ.—Il. B. v. 732.

[1] Καὶ αὕτη δ' οὐκ ἄσημος ἡ πόλις (Ἐπίδαυρος sc.) καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ θεραπεύειν νόσους παντοδαπὰς πεπιστευμένου καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πλῆρες ἔχοντος ἀεὶ τῶν τε καμνόντων καὶ τῶν ἀνακειμένων πινάκων, ἐν οἷς ἀναγεγραμμέναι τυγχάνουσιν αἱ θεραπεῖαι, καθάπερ ἐν Κῷ τε καὶ Τρίκκῃ.—Strabo, p. 374.

[2] Hierocl. Synecd. p. 642. Wess.

[3] Anna Comn. l. 5, p. 137. Paris.

[4] Procop. de Ædif. l. 4, c. 3.

Digitized by Google

form [1]. It is remarkable that Trikkala is the appellation of a considerable town in the Moréa, standing near an ancient site [2], which, like *Tricca* in *Thessaly*, was celebrated for the worship of Æsculapius, and the cure of his diseased suppliants. It is possible that some connection may have existed between the medical colleges at the two places, and that when the *Thessalian Tricca* became exposed to the barbarians, a migration may have taken place to the securer position of Mount *Cyllene*.

Nov. 29.—Proceeding on the route to Lárissa, we arrive in one hour at Bokúnista, one of the Vezír's tjiftlíks containing 50 houses; a little beyond which we leave the direct road on the right, and arrive in 45 minutes at Kirtzíni. A thick fog which still continues has covered all the plain for the last three or four days, and with the late rains has rendered the roads very heavy. Kirtzíni is a small village at the foot of the hills of Khassiá. At the church-door is a monumental stone sculptured in low relief, in two compartments, of which the upper represents a figure seated in a chair, the lower a Hermes. One of the stones in the wall of the church is an ancient architrave, having two triglyphs with a rose in the intervening metope. These relics of civilized Greece were brought from

[1] Χώραν τὴν Θετταλίαν δὲ συνεκτικήν μοι νόει,
Φθίας καὶ Φαρσαλίας δὲ Λαρίσσης καὶ Τρικκάλων
Δημητριάδος Ἰωλκοῦ καὶ Γλαφυρῶν καὶ Βοίβης.
Tzetz. Chil. 9, v. 280.

[2] It was called Cyrus and was situated in the Pellenæa of Achaia.—See Travels in the Morea, Vol. iii. p. 219.

Digitized by Google

the ruins called Old Kardhíki or Gardhíki [1], distant from Kirtzíni half an hour, the road leading along the rocky extremity of the heights. At Gardhíki are the remains of a large Hellenic city, which there can be little doubt was *Pelinnæum*. The entire circuit of the walls still remains, together with traces of suburbs on either side. On the west particularly, in approaching from Kirtzíni, the main street of the suburb is still distinguishable, leading to the middle of the western wall, where one of the gates probably stood. The city occupied the face of a rocky height, together with a large quadrangular space at the foot of it on the south. The southern wall is more than half a mile in length, and the whole circumference near 3 miles.

Kardhíki, a town of the Greek empire, from which the bishop residing at Zarko takes his title, occupied the height only, and no part of the plain below. Its remains are two ruined churches, one at the summit, the other at the foot of the hill; the walls, which were built upon the ruins of the Hellenic acropolis, have almost entirely disappeared, while the ancient inclosure both of the citadel and town is traceable in every part, and at the summit of the hill subsists to the height of twelve or fifteen feet. The masonry is of the third species, or that which seems to have been in use about the age of Alexander; and accordingly we find mention made of Pelinna at that time in the history of Arrian [2], shewing that it was a

[1] Παλαιὸν Καρδίκιον, Γκαρδίκιον.

[2] Arrian. Exp. Alex. l. 1, c. 7.

Digitized by Google

Thessalian town of considerable note. In the lower church are a fragment of a fluted Doric column 2ft. 5in. in diameter, and the record of a dedication by one Petræonica, daughter of Derdas[1]. The characters of this inscription are of the best times, and it is curious as expressing the name of the lady's father by the patronymic adjective Δερδαῖα. Derdas was probably a name not uncommon in this part of Greece, as we find a Derdas prince of the neighbouring district of Elimeia in the year 382 B.C.[2], a date probably not very distant from that of the inscription.

The summit of the hill of Kardhíki commands a noble view of the widest part of the plain of *Upper Thessaly*, with the opposite mountains of *Dolopia*. At the back of the height there is a deep cavity, surrounded on all sides by rocky precipices, and now full of water, concerning which the local fable is, that a town was here swallowed up by an earthquake. A tumulus rises opposite the ruins in the plain, at a distance of a mile and a half from them.

From Paleó-Gardhíki to Kolokotó is a ride of 1 hour 20 minutes, the latter half of the way along the rocky foot of the mountain, where on the right are many sources, and a marsh named Vúla, from which a rivulet issues and joins the *Lethæus*, now called Déresi or Trikkalinó, which nearly opposite to the Vúla unites with the *Peneius*. At the end

[1] Πετραιονίκα Δερδαῖα ἀνέθηκεν.—V. Inscription, No. 172.

[2] Xenoph. Hellen. l. 5, c. 2.

Digitized by Google

of this pass we cross a plain surrounded by branches of the Khassiá mountains, leaving the villages of Neokhório and Báia a mile or two on the left; on a height above the latter, are remains of ancient walls. The road to Elasóna separates from that to Lárissa at the end of the pass of Vúla, passes a little to the right of Neokhório, and then directly across the plain to Gritziáno. This plain is watered by a small stream from the hills of Khassiá, which after a half-circle round the foot of the height of Kolokotó joins the Trikkalinó, nearly opposite to it. Kolokotó contains 30 or 40 houses, and has become a tjiftlík of the Vezír since my last visit[1]. The Hellenic ruins on the conspicuous height above the village seem to be those of a fortress on the frontier of the territories of *Pelinnæum* and *Pharcadon*, for to the latter city I take the valley of Tzighióti and Zarko to have belonged.

Tzighióti, which we reach in an hour and a quarter from Kolokotó, is situated, like Zarko, near a branch of the Khassiá mountain, which here approaches the Salamvría. At an hour's distance to the north-west is Gritziáno, or Grísano, and between them Mikro Tzighióti. The plain produces excellent grain, but cotton is the peculiar produce both of this place and of Zarko. They are both now the personal property of the Vezír, and commute with him for their rent and tithe, the two Tzighiótis by 35 purses, and Zarko by 70.

Nov. 30.—From Great Tzighióti we turn a point of the mountain and enter the portion of the plain

[1] See Vol. I. p. 432.

Digitized by Google

occupied by Zarko, cross it diagonally towards the Salamvría, leaving Zarko on the left, and arrive in half an hour at the ferry which was formerly two or three miles further down, but is now immediately opposite to Zarko. The river is here six feet deep, and from 250 to 300 wide. Not being joined below the confluence of the river of Férsala by any great tributary except the Elassonítiko or *Titaresius*, and its superfluous waters being discharged between Lárissa and that river into the lakes *Nessonis* and *Bœbeis*, the Salamvría preserves even in the winter an uniformity of breadth and depth in this part of its course, and seldom overflows its banks. The stream now flows with rapidity, and is full of small vortices, which may have suggested to the poet the epithet of ἀργυροδείνης, though it must be confessed that he carries his poetical flattery to an extreme in comparing to silver the white hue of its turbid waters, derived entirely from the earth suspended in them. In fact the *Peneius* is never bright. The Thames above the tide is far more deserving of the Homeric epithet, but it may be doubted whether Homer ever saw so beautiful a river as the Thames:

> Though deep, yet clear, though tranquil, yet not dull,
> Strong without rage, without o'erflowing full.

It takes us half an hour to cross the river in three trips by a wretched ferryboat, not much worse however than that of the river of Catania in the Christian kingdom of Sicily; then proceeding along a narrow level between the left bank of the river and the hills which extend to the plains of

Digitized by Google

Crannon and *Pharsalus*, we arrive in 50 minutes at a point where these heights advance nearly to the bank of the river.

Here are the remains of a Hellenic town, which I noticed in my preceding journey, but without then riding over the ground. The whole circuit of the walls is traceable, and encloses the face of the hill towards the river, together with a level space nearly a mile in circumference at the foot of it. The ruins are called Tjingané-kálesi by the Turks, and Ghyftó-kastro by the Greeks, both meaning Gypsey-castle, a common name in Greece for a ruined fortress. I found some peasants of Alífaka, a village situated in the plain to the eastward of the hill, ploughing within the ancient city, and purchased from them several copper coins, some of which they had just turned up. One is of Pelinnæum, another of Phalanna. Following the testimony of Strabo, who states that the Peneius in its course through the Thessalian plains, passed by the cities of Tricca, Pelinnæum, and Pharcadon, to its left, and then flowed by Atrax to Larissa [1], it might be supposed that these are the ruins of Atrax, neither the geographer nor any other author having stated on which side of the river Atrax stood. But *Atrax* was only ten Roman miles from Larissa, whereas these ruins are thirteen or fourteen; and it was on the borders of *Perrhæbia* [2], which could scarcely have extended

[1] Αὐτὸς ὁ Πηνειὸς ἄρχεται μὲν ἐκ Πίνδου καθάπερ εἴρηται· ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ ἀφεὶς Τρίκκην τε καὶ Πελινναῖον καὶ Φαρκαδόνα φέρεται παρά τε Ἄτρακα καὶ Λάρισσαν.—Strabo, p. 438.

[2] Liv. l. 32, c. 15; l. 36, c. 13.

Digitized by Google

so far to the south; the situation of Gúnitza, indeed, as I have before stated, seems to combine all the requisites of *Atrax*[1].

These are the ruins, therefore, of some other Thessalian town of secondary rank, perhaps Phacium[2]; for the situation exactly agrees with that of Phacium as occurring in the relation which Thucydides has left us of the march of Brasidas through Thessaly and Perrhæbia to Dium in Macedonia, in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war: from the Apidanus on this side of Pharsalus but not far from it, he marched to Phacium, in one day apparently, and from thence entered Perrhæbia[3]. Ghyftókastro is about thirty miles from *Pharsalus*, and exactly in the direction of *Perrhæbia* from thence.

In proceeding from the ruins to Alífaka, distant half an hour, we pass a tumulus situated in the plain, at one-third of the distance from the ruins. Alífaka is now a tjiftlík of Velý Pashá, and with the exception of one house now occupied by an Albanian Subashí, who superintends the Pashá's concerns, all the habitations are low huts of a single apartment, serving both for men and cattle. The Subashí, who is a native of Dragóti near Tepeléni, is suffering from an intermittent fever; a disorder to which the Albanians are very subject when they pass the summer or autumn in these plains. "This air," he observes, "devours the man[4]." But loss of health is the common penalty paid by

[1] See Vol. III. p. 368.

[2] Liv. l. 36, c. 13.—Stephan. in Φάκιον.

[3] Thucyd. l. 4, c. 78.

[4] τούτος ὁ ἀέρας τρώγει τὰν ἄνθρωπον.

Digitized by Google

mountaineers and natives of northern countries, when the hardy and warlike habits natural to their position, have enabled them to reduce to subjection the more luxurious inhabitants of plains or of a more southern climate. The Albanians are fond of hunting the hare; and few of those who are rich enough to possess a horse have not likewise a greyhound. Almost all those whom I have encountered in Thessaly have been accompanied by their dogs. Finery is another favourite taste; a coarse kind of lace made at Naples finds an excellent market in Albania, and velvet is much esteemed by them; but they like it still better when it is so covered over[1] with lace and embroidery that only just enough of the velvet appears to give evidence of the rich material. Beyond Alífaka the plain expands on all sides to Lárissa, which is about twelve miles distant.

Dec. 1.—Abdím Bey, whom I now visit for the third time in the course of the last four years, is still, in his capacity of chief Ayán, the civil governor of Lárissa. By means of a Turkish work printed at Constantinople, he has made himself acquainted with many leading facts of history and geography, and he has a retentive memory. This little tincture of civilization, and the pleasure he takes in showing his learning, prompts him to be more civil to Franks than Turks usually are. In general the higher class of them at Lárissa are fanatical, ignorant, and slothful; and the janissaries insolent and disorderly, though trembling at the sight

[1] πέρα πέρα.

Digitized by Google

of an Albanian. As in other Turkish cities, they think only of following civil occupations, and of those few who went this summer to the war the greater part is already returning. Nor do the Greeks of Lárissa bear a good character among their neighbours. It is customary for each family to purchase the protection of some powerful Turk; a practice which has become common likewise at Saloníki since Frank protections have been partly withdrawn. Indeed it is now general in the great towns of European Turkey. At Lárissa Turkish protection is said to be most frequently and effectually obtained by the influence of some handsome youth of the protected Greek family. Greeks, Jews, and Armenians, are all more degraded here in respect of civil privileges than in the towns which are in the hands of Alý Pashá, but have not so much to complain of on the score of forced contributions and the quartering of soldiers. This is the only place in Greece where I have seen camels: they are bred in the surrounding plains, and are sometimes used here for carrying burthens; but they are chiefly employed for the caravans which communicate with Saloníki, Serres, Adrianople, and Constantinople.

Dec. 2.—The road from Lárissa to Túrnavo might now be travelled in a wheeled carriage; and it is one of very few distances of ten miles in Greece in that condition. The *Titaresius*, which at the time of my former visit about the same season was quite dry, is now only a shallow stream, though there has been no want of rain lately. It seems justly, therefore, to have acquired the name

Digitized by Google

of Xerághi, by which it is known around Túrnavo. Sometimes, however, after heavy rains, or a sudden dissolution of the snow on *Olympus*, it becomes wide and impetuous; and hence the long bridge at the entrance of the town is essential to a facility of communication with Lárissa, which might sometimes require a circuit by the bridge of Vernési, and round the lake Karatjaír, or nearly triple the direct distance. I have already remarked, that the ordinary deficiency of water in the river is caused by irrigation, and by a small canal[1] which waters the plantations and gardens of Lárissa on the northern side of the Salamvría. In Homer's time, when tobacco was not known, and maize and cotton were less cultivated in Greece, the *Titaresius* probably carried its waters more constantly to the *Peneius*. At present it is not easy to find an opportunity of witnessing that common phenomenon which Homer poetically likens to oil floating on the surface of water, and which is nothing more than the pellucid *Titaresius* slowly uniting with the turbid *Peneius*.

Dec. 3.—Túrnavo has continued to decline, war having narrowed the market of its manufactures in the fairs of Rumilí, while the same cause has raised both the price of provisions and the amount of taxes. The people complain that their Proestí have for the last two years laid arbitrary assessments upon the families without giving any account to the public; and these complaints seem to have reached the ears of the Vezír, for a buyurtí has

[1] See Vol. III. p. 353.

Digitized by Google

just arrived, requiring some of the magistrates to carry the contributions of the present year in person to Tepeléni; which makes them fear that their next quarters may be the prison at Ioánnina. The wages of a weaver are now ten piastres a week: the finest servietta, without gold thread, sells at prime cost for about forty piastres, of which the δουλευτικὸν, or workmanship, costs seven piastres.

Túrnavo is said to enjoy one of the best climates in Thessaly. The midsummer heats are less oppressive than at Lárissa and Tríkkala: foul weather is seldom experienced for many days together: and the month of January is the extent of the winter. The sandy soil around the town is practicable to horses and carts in the wettest weather; and the acclivity from the bank of the river, small as it is, prevents any unwholesome stagnation of water in summer. Every house has its well of the purest water, and is cool in the midst of summer. At Tríkkala and Lárissa the water of the *Peneius* is used for drinking, and is reckoned wholesome and light; but it is hot and turbid, and requires filtration. At these two towns autumnal fevers are much more prevalent than at Túrnavo; at Tzarítzena the overhanging rocks are supposed to injure the air, and must undoubtedly concentrate the heat, as they are exposed to the south-west. Nevertheless Tzarítzena is the most flourishing town in *Thessaly* next to Ambelákia. By the sacrifice of a sum of money to the Vezír, the Archons have procured an order forbidding the dancing boys from exercising their profession in that town; this has annoyed the people of Túr-

Digitized by Google

navo, by causing the boys to resort more frequently to that town, which attracts thither many Turks and Musulman Albanians of the worst class, whom the Greeks are moreover often obliged to entertain. The Ayáns of Lárissa will not often permit the dancers to appear in that city; as it is generally attended with disturbances and drunken quarrels among the Janissaries, in which the boys themselves stand a chance of being murdered.

The weather being fair to-day, the little height of Kastrí commands a noble view of the rich *Pelasgic* plain and of the renowned mountains which surround it. The Magúla of Tatári, which I suppose to be the site of *Gyrton*, is nearly in a line with the peak of Kíssavo or *Ossa*, which bears east by the compass: a few degrees to the left of the magúla some remains of the walls of *Mopsium* are clearly distinguishable on a height somewhat detached from the end of the ridge of Makrikhóri, on its extremity towards Lárissa. In the opposite direction this ridge extends thirty degrees to the Klisúra, or rugged gorge through which the *Peneius* makes its way from the plain into the valley of Derelí or *Gonnus*, and thence to *Tempe*. In the middle of the Klisúra, on the right bank of the river, are seen the walls of *Elateia*, but more conspicuous than any of these ancient sites, are the remains of *Phalanna*, situated a little to the westward of north, on a steep bicipital height above the village of Karadjóli, at the foot of Mount *Titarus*. The hill is not only surrounded with the ruins of walls, but there also appear two or more cross walls forming terraces on the slope. A tor-

Digitized by Google

rent descends along one side of the height into the small stream flowing from the lake or marsh of Mati, which I passed Dec. 10, 1806, between Ligará and Túrnavo. If to these be added the positions of Lárissa, of *Atrax* at Sídhero-péliko, and of *Argissa*, at the tumuli between the two latter, the ruins or sites of no less than seven ancient cities may be distinguished from Kastrí, itself being the situation of an eighth, or that of *Metropolis*.

Dec. 4.—This forenoon, proceeding south-westward from Túrnavo along the foot of the heights, we enter, at the end of a mile and a half, the narrow vale from whence the Xerághi or *Titaresius* issues into the plain. Here the river leaves on either bank a narrow level between it and rocky heights just sufficient for a road. That on the left bank, which we follow, is hard, and smooth enough for any carriage. The bed of the river is formed entirely of sand, in the midst of which there are deep pools of water, making the fords sometimes dangerous. At the end of an hour and five minutes from Túrnavo, walls constructed of small stones and mortar are traceable on both sides of the river, the remains apparently of a work for the defence of the pass.

Having crossed the river at 6.5, we follow the right bank to Dhamási[1], leaving on the opposite side a small ploughed valley having a reddish soil. Dhamási is one of the tjiftlíks of Velý Pashá, whose agent resides here as Subashí. It contains about

[1] Δαμάσιον.

Digitized by Google

twenty houses, having a few gardens watered by a canal from the Xerághi, and is situated at the foot of a steep rocky hill which falls on the other side to the river. This height is crowned with a ruined castle, of which the walls are built with great solidity of small stones and mortar, and are flanked with square and round towers. A transverse wall divided the castle in two.

In the house of the Subashí is a quadrangular stone, similar to those which are inscribed at Túrnavo, but adorned with a moulding below instead of above. An inscription on one of the narrow sides shows that it supported the statue of a priestess of Julia Juno Augusta, erected by the demus of the Lareisæi [1]. In the same house, on the edge of a well, is another marble without any inscription, but representing in low relief a man with a circular shield in his left hand; the shield and the nails of the fingers, which are the only parts well preserved, show that the sculpture was good. It seems evident from these remains that Dhamási is the position of one of the *Perrhæbic* towns; and I am inclined to think that the castle is in great part of Hellenic construction, although the masonry is not such as the ancients generally employed.

From Dhamási I proceed to Dheminíko, a jour-

[1] Ὁ δῆμος Λαρεισαίων . . . . . Δεξίππου, γυναῖκα δὲ Φιλίσκου, τοῦ . . . . . υἱοῦ, ἱερητεύσασαν Ἰουλίας Ἥρας Σεβαστῆς.—V. Inscription, No. 173.

Livia, the wife of Augustus, was received into the Julian family with the title of Augusta on the death of Augustus, and was deified by Claudius.—Tacit. Annal. l. 1, c. 8.—Dion. Cass. l. 56, c. 46, Sueton. in Claud. c. 11.

Digitized by Google

ney of two hours and a half. Just without the village of Dhamási, at the foot of the castle hill, we recross the river, and again proceed along the left bank. The valley is animated by flocks of sheep and goats, which are conducted in this season from the mountains near Grevená to feed on the banks of the "pleasant Titaresius[1]." The shepherds of Mount *Pindus* have all their particular haunts in winter. Those of the more distant villages of the district of Grevená migrate to the plain of Trikkala or to the northern valleys of *Perrhæbia*. The flocks of Grámista are driven to Armyró and the valleys of *Phthia;* the pastures of Dheminíko and the southern part of *Perrhæbia* are particularly resorted to by the Samariniótes, who find ample accommodation in the winter in the empty houses of those who formerly cultivated these fertile valleys, but who have migrated from hence since Alý and his sons have converted the lands into tjiftlíks of their own.

At an hour's ride from Dhamási, we leave, on the summit of a peaked height on the opposite side of the river, the vestiges of a small ancient fort, and soon afterwards enter the valley of Dheminíko, having Vlakho-Iánni on the left on the opposite side of the river. Our route then turns northward in the direction of the valley, passes through Mológhusta[2], a tjiftlík of the Vezír, of twenty houses, standing on the left bank of the

[1] Οἱ δ' ἀμφ' ἱμερτὸν Τιταρήσιον ἔργ' ἐνέμοντο.
Il. B. v. 751.

[2] Μολόγουστα.

Digitized by Google

river, and then ascends the heights to Dheminíko or Dhomeníko[1], which, though consisting of near 200 houses, contains not more than 80 families. About fifteen years ago it lost half its inhabitants by the plague, since which time the robbers and their opponents the Dervenlí troops, with the extortions of their chief have proved so destructive to the place that nothing at length remained for the unfortunate people but to become the metayers of Alý; since which he has built a mosque, and an adjoining house now occupied by an Albanian bolu-báshi. The Dhomenikiótes cultivate corn on the heights, and maize, cotton, and tobacco in the plain, where irrigation from the river ensures plentiful crops. They spin and weave their cotton into a coarse kind of bukasiá sold to the people of Tzarítzena, who dye them. The plain below Dheminíko contains, besides the villages Mológhusta and Vlakho-Iánni, those of Konitzí, Paleókastro, Sykiá, Magúla, Pertóri, and Amúri. This fertile valley is ten or twelve miles in length from north to south, and half as much in breadth. To the northward it is separated by woody hills from the northern *Perrhæbian* plain, or *Tripolitis*, which lies between the mountains 'Elymbo and Amárbes, and by other hills eastward from the plain which contains Elasóna and Tzarítzena. Westward rises a continuation of Amárbes, which stretches southward towards Tríkkala: this mountain is covered with beeches[2], and with oaks here called δρεφνιαὶς, —a corruption apparently of δρυίναι. Besides the

[1] Δεμενίκος, Δομενίκος.

[2] ὀξείαις.

Digitized by Google

agricultural productions of the plain, there are a few gardens and vineyards around the villages, particularly at that of Amúri. At Magúla, on the right bank of the river near Sykiá, an earth producing nitre in great plenty has lately been discovered: the earth is carried to Ioánnina, where the nitre is extracted, and used in the manufacture of gunpowder.

Dheminíko, which was a bishopric of the province of Lárissa or Thessaly as early as the ninth century, has long been joined with Elasóna, as an archbishopric dependent on the patriarch of Constantinople. It appears to have been a place of considerable importance under the Byzantine Empire; as besides the cathedral there are three churches in the village, and four more on the outskirts. Anna Comnena describes a κλεισούρα, or pass, near Lárissa which she terms the palace of Domenicus [1], where a marshy ravine between two hills terminated a woody plain. Here the Franks under Boëmond, in the year 1083, were attacked in their camp and defeated by Michael Ducas, upon which they retired to Tríkkala and to Kastoría. Probably the camp of Boëmond was about Amúri, and the pass was one of those leading into the plain from Sérvia, Elasóna, or Lárissa. The cathedral and some others of the churches seem to be not less ancient than the eleventh century. I failed in obtaining an entrance into the episcopal palace, the stairs, or to speak more cor-

[1] Δομενίκου παλάτιον, Anna Comnena, l. 5, p. 141. Paris.

Digitized by Google

rectly, the ladder leading up to the door, being so decayed as to be impassable. The bishop now resides at Tzarítzena.

Dec. 5.—The church of St. George, the most distant and largest of those without the town, contains in its walls and pavements several inscribed marbles, two of which show that it stands on the site of *Cyretiæ*, one of the cities of Perrhæbia mentioned by Livy. The church stands upon a height, encircled by some inconsiderable remains of ancient walls constructed of small stones and mortar, but among which several large quadrangular masses are seen. Others of the same kind are lying on the slope of the hill; and the walls of the church are in part formed of similar blocks of stone, evidently taken from Hellenic constructions. The hill of St. George appears to have been the acropolis, and the city to have occupied the slope below it, towards a valley watered by a slender branch of the *Titaresius*. In the opposite direction a hollow intervenes between the height and a steep rocky mountain composed of granite, the most elevated of the ridges which branching from Mount Kritíri separate this valley from that of Elasóna. The road from Dheminíko to Elasóna passes along the hollow. Not far from the acropolis, towards the village of Dheminíko, is the feature which probably influenced in great measure the founders of *Cyretiæ* in the choice of this situation—namely, a copious stream of water now rushing from the side of the mountain by

Digitized by Google

four spouts. The church of St. George contains in its walls, steps, and pavements, or on detached blocks, many inscribed marbles. One in particular is a document of some historical interest; being a public epistle addressed to the Cyretienses by Titus Quinctius Flamininus, when commander of the Roman army in Greece. It is inscribed on a thick block of white marble, which now forms a part of the wall of separation between the vestibule and the body of the church. The situation of the stone is by no means favourable to the copyer as to light, and the letters are a good deal worn; but with the exception of only five or six, they may all be decyphered. They are small and of the usual beautiful formation of those times. The gentile adjective, which is Κυρετιεὺς in this inscription, is Χυρετιαῖος in another belonging to a monument which was erected by the city in honour of Septimius Severus [1]. This variation of the ethnic agrees exactly with the ancient authors; for Ptolemy, who lived in the latter age, writes the name Χυρεῖαι [2], of which the gentile would be Χυρετιαῖος; while Livy, following Polybius, a cotemporary of the inscription, employs Cyretiensis, of which the analogous Greek form was Κυρετιεύς. The following is a translation of the epistle of Quinctius:—

"Titus Quinctius supreme commander of the Romans to the tagi and city of the Cyretienses,

[1] . . . . . (Λούκι) ον Σεττίμιον Σενή(ρον) (ἡ πόλ)ις ἡ Χυρετιαίων, (ταγεύον)τος Διονυσίου τοῦ Λυκωτοῦ. — Vide Inscription. No. 175.

[2] Ptolem. l. 3, c. 13.

Digitized by Google

health. Having on all other occasions manifested my own favourable intentions, as well as those of the Roman people towards you, we have been sincerely desirous of continuing to show, that in every instance we prefer that which tends to our honour, to the end that in the present affair also such persons as are not guided by good counsels may not have the power of calumniating us. All the remaining possessions, therefore, in land or houses, which had devolved to the Roman treasury, we give to your city, that you may thus be convinced of our benevolence, and that we have not in the smallest degree been desirous of amassing treasure, but have greatly preferred charity and honourable fame. I judge it right therefore that those persons who have not yet received that which appertains to them, be reinstated in the possession of it, when they shall have given you the requisite proofs, and their demands shall appear to you conformable to my former adjudications [1]."

[1] Τῖτος Κοΐνκτιος, Στρατηγὸς ὕπατος Ρωμαίων, Κυρετιέων τοῖς Ταγοῖς καὶ τῇ Πόλει χαίρειν. Ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσιν φανερὰν πεποήκαμεν τήν τε ἰδίαν καὶ τοῦ Δήμου τοῦ Ρωμαίων προαίρεσιν ἣν ἔχομεν εἰς ὑμᾶς, ὁλο(σχερ)ῶς βεβουλήμεθα κ(αὶ) ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐπιδεῖξαι κατὰ πᾶν μέρος προεστηκότες τοῦ ἐνδόξου, ἵνα μηδ' ἐν τούτοις ἔχωσιν ἡμᾶς καταλαλεῖν οἱ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου εἰωθότες ἀναστρέφεσθαι. Ὅσαι γάρ ποτε ἀπολείπονται κτήσεις ἔγγειοι καὶ οἰκίαι τῶν καθηκουσῶν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τὸ Ρωμαίων, πάσας δίδομεν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ πόλει, ὅπως καὶ ἐν τούτοις μάθητε τὴν καλοκαγαθίαν ἡμῶν καὶ ὅτι τελέως ἐν οὐθενὶ φιλαργυρῆσ(αι) βεβουλήμεθ(α), περὶ πλείστου ποιούμενοι χάριτα καὶ φιλοδοξίαν. Ὅσοι μέντοι μὴ κεκομισμένοι εἰσὶν τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν ὑμᾶς διδάξωσιν καὶ φαίνωνται εὐγνώμονα λέγοντες, στοχαζομένων ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ὑπ'

Digitized by Google

As to the exact date of this epistle, or to which of the four years of the command of Quinctius in Greece it is to be ascribed, we may observe that it could not have been that of his consulship, B.C. 198, because after having defeated Philip on the Aous, and marched through Epirus and Thessaly, he was arrested in his farther progress in this quarter by the resistance of Atrax, and instead of entering Perrhæbia, turned southward into Phocis [1]. In the year of his consulship, moreover, he would undoubtedly have assumed that title, which in Greek was simply ὕπατος, whereas στρατηγὸς ὕπατος has no reference to civil authority, but represented in Greek the Latin word Imperator, as appears by a comparison of the Greek version of the celebrated edict for the liberation of the Greeks, promulgated by Quinctius at the Isthmic games, in the spring of the year 196 [2], with a copy of the same proclamation, given in Latin by Livy [3], who constantly styles Quinctius Imperator during his command in Greece after the expiration of his consulship. The general tenor of the epistle accords with the conduct of Quinctius, when in his winter quarters at Athens, after the battle of Cynoscephalæ in the year 197, he showed clemency to those who had taken part with Philip against him,

ἐμοῦ γεγραμμένων ἐγκρίσεων, κρίνω δίκαιον εἶναι ἀποκαθίστασθαι αὐτοῖς. ἔρρωσθε.

V. Inscription, No. 174.

[1] Liv. l. 32, c. 18.

[2] Ἡ Σύγκλητος ἡ Ρωμαίων καὶ Τίτος Κοΐνκτιος Στρατηγὸς ὕπατος, &c. — Polyb. l. 18, c. 29.

Vide et Plutarch. in Flamin.

[3] Senatus Romanus et Titus Quinctius Imperator, &c.— Liv. l. 33, c. 32.

Digitized by Google

because the apprehensions which were already entertained of Antiochus rendered it expedient to conciliate the favour of the cities of Greece [1],—a motive in fact which had its share in producing the edict of Corinth very soon afterwards. The reference in the beginning of the epistle to the favours conferred upon the Cyretienses by Quinctius and the Roman people, alludes probably to the self-government and liberation from tribute to Philip, which the Perrhæbi among other people obtained by that edict. The epistle therefore was probably written either in 196 or 195 B. C.

It appears that Cyretiæ, like the generality of Greek cities, had been divided into two parties, one opposed and the other favourable to Rome, that the lands and houses of the opponents had been confiscated by Quinctius to the Republic of Rome, that some claims had been made on this confiscated property, by individuals who had been either favourable to the Romans, or at least had taken no part against them: that Quinctius had already adjusted some of those claims, and that he now directed the settlement of the remainder upon the principle of his former adjudications; after which the residue of the confiscated lands and houses was to become the property of the city.

The Thessalian custom of entitling the chief magistrates of their cities Ταγοὶ [2], which is known

[1] quia, Antiocho rege jam suspecto, favor conciliandus nomini Romano apud civitates erat.—Liv. l. 33, c. 27.

[2] Ταγὸς is probably the Thessalic form of ἀγὸς, the word used by Homer for leader.

Τάρκων, the reputed leader

Digitized by Google

from Xenophon and other authors, is exemplified by several inscriptions still existing in *Thessaly*, and among others by two beginning with the word ταγεύοντος, in the church of St. George at Dheminíko, one in the pavement, the other in the wall of the church. From one of these it appears that the tagus was the first, and the hipparchus, or commander of the cavalry, the second person in rank in the city; so that the tagus probably was commander of the infantry as well as civil governor. A third officer was the tamias, or treasurer[1]. It would seem that they were all, in common parlance, called tagi, in the same manner as the word archon was employed at Athens, and in other parts of Greece, not only to signify a single magistrate, but all those who composed the executive power, in which manner the word is still used in Greece. We may thus reconcile the plural form of the word in the letter of Quinctius with the single tagus indicated by the ταγεύοντος of the two other inscriptions. The two latter documents, as well as two other fragments in the same church[2], were records of the manumission of slaves, who seem to have paid on this occasion 22 denaria to the city, being exactly the sum which two similar inscriptions at Elasóna

of the colony which founded Tarcynia, by the Romans called Tarquinii, in Italy, is perhaps nothing more than ἄρχων, in a similar form, for the colony of Tarcon is said to have consisted of Pelasgi of Thessaly.—Strabo, p. 219.—Justin. l. 20, c. 1.

[1] V. Inscriptions, Nos. 176, 177.

[2] V. Inscriptions, Nos. 178, 179.

Digitized by Google

show to have been paid by the freedmen of *Oloosson*. Among the inscribed stones at St. George is a simple and affecting form of epitaph [1], more commonly found on Roman than on Greek monuments, and in the wall behind the altar of the church, I find a fragment which appears to have recorded the dedication to Æsculapius and Hygieia of the statue of a son of one Apollodorus, by the son of an Asclepiodorus, in token of his gratitude to the former. The artist was an Athenian [2]. The native town of the son of Apollodorus, indicated by the word beginning EPH, may perhaps have been the same place named Eritium by Livy, from whom it appears to have been near Cyretiæ [3].

The repeated occurrence of the name of Cyretiæ in the history of the Roman wars in Greece, shows its importance in those times. In the year B. C. 200 it was plundered by the Ætolians, who were then allies of Rome against Philip [4]. In the first campaign of the Persic war, in the year 171, Cyretiæ was occupied by the king in his way from Macedonia into Thessaly, after which he besieged and took Mylæ, and marched to Phalanna and Gyrton [5].

Having passed the forenoon at St. George, I set out at 6, Turkish, and return in one hour to

[1] *Φιλοκράτεια τέκνῳ φίλημα τῆς μνήμης χάριν.*—V. Inscription, No. 181.

[2] . . . . *ὁδωρος Ἀπολλοδώρου Ἐρη . . . . . ωρον Ἀσκληπιοδώρου τὸν ἑαυτοῦ (εὐεργέτην) (Ἀσκλη)πίῳ καὶ Ὑγιείᾳ ἀνέθ(ηκε) . . . . . ου Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίησ(ε).* — V. Inscription, No. 180.

[3] Liv. l. 36, c. 13.

[4] Liv. l. 31, c. 41.

[5] Liv. l. 42, c. 53.

Digitized by Google

Mológhusta, and there crossing the *Titaresius*, proceed for a mile through kalambókki fields and gardens to Vlakho-iánni. Mológhusta may perhaps be a corruption of *Mallæa*, with the addition of *Augusta*, for that Mallæa was a town of southern Perrhæbia, and not far from Cyretiæ, seems evident from its being mentioned in conjunction with that town on two of the three occasions on which Livy names the latter city. At the congress of Tempe, in the year 185 B.C., the Perrhæbi claimed Mallæa from Philip, who had retained it after having recovered it from Antiochus in the year 191, and an assent to the demand was implicated in the award of the Roman commissaries, who declared that Macedonia should be confined to its ancient limits[1]. Perrhæbia was again forcibly occupied by the Macedonians under Perseus, not long before the declaration of war against him by the Romans[2], but it seems not to have been until he marched into Thessaly, at the beginning of the first campaign of that war, that he received the submission of the city of the Perrhæbi, and took the two principal fortresses, Cyretiæ and Mylæ[3]. The latter being described as a very strong place, not far from Cyretiæ, thus corresponds to Dhamási, which is not only strong in itself, but very important, as commanding the pass of the *Titaresius*, leading into *Perrhæbia* from the *Pelasgiotis*. As to the city of the Perrhæbi, which is mentioned only

[1] Liv. l. 39, cc. 25, 26.
[2] Liv. l. 42, c. 36.
[3] Liv. l. 42, c. 54.

Digitized by Google

on this occasion, I believe it to have been the same place as Oloosson, which name, although it has been preserved with little change from the time of Homer to the present, is not found in history, probably because its strong and commodious situation near the centre of Perrhæbia had raised it to the dignity of the capital of that country, and it may therefore have been better known in the time of the historians as the chief city of the Perrhæbi. It was here probably that the beautiful coins inscribed with the name of that people were struck.

Mallæa is again mentioned by the Latin historian as having been taken by the Romans at the end of the first campaign of the Persic war, when Perseus had retired into Macedonia. The consul Licinius, after having vainly attempted Gonnus, turned into Perrhæbia, took Mallæa at the first assault, and after having received the submission of Perrhæbia, including the Tripolitis, returned to Larissa[1]. Although Mológhusta may be the representative of *Mallæa* in name, its situation in the plain not being such as the ancients generally chose, nor preserving any remains of antiquity, I conceive *Mallæa* to have occupied a height on the opposite side of the river and rather nearer to Vlakho-iánni than to Mológhusta. Here some vestiges of ancient walls surround a table summit, which is the ἐσχατίη, or lowest fall of the western mountain;

[1] Quum et loco et præsidio valido inexpugnabilis res esset (Gonnus sc.) abstitit incepto. In Perrhæbiam flexis itineribus, Mallæâ primo impetu captâ et direptâ, Tripoli aliâque Perrhæbiâ receptâ, Larissam rediit. — Liv. l. 42, c. 67.

Digitized by Google

a torrent separates the height from another similar hill on the north, where other walls are traced, all belonging probably to the same city.

Paleókastro, a village above Sykiá, on the left bank of the Vúrgaris, or river of *Tripolitis*, would seem from the name to be the site of another *Perrhæbian* town, situated about midway between *Cyretiæ* at Dheminíko and *Azorus* at Vuvála. Perhaps it was the Eritium already alluded to, which was taken, together with Cyretiæ, by Bæbius, in the year 191 B. C.[1]; having garrisoned these and some other captured places, Bæbius returned to assist Philip in taking Mallæa; after which, the combined forces proceeded against Æginium, Tricca, and the other neighbouring towns occupied by the Athamanes.

Vlakhoiánni contains twenty permanent families, and many houses now occupied by Samariniótes. The village paid ten purses a year before it became a tjiftlík of Alý Pashá, who now takes a third of the harvest without supplying any thing to the farmer, and receives from the village a thousand piastres a year for contributions. His share of the corn is collected by his agent at Dheminíko, and sent wherever he happens to want it. Last year it was embarked at Volo for Prévyza: this year it is destined for Korytzá.

All these villages were formerly Kefalokhória, and the lands were in possession of the Greek inhabitants, but these having been reduced by their necessities, caused in great measure by the fre-

[1] Liv. l. 36, c. 13.

Digitized by Google

quent demands of Alý and his Albanian soldiers, to contract debts at high interest, have been under the necessity of becoming his cultivators on condition of his acquitting their debts. This part of the bargain he generally discovers some mode of effecting not very burthensome to himself, unless when some creditor intervenes from his own native mountains of *Chaonia* or *Atintania*, when he cannot so easily avoid opening his purse. The air of the *Perrhæbian* valleys is said to be unhealthy in summer, and so excessively hot that none but those born here can endure it; but the soil is very productive, and in wheat, which is the principal produce, generally gives a return of eleven or twelve to one.

In the ruins near Vlakhoiánni, as well as in those at Dheminíko, Dhamási, Túrnovo, Alífaka, and Sidhero-péliko, the masonry, though more massy than the inhabitants of this country have been in the habit of employing since the time of the Roman empire, is principally of rough stones and mortar, and has no large portion of it constructed of those great quadrangular or polygonal masses nicely fitted together without cement, which are characteristic of Greek masonry to the southward of Mount Œta. It would seem, therefore, that in Perrhæbia and other parts of Thessaly, as well as among the tribes of northern Epirus, that kind of masonry was not always employed, which was almost universal in Southern Greece, and which, notwithstanding the examples to the contrary, may be considered one of the peculiarities of the Hellenic race.

Digitized by Google

From Vlakhoiánni to Gritziáno is a ride of three hours; for the first two miles we traverse rugged heights covered with dwarf holly-oak, and then cross some open downs of a good soil, but quite uncultivated. The village of Lefthero-khóri, situated at a little less than half way, though large, contains few inhabitants, and who cultivate only some vineyards and corn-fields near the village; but possess sheep, for which all the surrounding downs are well suited, though none are to be seen at present, as the shepherds prefer lower situations, and particularly the mild climate of the coast, to these heights, which are subject sometimes to severe cold in winter, and a long continuance of snow. Although Leftherokhóri preserves no remains of antiquity, its territory was probably that of another of the *Perrhæbian* towns, perhaps Ericinium, which appears from Livy to have been reclaimed by the Perrhæbi from Philip at the congress of Tempe, in the year 185 B. C.[1]; the same historian, by naming it together with Æginium and Tricca among the towns which were taken from the Athamanes by Bæbius and Philip, after the surrender of Mallæa[2], seems to indicate its direction from the latter place, and that it stood on the frontier of *Perrhæbia* towards *Histiæotis*.

The last half hour to Gritziáno is a descent, from which an extensive view is opened of the plains around Sofádhes, Kardhítza, and Fanári, backed by the mountains of 'Agrafa. Four remarkable insulated heights present themselves in these plains, all probably the positions of Hel-

[1] Liv. l. 39, c. 25. [2] Liv. l. 36, c. 13.

Digitized by Google

lenic cities or fortresses: 1. Kolokotó; 2. Kortíkhi, which is the most extensive, though not high; it lies at the same distance from the right bank of the *Peneius* that the hill of Kolokotó does from the left. 3. The rock of Vlokhó on the same side of the river, conspicuous by its height and steepness, and by the ruins of Hellenic walls on its side and summit. It rises from the left bank of the river Fersalíti, and is separated only by that river from the ridge of hills which extends from thence along the right side of the *Peneius* to Alífaka, and in a south-easterly direction to the *Crannonian* and *Pharsalian* plains: 4. the fourth insulated hill is a long low eminence near Mataránga in the middle of the plain beyond the hill of Vlokhó, and situated about midway between that height and the mountains of 'Agrafa.

Dec. 6.—Two slight earthquakes occur this morning a little before daylight. Aristotle speaks of ὀρθρίοι σεισμοὶ as if earthquakes often happened at the break of day, and he adds that it is generally a νηνεμία or calm when they take place[1]; this is the third time it has occurred to me to verify the observations of the Greek philosopher. On all these occasions there have been two shocks, with an interval between them of not less than half a minute. The slope of the rocky height above Gritziáno is entirely inclosed by the ruined walls of a town about two miles in circumference. At the summit of the hill they still exist to half their original height: towards the bottom, where they are not so well preserved, are the remains of a

[1] Aristot. Meteor. l. 2, c. 8.

Digitized by Google

transverse wall, or interior inclosure, and the vestiges of many buildings within it. The masonry resembles that of the later Roman or early Byzantine empire, being formed of irregular stones of no great dimensions, and which are united with mortar, mixed with fragments of large tiles. Nevertheless, I believe the whole to be Hellenic with the exception perhaps of a few repairs. The absence of all remains of churches which are invariably found in ruins of the Lower Empire, coincides with the extent of the inclosure, and the manner in which the ground is occupied, to show that it was one of the cities of ancient Thessaly. In confirmation of this opinion, there exist on the spot a few monuments indisputably Hellenic. Of these, the most remarkable is a gigantic sorus of white marble at the principal fountain of the village of Gritziáno, measuring on the outside 9 ft. 3 in. in length, 3 ft. 6 in. in breadth, 1½ ft. in height, with sides 3 in. thick. In the wall of the enclosure of a new church a sepulchral stone has been inserted, bearing a relief, below which an inscription signifies that Hippo erected the memorial "to her beloved husband Gleintus, a man who had been a minister of many gods[1]." Two hideous busts seen in front represent this loving couple; and to the right of the man's bust there is a three-fourths figure of a boy standing, between whom and Gleintus is seen an ox's head upon an altar.

Upon the whole, I entertain no doubt that here

[1] Ἵππω τὸν γλυκύτατον ἥρως χρηστὲ χαῖρε.—V. Inscription, No. 183.
ἄνδρα Γλείντον πολλοῖς θεοῖς ὑπηρετήσαντα, μνείας χάριν.

Digitized by Google

stood *Pharcadon*, that city being placed by Strabo to the left of the Peneius, between Pelinnæum and Atrax, in the division of Thessaly called Histiæotis[1]. It is not impossible that the name of the neighbouring village Zarko may be a corruption of *Pharcadon*. In the lower part of the ruins copious sources issue from the mountain, and water some gardens of pomegranates and a few other fruit-trees which surround a small monastery. Gritziáno was almost deserted before the Vezír made it a tjiftlík, and sent here some cultivators. It now contains between forty and fifty families. Quitting it at 4.50, Turkish time, we pass through the villages of little and great Tzighióti, the latter at 5.35, traverse the plain from thence towards the Salamvría: at 5.55 cross a bridge over the stream which issues from the sources and marshes at the foot of the height of Kolokotó, and at 6.10 cross the Salamvría by a bridge of three arches, called the bridge of Tzighióti. This is the lowest point in the plains of Upper Thessaly, as appears from the singular fact, that all the waters descending from the mountains of 'Agrafa, and as far as that of Gura or the ancient Othrys inclusive, here join the Salamvría within a very small space: it is not surprising, therefore, that the surrounding plain should now be in a marshy state. After a halt of ten minutes at the Gumrúk, a hut near the bridge where a toll is levied for the benefit of Mukhtár Pashá, who rents it of the Sultán, we cross between the bridge of Tzighióti and Vlokhó, two

[1] Strabo, p. 438.

Digitized by Google

rivers running from right to left; one at ten minutes beyond the Salamvría, the other at a quarter of an hour. They unite with one another and then with the *Peneius*, not far below the place where we crossed them. The second river is the larger, and is about a third of the breadth of the Salamvría. We follow its right bank to Vlokhó, where we arrive at 7.15. On the opposite side of the river stands another hamlet of the same name at the foot of the lofty insulated hill already noticed, upon which are the ruined walls of a Hellenic city. A triple inclosure occupies the summit of the height, on the steep rocky descent of which, on the southern and western sides, are remains of the town walls, not so much preserved as those above, but equally conspicuous at a distance. They have no towers, the flank defence being furnished entirely by a broken line. On the southern side of the hill the walls are traceable quite to the plain; so that the city was between two and three miles in circumference, though probably a great part of the rugged space between the walls was not inhabited. The masonry, particularly that of the walls on the summit, is of the earliest kind, consisting of large irregular blocks, but not exactly fitted to one another, as in the second species. This remarkable height is separated only as I before stated by the river from the hills which extend along the right bank of the *Peneius* to the paleókastro of Alífaka. In every other direction the plains expand from hence to Férsala, Dhomokó, and the mountains of 'Agrafa. The river of Vlokhó consists of two branches, which unite not far

Digitized by Google

above the rocky height. They are usually known by the names of Fersalíti and Sofadhítiko, Férsala and Sofádhes being respectively the two principal places on or near them. The Sofadhítiko is sub-divided into two streams, the confluence of which is not more than two or three miles above their junction with the Fersalíti. The eastern branch has its origin in several sources before described [2], at the foot of the mountains, between Férsala and Dhomokó, the largest of which is at Vrysiá. The western branch rises in the mountains of 'Agrafa above Smókovo, and flows through Sofádhes.

As the river *Enipeus* had its origin in Mount *Othrys*, and flowed by *Pharsalus*, we may be assured that it was the Fersalíti, which exactly answers to that description: and as it was joined by the *Apidanus* before it fell into the *Peneius* [1], there is an equal certainty that the *Apidanus* was either the united stream of Sofádhes and Vrysiá, or that which we crossed between the Salamvría and the river of Vlokhó. But the latter river originates in the western extremity of 'Agrafa, or not far from the frontiers of *Athamania*; whereas the *Apidanus*, according to undoubted testimony, was a river of *Phthiotis*, and appears to have had

[1] See Vol. I. p. 454.

[2] Ὁ δὲ Ἐνιπεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ὄθρυος παρὰ Φάρσαλον ῥεῖς εἰς τὸν Ἀπίδανον παραβάλλει· ὁ δὲ εἰς τὸν Πηνειόν.—Strabo, p. 432.

It gurgite rapto
Apidanus, nunquamque celer nisi mixtus Enipeus.
Lucan. Phars. l. 6, v. 374.

Apollod. Rhod. l. 1, v. 35, v. infra.

Digitized by Google

its sources in that district near Pharsalus[1]. It seems evident, therefore, not only that the Sofadhítiko below the confluence of the two branches is the *Apidanus*, but that properly this name belonged not to the branch of Sofádhes, but to that of Vrysiá and Dhomokó, all the sources of that stream being at the foot of the mountains of *Phthia*, and therefore in agreement with the concurrent testimony of Herodotus, Euripides, and Strabo; whereas the Sofádhes branch flows from a part of *Dolopia*. The latter is moreover a torrent often dry in summer, whereas the sources of the eastern branch being permanent, are alone adapted to the assertion of Herodotus, that the Apidanus was the only river in Achaia Phthiotis, which was not consumed by the host of Xerxes. As the historian informs us also that the army marched in three days through Thessaly into Melis, it is not probable that they deviated so far from the direct route as the river of Sofádhes[2].

[1] Ἡ Φθιάδος, ἔνθα τὸν καλλίστων ὑδάτων πατέρα
φασὶν Ἀπίδανον
πεδία λιπαίνειν. Euripid. Hec. v. 451.

ὁ Ενιπεὺς . . . . . τὸν δ' ἐν τῇ Θετταλίᾳ Ἐνισέα γράφουσιν· ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς Οθρυος ῥέων δέχεται τὸν Ἀπίδανον κατενεχθέντα ἐκ Φαρσάλου.—Strabo, p. 356. Herodot. l. 7, c. 196.

[2] It may be thought, perhaps, that even the sources at Vrysiá are too far to the west for the route of the Persians through Thessaly, since we are told by the historian that Xerxes marched to Halus, from whence undoubtedly he proceeded along the Euboic frith by Larissa, Cremaste, and Echinus, to the Maliac plain. But Xerxes chose this road for the sake of communicating with his fleet, devi-

Digitized by Google

Such being the situation of the *Apidanus* and *Enipeus*, there is every reason to believe that the ruins at Vlokhó are those of *Peiresiæ;* for this city is described by Apollonius as placed on the banks of the Apidanus, near its junction with the Enipeus [1], and by the author of the Orphica as near the confluence of the Apidanus and Peneius [2]. Both these descriptions may be applied to the hill of Vlokhó, which is situated between the junction of the *Apidanus* with the *Enipeus*, and that of the united stream with the *Peneius*, and at no

ating from the direct route, as he had before done at Acanthus. The Persians were much too numerous not to employ all the roads leading without any very inconvenient deviation to the point at which they were soon afterwards assembled, namely, the plains before the entrance of the pass of Thermopylæ. The direct road by Pharsalus and Lamia was doubtless one of their routes; but perhaps that which leads along the foot of the mountains from Férsala to Dhomokó, although not so direct as the former, was followed by a still larger portion of the army, for the sake of the copious sources between those two places, which form the Apidanus. If these were almost exhausted by the multitude, it is not surprising that no others in Phthiotis should have sufficed.

[1] Ἦλυθε δ' Ἀστερίων αὐτοσχεδὸν, ὃν ῥα Κομήτης
Γείνατο δινήεντος ἐφ' ὕδασιν Ἀπιδανοῖο
Πειρεσιὰς ὄρεος Φυλληΐου ἀγχόθι ναίων,
Ἔνθα μὲν Ἀπιδανός τε μέγας καὶ δῖος Ἐνιπεὺς
Ἄμφω συμφορέονται ἀπόπροθι εἰς ἓν ἰόντες.
Apollon. l. 1, v. 35.

[2] Ἀστερίων δ' ἐπέρησε παΐις κλινοῖο Κομήτου,
Πειρεσίην ὃς ἔναιεν ἵν' Ἀπιδανοῖο ῥεέθροις
Πηνειὸς μίσγων ξυνὸν ῥόον εἰς ἅλα πέμπει.
Orphic. Argon. v. 164.

Digitized by Google

great distance from either confluence. We learn from the same authorities that the stream formed by the union of the Enipeus and Apidanus was known by the latter name, though this river is not larger than the Enipeus, and is much shorter in its course. Peiresiæ was believed to be the same place as the Homeric Asterium, and to have received this appellation from its situation on a high hill, as conspicuous as a star[1]. Nothing can be more apposite to this etymology than the mountain of Vlokhó, which, by its abruptness, insulated situation, and white rocks, attracts the spectator's notice from every part of the surrounding country. If the more ancient parts of the ruins of Vlokhó are those of the Homeric Asterium, the words Τιτάνοιό τε λευκὰ κάρηνα, which the poet couples with Ἀστέριον, were intended doubtless for the conspicuous summit occupied by the acropolis of that city, and the white calcareous rocks of which are well suited to the name Titanus. The heights which are separated by the river from the hill of Vlokhó, may perhaps be the Mount Phylleium of Apollonius, near which Strabo states that there was a city Phyllus, noted for a temple of Apollo

[1] Ἀστέριον, πόλις Θετταλίας· Ὅμηρος·

Οἱ δ' ἔχον Ἀστέριον Τιτάνοιό τε λευκὰ κάρηνα.

Il. B. v. 735.

ἡ νῦν Πιρεσία· οὕτω γὰρ καλεῖται διὰ τὸ λαμπρὸν, ὅτι ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ ὄρους κειμένη τοῖς πόρρωθεν ὡς ἀστὴρ φαίνεται· ἢ ἀπὸ Ἀστερίου τινός.—Stephan. in voce.

Eustathius on the same passage of Homer uses nearly the same words.

Digitized by Google

Phylleius[1]. The hill of Kortíkhi, which stands about three miles to the westward of that of Vlokhó, is the site of another ancient town.

On leaving the eastern Vlokhó, we cross the heights which we had before skirted, and descend into a valley branching northward from the plain, and surrounded on three sides by the hills which extend to the *Peneius* and to the *Crannonian* plain. Having passed at the end of twenty minutes through the small village of Aios Dhimítrios, we again enter the great plain, which contains only a few uninclosed patches of corn now just above ground. Palamá remains at a distance of two or three miles on the right, near the Fersalíti, which between Palamá and Vlokhó is joined by the branch formed by the junction of the Vrysiá, or proper *Apidanus*, with the tributary which issues from the mountains of 'Agrafa below Smókovo, and flows by Sofádhes. In an hour, menzil pace, from Vlokhó we arrive at Petrinó, a village belonging to Mehmét Bey of Lárissa, who supplies the seed-corn, and takes half the crop after the deduction of the dhekatía. The peasants say here that the labourers on Alý Pashá's tjiftlíks are in better condition than those on the farms of the Beys of Lárissa: it is nevertheless observable, that the cottages of the latter have a greater appearance of neatness and comfort. The Vezír may have been obliged to offer some advantages in order to attract cultivators. But Μὰς ἐχάλασε ἡ Ἀλβανητία—"Albania has ruined us"—is the cry here as in other parts of *Thessaly*. So many of

[1] Strabo, p. 435.

Digitized by Google

its hungry plunderers have been introduced into these plains by Alý and his sons, that few places are so sequestered as to be beyond the reach of their visits; and they devour at least the provisions of the poor peasantry, if they carry their extortion no farther.

Honey is one of the chief productions of Petrinó, as in many of the *Thessalian* villages; but the seasons of late are said to have been unpropitious to it. The usual crop is three new hives[1] from each old one. The bees are lodged in a square inclosure of the ordinary masonry of the Thessalian plains: that is to say, bricks baked in the sun. Upon the interior walls of this inclosure three stories of square niches are formed, within which the bees form their combs exposed on one side to the air. In the winter the hives from which the honey is not taken are protected from the weather by a small piece of woollen cloth hung before them.

The master of the house in which I lodge, who asserts that he is, and is believed by his neighbours to be, 100 years of age, learned from his father that in the younger days of the latter, there was no church in any village for many miles round Petrinó; and that on a Sunday the Greek women were in the habit of coming in arabás (waggons) to an ancient church at this place which still exists; there is no appearance of a mosque having ever been built here; whereas in many of the neighbouring villages, some of which have now churches,

[1] πολιτζίαις.

Digitized by Google

the minarets are still standing, though the mosques are ruined, the only inhabitants of those villages at present being Greek labourers.

Petrinó was the site of a large ancient town, as appears by the traces of walls which include a space of near two miles in circumference, bounded on three sides by rocky eminences, the lowest of the heights before mentioned, which extend to the *Pharsalia*, the *Crannonia*, and the *Peneius*. On the fourth side the walls crossed the plain along the edge of some low marshy ground. Here columns have been found and inscribed stones: one of the latter, which is said to have existed a few years ago in the wall of the church, is no longer to be seen there, but some of the columns are still preserved in the portico; they are small, and bear no marks of the more flourishing periods of Greece, nor in the remains of the ancient walls is there any appearance of the beautiful masonry of those ages. Behind the church there is a small ruin with a vault and arched entrance which looks like Roman work. It is not improbable that Petrinó is the site of Phyllus, noted for its temple of Apollo Phylleius.

Dec. 7.—From Petrinó to Férsala, a distance of six hours. We begin by following the foot of the heights of Petrinó for an hour to Misalári, leaving Kutzolári in the plain three miles to the right beyond the Fersalíti: from Misalári we cross a part of the plain to the south-western point of the hill called Mavro-vúni, where we arrive at the end of two hours, having left Tekelí at the foot of the heights two miles on the left. Mavrovúni is the

Digitized by Google

highest point of the range of hills which stretch from the *Peneius* to the *Crannonian* plain, and terminates those hills to the S.E. It is connected with them only by a low ridge on the north-western side, and in every other direction rises steep and rocky from the plain. Its broad round summit is surrounded by remains of Hellenic walls of a rough kind. All the most remarkable heights of *Thessaly* appear to have been similarly occupied at a period when the country was doubtless in the same state of insecurity as when the hills of England were fortified in a manner, differing only from these in the greater barbarism of the plan and construction. Such probably continued to be the state of Thessaly until after the Trojan war; for Homer makes no mention of Pharsalus, Crannon, Arne, Scotussa, Pelinnæum, and many other towns which became afterwards the leading cities of this province, attracted the inhabitants of the *comæ* into their walls, and helped to civilize the country.

We halt at noon in the small village of Orfaná, situated half an hour beyond the extreme southern foot of Mavrovúni. Orfaná, Misalári, Tekelí, Hadjó-bashi, and several other neighbouring villages, were formerly inhabited by Koniáridhes, whose ruined mosques still remain in many of them, though no Turks now remain; the lands have become Turkish tjiftlíks, and the villages are inhabited by Greek metayers, or labourers. Many of them belong to the Mollalík, a part of the district of Lárissa, so called because the tithe is assigned to the support of the Mollá of Lárissa.

Digitized by Google

Proceeding from Orfaná, we leave Laspo-khóri (mud village), around which are rice-grounds, a mile on the right, and crossing the *Enipeus* pass along the foot of a rocky height, rising from the left bank of the river opposite to Hadjó-bashi. A few quadrangular blocks of Hellenic fabric are still preserved amidst the ruins; and these, with the position on the bank of the river, on a height rising like an island out of the plain, are sufficient to mark it for the site of one of the ancient Thessalian towns. Having passed between one extremity of the ruined walls and the bank of the river, we cross the plain to Férsala, passing by Bidjilár and some smaller villages. Except in the vicinity of these the plain is all in pasture, where numerous sheep are now feeding, marked with the initials of the owners' names in Greek letters.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XL.

PHTHIOTIS, MAGNESIA.

From Férsala to Armyró—Tjaterlí—Ghidék—*Phylace*—*Crocius Campus*—Kirtzíni, or Armyró—Kefálosi, *Alus*—Siúrpi—District of Kokús—Ftelió, *Pteleum*—Khamáko—*Larissa Cremaste*—Fanó, *Antron*—Cape *Zelasium*—*Isthmia*—*Oreus*, or *Histiæa*—Return to Kefálosi—River Kholó, *Curalius*—Ak-ketjel, *Thebæ Phthioticæ*—Kókkina, *Pyrrhasus*, *Temple of Ceres*—Cape Anghístri, *Pyrrha*—Ruins of *Pagasæ*—*Amphanæ*.

Dec. 10.—The road from Férsala to Armyró ascends the Zygós, or neck on the south-eastern side of Férsala, which unites the hill of the citadel with the neighbouring heights, and then enters an elevated valley lying between those heights and the parallel lower ridges bordering the plain, of which the citadel is one, and a remarkable rocky projection to the eastward of the ruins of *Pharsalus* another. At the end of a quarter of an hour from Férsala vestiges of Hellenic walls occur, surrounding a height which declines towards that rocky mountain. These remains, which are of a more ancient style of masonry than the greater part of those of *Pharsalus*, belonged evidently to a fortress, placed in advance of the acropolis for its better defence on

Digitized by Google

the side of the pass leading to it from the eastward. Fifty minutes farther we pass lower Tjaterlí, a small Turkish village in the midst of the elevated valley which we have been following. To the right are the mountains, into which Cæsar tells us that the defeated Pompeians fled after the battle of Pharsalus, and which extend from hence to Mount *Othrys*, Zitúni, and Dhomokó. To the left the heights fall rapidly to the vale of the *Enipeus*, where that river is joined by a small tributary which crosses our road a little westward of lower Tjaterlí. On its right bank, where it issues from the mountain, about three miles to the right of our road, stands upper Tjaterlí, and two miles beyond it in the same direction, a Turkish tekiéh, or college of dervíses, adorned with cypresses and gardens. To the left, in the valley of the *Enipeus*, is seen the village of Azerbú not far to the right of the road from Férsala to Lárissa. Proceeding over a fertile level, in some parts uncultivated and in others under the plough, we cross the *Enipeus* in 55 minutes from lower Tjaterlí. On the adjacent height is Koklóbashi, above which village the river flows rapidly through narrow ravines from its sources [1], which are around Gura [2], a large village in a very lofty situation on the western side of the summit of *Othrys*.

On the heights just before we descended to the river, the fields for a considerable space were

[1] This part of the river alone justifies Ovid's "irrequietus Enipeus," which is more correct than Lucan's "nunquam celer nisi mistus Enipeus."

[2] Γκούρα.

Digitized by Google

strewn with the remains of ancient constructions, and other indications of the site of an ancient town. After crossing the *Enipeus*, our road ascends between two hills, and leaves, at a distance of about five miles to the right, a lofty insulated height rising from the left bank of the river, and commanding to the eastward a prospect of the plain of Armyró and the gulf of Voló. The summit of the hill is surrounded by remains of Hellenic walls, and at the foot of it, is the small village of Keuzlár on the river's bank. At the end of an hour and a quarter from the crossing of the *Enipeus*, we arrive at Ghidék, a small Turkish village situated exactly at the summit of the pass, between the two hills abovementioned. At the foot of that to the left, on the edge of the great valley through which the *Enipeus* flows to the *Pharsalian* plain, is Inelí, and on the height above it, the remains of an ancient fortress. The rocks hereabout are a soft sandy stone, of the same dark colour as the soil, but veined with white marble. Sunday being market-day at Armyró, the men are almost all absent from Ghidék, and the women therefore shut themselves up as we approach ; we are obliged however to halt for the sake of our cattle, and then continue in two hours and a half to Armyró by a brisk walk, our horses being of the menzíl and the road good, leading first by a gentle slope from the pass down into the plain, and then across the level by a *rotable* track. At 40 minutes from Ghidék, on the beginning of the descent from the pass, we traverse the site of an ancient town, marked not

Digitized by Google

only by many stones and fragments of pottery scattered among the cornfields, but by the vestiges also of the walls of a citadel surrounding a circular height in the centre of the other remains. The masonry consists of large blocks put together without mortar, but not in regular courses, nor are they exactly joined, as in finished specimens of the second order. The situation near the entrance of a pass is well suited to the name of *Phylace*, which town having stood between *Pharsalus* and *Phthiotic Thebes* seems to have been nearly in the line of our road, and having been one of the places whose people followed Protesilaus to Troy, was probably on the eastern side of the mountains, being that on which the other towns of Protesilaus were situated [1]. The position commands a fine view of the plain anciently named Crocium [2], or Crocotum [3], and which is well described by Strabo as lying at the foot of Mount Othrys. Beyond the plain is seen the *Pagasetic* gulf, with the snowy summit of Mount *Pelium* on the left.

At the end of two hours from Ghidék we cross a bridge near Karádanli, a village situated on a height above the left bank of a large stream which has its origin near Gura and receives the waters of the northern side of Mount *Othrys*. It is

[1] Homer Il. B. v. 695; Od. Λ. v. 289.—Pindar Isthm. 1, v. 84.—Apollon. Argon. l. 1, v. 45.—Strabo, pp. 433. 435.—Stephan. in Φυλάκη.—Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 9.

[2] τὸ Κρόκιον πεδίον πρὸς τῷ καταλήγοντι τῆς Ὄθρυος δι' οὗ Ἄμφρυσος ῥεῖ ποταμός.—Strabo, p. 435.

[3] Stephan. in Δημήτριον.

Digitized by Google

called Kholó, or Kholó-rema [1]. In its course through the plain it is shaded in many places by plane-trees. Our road had touched upon its banks during the last half hour preceding our arrival at the bridge by which we crossed it. Near the town of Armyró the road passes through a wood of hawthorns and oaks, of which latter there are many also beyond the town towards the sea.

Almyró, or Armyró [2], called Ermér by the Turks, is the name of a district which comprehends fifteen or twenty villages, situated in the *Crocian* plain, or on the adjacent heights to the north and west, as far as Ghidék. Mount *Othrys* itself is comprehended in another sub-district of Trikkala, named Kokús, which, however, does not include Gura, the largest place on the mountain. The *Crocian* plain, which consists of a dark red soil, produces corn in the upper parts, and tobacco and cotton in the lower where the necessary irrigation is easily obtained from the rivers. Kirtzíni [3], the chief place of Armyró, more commonly known by the name of the district, contains 300 houses, and is situated in the plain three miles from the sea, near the left bank of a small stream which originates on the northern side of the mountain of Gura. The town is dispersed over a large space, great part of which is occupied by plantations of tobacco. All the houses and adjacent lands are the property of Turks, but fifty of the houses are let to Greek ἐργάταις, who besides cultivating the lands, breed silk-worms,

[1] Χολό-ρευμα — angry torrent.

[2] Ἀλμυρὸς, Ἀρμυρός.

[3] Κιρτζήνη.

Digitized by Google

spin cotton, and weave it into coarse bukhasiás. Most of these Greeks are strangers, who upon the ruin of their villages have here sought a livelihood, the land being productive, and the contributions not particularly heavy. Some of them hire the tobacco fields and cultivate the plants on their own account, the women being chiefly employed in this labour. Fifty piastres is a common rent for a house, or rather a hut of a single story, floored with earth and open to the tiles. The woman of the house in which I am lodged has this year paid the kharátj of the four male adults of the family, amounting to 40 piastres, from the produce of about an acre of tobacco. In the cultivation of corn the Greeks find every thing but the seed, and take half the crop, after the deduction of a tenth for the mirí. The Turks of Armyró depend upon the Trikeriótes for the fish they consume, which costs them from 15 to 30 parás the oke. Mutton is 24 parás; beef is not used, both Turks and Greeks here having a dislike to it. The Turks say the ox ought not to be killed, because he works the ground and furnishes us with bread. Wood costs only 15 parás an ass-load. Wheat is 45 piastres the kilo of 150 okes, which is the ordinary measure of Thessaly, and is in Turkish called kará kilo. Its subdivisions are as follow:—a vidúra, 9 okes; a litjék, 2 vidúres; a módi, 4 litjéks; a kará kilo, 2 modis.

Dhiminió, or spring corn, is grown in the lands of the mountain villages, Gura, Kufús, and Kokotús; it is sown in March and April. In the plain two sorts of wheat are grown called Deve-

Digitized by Google

désh (camel's tooth) and Arnaút (Albanian), which latter is the same kind of hard corn general in Lárissa and Tríkkala, and weighs 23 or 24 okes the Stambúl kilo, of which 22 okes is considered the average capacity. Cattle are fed in the winter with straw, with the kind of vetch called róvi[1], and with bambakó-sporo, or cotton seed. These grains are supposed to be nourishing because they are sweet and make the cattle drink plentifully.

Velý Pashá has bought the mukatá of Armyró for five years; the district pays him 150 purses a year, and 50 purses a year to Alý Pashá, besides accounting to Velý for the kharátj, and supporting some local expences. The gumrúk, or custom-house of Armyró, and of all the other places on the gulf is dependent on that of Volo. The imports are chiefly iron, copper, cloth, and various articles of furniture, dress, and household utensils, made at Constantinople. The purchase of corn is a monopoly of the Porte and none can, according to its decrees, be embarked from Thessaly without an especial permission: the traffic however has always been carried on clandestinely, and Alý has even made it legitimate, by establishing, of his own authority, collectors at Armyró, Zitúni, Sálona, Tálanda, and other principal places on the coast, who not only give permission to export but levy on his account 30 parás the kilo upon corn, and 2 parás the oke upon other exported produce, such as tobacco, pulse, &c. He has lately attempted by means of an agent at Volo to follow the same practice there, but the Turkish

[1] In Hellenic, ὄρυβος, Ervum ervilia.

Digitized by Google

collector, supported from Constantinople, has as yet been able to resist him.

Dec. 11.—At a distance of 50 minutes to the south of Kirtzíni, the north-eastern extremity of Mount *Othrys* is separated only by a portion of the *Crocian* plain, about two miles in breadth, from a bay in the middle of the western side of the gulf of Volo, which is sheltered by a promontory on every side but the north. The mountain terminates in a projection of calcareous rock, at the foot of which issues a source of water in such abundance as to turn a mill, and irrigate a large extent of cotton plantations before it arrives at the sea. The place is called Kefálosi. A Hellenic citadel occupied the summit of the projecting height and remains of walls are seen also on the northern slope of the hill, having short flanks at intervals, and formed of masonry which although massive is not so accurately united as we generally find it in the southern provinces of Greece. The walls may be traced also on the descent to the south-east, and seem to have been united at the foot of the hill to a quadrangular inclosure situated entirely in the plain, and of which the northern side followed the course of the stream, and the western the foot of the height. The walls of this lower inclosure are nine feet and a half thick, are flanked with towers, and their masonry, wherever traceable, is of the most accurate and regular kind; two or three courses of it still exist in some places. The inclosed space, although thickly strewn with stones, the foundations of buildings and broken pottery, is now sown with

Digitized by Google

corn. The ruins are probably those of Alus, or Halus, for Strabo describes Alus as being near the sea, which is confirmed by other authorities, and as situated at the extremity of Mount Othrys, above the plain Crocium[1], of which the part around Alus was called Athamantium[2], from Athamas, the founder of Alus. It follows that the river on the northern side of the ruins was the celebrated Amphrysus[3], Strabo having described

[1] Ὁ δὲ Φθιωτικὸς Ἅλος ὑπὸ τῷ πέρατι κεῖται τῆς Ὄθρυος . . . . . Ἀπέχει δὲ Ἰτώνου περὶ ἑξήκοντα σταδίους ὁ Ἅλος, ἢ ἡ Ἅλος, λέγεται γὰρ ἀμφοτέρως· ᾤκισε δὲ ὁ Ἀθάμας τὴν Ἅλον, ἀφανισθεῖσαν δὲ συνῴκισε . . . . . χρόνοις ὕστερον· ὑπέρκειται δὲ τοῦ Κρωκίου πεδίου· ῥεῖ δὲ ποταμὸς Ἄμφρυσος πρὸς τῷ τείχει . . . . . Ἀρτεμίδωρος δὲ τὴν Ἅλον ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ τίθησιν.—Strabo, p. 433.

Herodot. l. 7, c. 173.—Demosth. de fals. legat. p. 392, Reiske.

[2] Ἀμπεδίον Φθίης Ἀθαμάντιον ἀμφί τ' ἐρυμνὴν
Ὄθρυν καὶ ποταμοῦ ἱερὸν ῥόον Ἀπιδανοῖο.
Apollon. Arg. l. 2, v. 514.

Schol. ibid.—Etymol. M. in Ἀθαμάντιον πεδίον.

Apollonius seems to have confounded the Apidanus with the Enipeus, a very common kind of inaccuracy among the ancients, in the case of a river having two branches. It may even be suspected that Thucydides and Herodotus, on occasions already referred to (see the last chapter, p. 293. 321) really intended by the Apidanus that branch of the river which Strabo distinctly describes as the Enipeus. The same common and natural kind of ambiguity I believe to furnish the right explanation in the Trojan question, of the difficulty concerning the Scamander and Simoeis.

[3] Apollon. l. 1, v. 54.—Virg. Georg. l. 3, v. 2.—Ovid. Metam. l. 1, v. 580.—Lucan. l. 6, v. 368.

If the Ἄφρυσος of Lycophron was the same as the Amphrysus, there was a people in this neighbourhood named the Palauthri, and a town Euryampus.—Lycophr. v. 899, et Tzetz. ibid.—Stephan. in Εὐρύαμπος. But perhaps these places were in Magnesia.

Digitized by Google

that river as flowing along the walls of Alus. It does not indeed so well accord with his remark in another place, that the Amphrysus flows *through* the *Crocian* plain [1], the sources of the river being very near the walls, as well as near the extremity of the plain, and the whole course of the river being only two or three miles in length. But these may be no more than the natural inaccuracies of a geographer who writes from the information of others. It may be thought, perhaps, a greater objection to so famous a river, that the sources at Kefálosi are said sometimes to fail entirely in summer. Beyond the ruins the valley of Siúrpi branches from the plain of Armyró to the south-east, being included between Mount *Othrys* and a range of hills which border the western side of the entrance into the gulf of Volo. Siúrpi, distant an hour and a quarter from Kefálosi, stands at the foot of these hills, to the northward of the highest summit, which is of a conical shape, and called Khlimó. A small stream waters the valley, which bears corn, cotton, and mulberry trees, for silk. On the side of *Othrys*, opposite to Siúrpi, stands a monastery of St. Nicolas, beautifully situated amidst trees and running water, and a little higher up is another more ancient, dedicated to the Panaghía, surnamed ξένια (the hospitable) and celebrated for a painting of the Virgin by St. Luke. Siúrpi belongs to the voivodalík of Kokús, which comprehends the Christian towns of Plátano, containing

[1] Strabo, p. 435, v. supra. p. 332. n. 2.

Digitized by Google

650 families, Kufús 120, Siúrpi 120, Kokotús 60, Ftelió 60, and several other smaller villages, all on or near Mount *Othrys*. Sesklo and Portariá, near Volo, are also comprised in the same Mukatá.

Plátano has lately increased in size, and Portariá, being situated on Mount *Pelium*, shares the security of that retired position; all the rest have declined rapidly of late years, so as to leave a fourth of the houses empty or ruined. The revenues of the district of Kokús are farmed by Alý Pashá for 120 purses a year. Tahír Bey, son of Khotád Bey of Arghyró-kastro, is his deputy, and resides at Plátano, which is situated three miles to the south-west of Kirtzíni, on the foot of Mount *Othrys*. Tahír receives 15 purses a year from that village, which is at a farther expence of about 12 purses a year for the expences of his household. Kufús and Kokotús are on the eastern side of the mountain above the valley of Siúrpi, but were not in sight from any part of our road.

Siúrpi furnishes an example of the ordinary process by which Greek villages are in a few years reduced from a comparatively flourishing state to misery, and often to complete desertion or are converted from Eleftherokhória into Turkish tjiftlíks. Having formerly had the same population as Plátano, Siúrpi continues to be rated in some articles to the same proportion of the contributions of Kokús as Plátano, though the latter now contains five or six times as many families as Siúrpi. The Zabít of Siúrpi, an Arghyrokastrite, and deputy of Tahír Agá has just received his chief's order, to carry

Digitized by Google

this day to Plátano 6,000 piastres for the χρέη of the village, but has been unable to collect, with all his diligence, more than 2,000. The kharátj in particular is most onerous to such a diminished population, though upon this sub-district and the kazá of Zitúni, it is light compared with that of the districts of Lárissa and Tríkkala, shewing that the non-Musulman population of the two latter has undergone great diminution since the capitation was established. Siúrpi has already contracted a debt of 300 purses, the greater part of it bearing an interest of 12 per cent. In such cases the creditors are usually Albanians, or Turks of Lárissa, who when they come to receive their yearly interest, quarter upon the village until the money is forthcoming; and as it seldom is ready, the produce of the people's labour is thus consumed, and their misery increased without any diminution of the debt. The persons sent to collect the taxes, devour the villages in the same manner. Hence families retire, leaving the remainder in increased difficulty, which at last forces them to commute with their creditors in kind. At Siúrpi the next step will probably be, that Alý or one of his sons will take the debt of the village upon himself, on condition of its becoming his tjiftlík, and will then compound with the creditors at an easy rate to himself. Most of the Greeks who retire from this part of the country settle in the districts of *Pergamus*, *Smyrna*, or *Magnesia*, under the mild government of the family of Kará Osmán Oglú.

A church at Siúrpi contains a sepulchral stele,

Digitized by Google

representing in a very rudely sculptured relief, a man and woman joining their right hands; over the man's head is engraved his name Eubiotus, and in a higher compartment of the stone, that of "Aristobule, daughter of Menandrus," followed by the formula χρηστὴ χαῖρε, shewing that to her the monument was constructed, while the figures in relief indicate that she was the wife of Eubiotus. The stele terminates above in the very common form of a pediment, within which is the name of Nicarcha, daughter of Eubiotus, which seems to have been a subsequent addition to the memorial[1].

Dec. 12.—Pteleó, or Ftelió[2], which is an hour and a half distant from Siúrpi, is in a state equally deplorable; the debt of the village amounts to 160 purses, and this year, not having been able to pay the interest at all, the people are become mere labourers for their creditors. In addition to other causes of poverty the season has been unfavourable. The village stands on the southern side of Mount Khlimó, among the rugged but fertile falls of the mountain which terminates below in the bay of Ftelió, a beautiful inlet sheltered from all winds and having a sandy bottom, shelving sides, and a depth in the middle of thirty orghyés. It was formerly frequented by French ships, and afterwards by the Greek islanders, chiefly for firewood, which was carried from hence to Alexandria, but the adjacent mountains are now almost exhausted. As Pliny notices Pteleum only as a

[1] V. Inscription, No. 184. [2] Πτελεὸν, Φτελιόν.

Digitized by Google

forest[1], the town seems never to have recovered its destruction by the consul Licinius in the year 171 B. C[2].

The lands of Ftelió, on the shore of the bay, and adjacent heights, produce corn, wine, and mulberry trees, with a little cotton. There are also a few tobacco plantations attached to the houses of the village. A brook descends on one side of it from Mount Khlimó, and joins the sea near a large marsh, eastward of which a high peaked hill is crowned by the remains of a town and castle of the middle ages, called Old Ftelió[3]. There can be little doubt that it stands on the site of the ancient Pteleum, though I search in vain among the ruins for any decisive marks of Hellenic antiquity. In the more flourishing ages of Greece, the marsh was probably (at least at certain times of the year) a rich and productive meadow, and hence the epithet which Homer has applied to Pteleus[4]. The summit of the castle commands a view of the entrance into the gulf of Volo.

At three-fifths of the distance from Old Ftelió to Khamáko, which is a ride of two hours, we arrive at the inner extremity of the Bay of Ftelió, where, among the ruins of a church situated in a little grove of trees, are several fragments of small

[1] nemus Pteleon. — Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 8.

[2] Pteleum, desertum fugâ oppidanorum, diruit a fundamentis.—Liv. l. 42, c. 67.

[3] Παλαιὸν Φτελιόν.

[4] Ἀγχίαλόν τ' Ἀντρῶνα ἰδὲ Πτελεὸν λεχεποίην.
Il. B. v. 697.

Digitized by Google

columns and stones of ancient workmanship, some of which are of white marble. An adjacent peninsula formed by the sea on two sides, and a marsh on the third, is covered with ruins of the same kind as those at Paleó Ftelió. The peninsula is known by the name of Panaghía, from the ruins of a church in which I find a large sepulchral stone in memory of Phylica, the daughter of Eubiotus [1] the patronymic Εὐβιότεια being employed instead of the ordinary form Εὐβιότου, or that in which the same name occurs on the monument at Siúrpi, which appears by the style of sculpture as well as by the form of the letters to be not earlier than the Antonines. As the use of the patronymic appears from a variety of examples in Thessaly to have accompanied the Æolic dialect, which ceased probably at the Roman conquest, there is in this case a difference of three or four centuries between the two monuments; and they furnish a curious instance of that locality of names which is observable as well in the ancient authors as in lapidary inscriptions.

From the isthmus of Panaghía the road ascends the heights for two or three miles over uncultivated ground covered with mastic, prinokókki, and small olive-leaved ilex, here called thílika (female): exactly at the summit stands Khamáko, now containing only thirty or forty families who live in poor cottages; while the larger houses are empty and falling to ruin. Khamáko belongs to the Ermér kázasi, or Turkish district of Armyró.

[1] V. Inscription, No. 185.

Digitized by Google

Like the villages of Kokús, it is an eleftherokhóri, or village inhabited by Greeks who cultivate their own lands; but it has declined of late years more even than the greater part of those villages, having suffered more than any of them from the robbers, who frequent Mount *Othrys*, or from their opponents. The soil around Khamáko consists chiefly of that mould of a deep red colour which both in Greece and Asia Minor is considered poor. The people seem to have given up all hope of an amendment in their situation, and despair of being able to avoid the necessity of abandoning the village. The places which are at present in the best condition in this part of Greece are Gardhíki, the next village to Khamáko westward, and Xerokhóri in *Eubœa*. The latter produces corn, cotton, and silk, and fabricates shirts and drawers made of a mixture of silk and cotton, which are as fine but not so lasting as those of the Islands. It is an eleftherokhóri, and being included in the district of Livadhía, enjoys some protection as being an imperial appanage, though, like Livadhía, it partially acknowledges the authority of Alý Pashá, and makes him an annual present. In general the Christians of *Eubœa* re-echo the exclamation of ἐχαλασθήκαμεν ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀρβανητίαν, though Albanian encroachment has not proceeded exactly in the same manner in that island as in Thessaly. The Albanians of whom they complain, are the Subashís of the villages, who are often from parts of Albania opposed in politics to Alý.

Having raised a little money in the service of some great Turk in Barbary, Egypt, Syria, or

Digitized by Google

perhaps in the service of the Pashá himself, the Albanian offers to some Turk of 'Egripo to farm the revenue of one or more of his villages,—if a Spahilík, entitling him to the tithe, so much the better. The Shkipetár[1] then resides at the village, lends money at a high rate of interest to the peasants; and if these, as generally happens, are unable to pay it regularly, he takes their share of the produce at a low valuation, and reduces them at length to the condition of mere slaves. Sometimes an Albanian will set out upon this speculation without any capital, by borrowing money from Jew Serráfs of Lárissa, Livadhía, or 'Egripo; and so well have the Albanians established their character for fidelity to their pecuniary engagements, that they seldom meet with difficulty in raising money in this way at the ordinary interest of one per cent. per mensem.

The Greek peasantry are fully sensible how ruinous it is to borrow in this manner; "but what can we do," they say[2], "when we are loaded with so many demands." As a last resource they may retire to some other part of Greece or to Asia Minor, and leave their creditors to obtain what they can out of the remaining inhabitants: in fact, this power of migration operates as some slight check to the cupidity of the Albanian who has embarked his capital in this man-

[1] The Albanians call themselves Shkipetárs, their country Shkiperí, and their language Shkip.

[2] *μὰς ῥύχνουν χρέη, τι νὰ κάμνομεν*;

Digitized by Google

ner, by leaving him sometimes without cultivators. The Albanians and Turks of *Eubœa* are much complained of by the Greeks for obliging them when they land in the island to take a kharátj certificate at two piastres and a half, whether they have paid the year's poll-tax elsewhere or not.

Dec. 13.—The heights behind Khamáko, and particularly a point between two or three miles to the westward of this village, command a beautiful view of the *fretum Euboicum*, and of all the northern side of the island, as well as of the strait of Tríkeri and part of the gulf of Volo. The bay of Tálanda and Mount Khlomó behind that town are seen over the narrow isthmus which connects the peninsula of *Cenæum*, now called Lithádha, with the rest of *Eubœa*.

Immediately to the westward of the heights of Khamáko are the broad valley and bay of Gardhíki, beyond which appears the point of Akhinó, (the ancient Echinus,) and to the left all the southern side of the *Maliac* Gulf, the mouth of the *Spercheius*, *Thermopylæ*, Mounts *Œta* and *Cnemis*, and the entire promontory of *Cenæum*. No prospect in Greece can give a more striking impression of that diversity of varied surface and winding shores which is so marked a characteristic of this country. Between the mountains *Callidromus* and the proper *Œta* the site of the citadel of *Heracleia Trachinia* is particularly conspicuous, a precipitous rock overhanging the *Asopus* eastward, and the plain of *Trachis* northward, and in which are the catacombs noticed on the 28th of

Digitized by Google

November, 1805. The adjacent smaller summit also is distinguishable, similar to that on which the citadel stood, and of equal altitude [1]. Here it was that a body of the Romans under the consul Acilius, in the year B. C. 191, having effected an ascent and gained possession of the summit, forced the Ætolians in the citadel to a capitulation.

In the valley of Gardhíki, at a direct distance of five or six miles from Khamáko, a height which advances in front of Mount *Othrys*, and overlooks the valley, was the site of *Larissa Cremaste* [2], the walls of which are very conspicuous on the western side, where several courses of the masonry remain. The town occupied the slope of the hill facing the sea, whence its epithet *Cremaste* as hanging on the side of Mount *Othrys*, and thus well distinguished from the great *Larissa*, situated in the midst of a plain. A torrent flows on either side of the ancient site; that to the west passes through a hamlet called the Mills [3], from some mills now abandoned, and then through the village of Gardhíki, where are the mills in present use, and to which the people of Khamáko, having no running stream, carry their corn to be ground. In summer the water of the torrent is said to be only just sufficient to turn the mills. But there is no want of fountains in the valley of Gardhíki, which produces corn, cotton, and vines; so that Strabo's descrip-

[1] Liv. l. 36, c. 24. See Vol. II. p. 28.

[2] Strabo, pp. 435, 440. Scylax in Ἀχαιοί. Stephan. in Λάρισσα.

[3] στοὺς Μίλους.

Digitized by Google

tion of *Larissa Cremaste*, as ἔνυδρος καὶ ἀμπελόφυτος [1] applies perfectly to that place, nor less so its situation to the eastward (more accurately to the S.E.) of *Othrys*, and its distance of twenty stades from the sea [2]. *Larissa* was still a town of importance in the second century B. C. It was occupied, together with Pteleum and Antron, in the year 302 B. C., by Demetrius Poliorcetes, when he was at war with Cassander [3]; it was taken by Apustius in the first war between Philip and the Romans [4], 200 B. C., and was again besieged by the Romans in the first year of the Persic war, B. C. 171, when the Consul Publius Licinius Crassus occupied it, after it had been abandoned by the inhabitants [5].

In the coast below Khamáko are two small bays, off the westernmost of which is the little island named Myonnesus by Strabo, who, by adding that it was situated between Larissa Cremaste and Antron, furnishes us a good guidance to the latter place, which is now called Fanó. The road leading thither from Khamáko descends a ravine, included between the heights on which Khamáko is situated and the southern side of Stravovúni, a high barren mountain which separates the bay of

[1] Strabo, p. 440.

[2] Εἶθ' ἑξῆς παραπλεύσαντι σταδίοις ἑκατὸν ὁ Ἐχῖνος ὑπέρκειται. Τῆς δ' ἑξῆς παραλίας ἐν μεσογαίᾳ ἐστὶν ἡ Κρεμαστὴ Λάρισσα, εἴκοσι σταδίους αὐτῆς διέχουσα . . . . . καὶ Ἄλος δὲ καὶ Λάρισσα ἡ Κρεμαστὴ καὶ . . . . . πᾶσαι πρὸς ἕω τῆς Ὀθρυος.—Strabo, p. 435.

[3] Diodor. l. 20, c, 110.

[4] Liv. l. 31, c. 46.

[5] Liv. l. 42, c. 56. 67.

Digitized by Google

Ftelió from the channel of *Eubœa*. The ravine terminates at the sea in a small uninhabited valley, from which rises a quadrangular height half a mile in circumference, bordered on the side adjacent to the sea by cliffs, and surrounded by foundations of Hellenic walls constructed of regular masonry. A small tract of ploughed land around the height, covered with stones and broken pottery, seems to point out the extent of the town, to which the height served as a citadel. On the eastern side is a well of ancient workmanship, which is said never to be deficient in summer. The slopes of the mountain on every side are covered with shrubs, chiefly the wild olive and the myrtle.

Antron, though it could scarcely ever have been a place of importance, is not unnoticed in history. Its purchase by Philip son of Amyntas supplied one of the numerous arguments employed by Demosthenes to alarm the Athenians [1]; and it twice shared the fate of the two towns between which it was situated, having been taken together with them by Demetrius Poliorcetas, and again by the Consul Licinius.

The hymn to Ceres, attributed to Homer, shows that deity to have been the protectress of Antron [2], and the epithet πετρήεις, there applied to Antron, is not less appropriate than that of ἀγχίαλος in the

[1] Demosth. Philip 4. p. 133. Reiske.

[2] Ἀλλ' ἄγ', Ἐλευσῖνος θυοέσσης δῆμον ἔχουσα
Καὶ Πάρον ἀμφιρύτην Ἀντρωνά τε πετρήεντα.
Hymn. ad Cerer. v. 489.

Digitized by Google

Iliad. They were perhaps more so than the poet imagined; for Antron seems to have been indebted for its long existence in so poor a territory to its maritime situation and the composition of its rocks: the latter having been noted for supplying excellent mill-stones [1], of which the traffic was promoted by the position of the place at the entrance of one of the most commodious points of communication on the Eastern coast of Greece.

Fanó lies exactly opposite to the cape in *Eubœa* which forms the western side of the bay of Oreós [2], and is between three and four miles distant from Fanó. Off that cape is a small island surmounted by a ruined church of Παναγία νησιώτισσα, between which and Fanó, at one-third of the distance from the former, is the ἕρμα ὕφαλον, or sunken rock which was called the Ὄνος Ἀντρῶνος [3], in times when these seas were much better known than they are at present. One of the primates of Khamáko, who accompanied me to Fanó, was upon the Onos this summer in a boat, and describes it as a small rock upon which there were three σπιθαμάδες, or palms of water, below the bottom of the boat. Ὄνος Ἀντρῶνος is not to be interpreted the ass, but the

[1] . . . . . Ἀντρώνιος ὄνος· ἡ παροιμία, εὐφυεῖς γὰρ πρὸς μυλῶνας ἔχει λίθους. — Stephan. in Ἄγκων.

In Ἀντρὼν the same author remarks that the place was so called from its caverns, διὰ τὸ τοὺς τόπους ἀντρώδεις εἶναι— V. et Hesych. in Μύλη et Eustath in Il. B. v. 697.

[2] Ὠρεός.

[3] Κατὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀντρῶνα ἕρμα ὕφαλον ἐν τῷ πρὸς Εὐβοίᾳ ἐστὶ πόρῳ καλούμενον Ὄνος Ἀντρῶνος.—Strabo, p. 435.

Digitized by Google

mill-stone of Antron, in allusion to the staple production of that town; and assuredly, if the rock is correctly described by Strabo, and my Khamakiote guide, it is admirably placed for catching an unfortunate ship and grinding it to pieces.

The description which Strabo has given of Antron, Myonnesus, and the sunken rock, is a remarkable example of the occasional accuracy of his information on the coasts of Greece; and which is often a contrast to that regarding the interior of the country. The difference is to be attributed undoubtedly to the authorities which he followed; for although he was an extensive traveller, he seems not to have examined any country much in detail, and least of all Greece, where he generally refers to the information of others. There were probably many accurate peripli extant in his time for the use of navigation, but scarcely any perfect descriptions of the interior of this country.

The eastern extremity of Mount Stravovúni, which forms one of the promontories at the entrance into the Gulf of Volo, appears to be the Zelasium of Livy, where the ships of Attalus and the Rhodii were stationed to intercept the Macedonian fleet at Demetrias, in the case of its attempting to sail out of the Gulf for the purpose of relieving the garrison of Oreus, which was then besieged by Attalus himself and by the Romans under Apustius[1]. The district in which Zelasium was situated was called Isthmia—a name well adapted to the peninsula on the southern side of the Gulf

[1] Liv. l. 31, c. 46.

Digitized by Google

of Ftelió, which terminates westward in the peak of Stravovúni. The allied fleet was stationed perhaps behind the island of Arghyronísi, which is near Cape Stavrós; and it is not unlikely that there was a town or fortress on that part of the coast called *Zelasium*, as it seldom happened that a remarkable promontory or harbour had not also a fortress of the same name near it.

The plain of *Histiæa* or *Eubœa*, which adjoins the bay of Oreós, is perfectly seen from Fanó, extending several miles inland. Towards the eastern extremity of the plain is the large village of Xerokhóri, and nearer the sea, at the western end of the bay, that of Oreós, where a paleókastro surrounding a hill marks the site of the ancient Oreus or Histiæa [1].

We return from Fanó to Ftelió, leaving Khamáko on the left, and crossing its ploughed lands upon the south-western side of Stravovúni. The wheat and barley are just springing up: the soil is of a deep red colour like that adjacent to the village. The plough is not at all different from that of *Acarnania*, and the denominations of the several parts of it are the same [2]. After having passed Khamáko we descend directly upon the peninsula of Panaghía, at the head of the bay of *Pteleum*, and return to Ftelió.

The contests between the thieves and the Dérvent-Agá have contributed greatly to the ruin of this formerly flourishing angle of *Thessaly*. Kufús, which occupies a lofty situation in Mount *Othrys*,

[1] Strabo, p. 445.

[2] See Vol. III. p. 548.

Digitized by Google

and subsists only by its vineyards, and the agóghi or employment of its inhabitants and cattle in carrying men and merchandize about the country, is at once the most exposed to the robbers, and the least able by its resources to support the damage. When the thieves intend to attack a village, they usually take up a commanding position near it, from whence they send a letter to the Hodjá-bashi, beginning probably with[1] "My dear President," and inviting him to come and settle accounts with them. His answer most commonly is flight, in which he is followed by the principal inhabitants; when the robbers, no longer fearing any resistance, enter the village, burn a few houses, massacre the cattle, and carry off some of the women and children who have not had time to escape, making choice of those whose release promises the highest ransom. The consequence is, that the villages in the neighbourhood of the haunts of the robbers generally find themselves under the necessity of satisfying their demands, and keeping on good terms with them. This, on the other hand, subjects them to the vengeance of the Dervént-Agá, who imprisons their primates at Ioánnina, and sends Albanians to quarter upon them. The greater part of the armatolí employed against the thieves by the districts adjoining Mount *Othrys*, namely, Zitúni, Kokús and Armyró, and the same may be said of every other part of Greece infested by robbers, have themselves followed the same trade. If they *προσκυνοῦν*, or voluntarily make

[1] *ἀγαπημένε μου Πρωεστέ.*

Digitized by Google

their submission, they are always favourably received at the time, although perhaps marked out for future destruction; and unless they have given particular reason to the Vezír to suspect them, they are then employed as derventlídhes. As many of them have brothers or cousins among the thieves, there is generally a secret correspondence between the two parties; and the best mode of attacking a village is often pointed out to the robbers by one of their opponents, who, entering a village for the ostensible purpose of watching the motions of the thieves, lodges in a particular house for the sole object of examining his host's property, and of devising the best mode of plundering him. He then informs the robbers when and where to lie in wait for their victim, whose pleas of inability to pay ransom are met by evidences of a perfect knowledge on the part of the robbers of all the particulars of his possessions. These instances of treachery were more common before the extension of Alý's power, who, by obtaining the government of a large part of Greece, has greatly narrowed the field of Kleftic ingenuity. In such a mountainous country, however, and on the borders of the districts governed by him, it is impossible entirely to suppress the robbers. Nor is he perhaps very desirous of this result. Security and tranquillity might be in excess if the benefit of his own services as guardian of the roads and passes were not sufficiently manifest to the Porte. Whether it be with a secret view of this kind, or as stating a real fact, he admits his inability to reduce the Greek mountains by his own troops alone, or to keep

Digitized by Google

them in a state of tranquillity but with the assistance of the inhabitants themselves.

Dec. 14.—Having recrossed the ridge from Ftelió, we leave, at the descent into the valley of Siúrpi, at a mile on the left, a height surrounded on three sides by a winding brook which descends from Mount *Othrys* by Siúrpi into the Gulf. The situation of this height, and some appearance of art in the form of it, may warrant the belief that it was the station of an ancient town, perhaps Dium or Orchomenus, the inhabitants of which were prevented by Demetrius from retiring into Thebæ, as Cassander had ordered, when the former, proceeding from Athens, landed at Larissa and took Antron and Pteleum.[1] Riding through Siúrpi we proceed to Kefálosi, and passing along the ancient wall halt to dine at the springs. The distance from Old Ftelió is about fourteen miles, sufficiently answering to the 110 stades placed by Artemidorus between Pteleum and Alus[2], and confirming, therefore, the position of the latter at Kefálosi. From the springs we continue our route through the vineyards of Kirtzíni, leaving the town on the left, and in fifty minutes arrive at Tzinghéli, called by the Turks Kedjel or Gkedjel, which is the skáloma or harbour of Armyró, and about three miles distant from Kirtzíni. It consists only of a house for the superintendent of the Gumrúk and a few cottages; but for a considerable space around, the land is strewn with stones and pottery, among which are

[1] Diodor, l. 20, c. 110. [2] Strabo, p. 433.

Digitized by Google

vestiges of walls built of small rude stones mixed with Roman tiles. Other ruins of the same kind are still standing upon foundations of large quadrangular blocks, the remains apparently of a temple or other building, about thirty feet long by twenty broad. At a Turkish fountain and well a little beyond the custom-house, are some other squared stones. Leaving this place at 9.15 Turkish, we cross the plain of Armyró in a northerly direction, but gradually receding from the coast. The peasants are ploughing for wheat, but a great part of the land is uncultivated, and now serves for pasture to the flocks of some Vlakhiótes from Mount *Pindus*. At 10.20 we recross the Kholó. This river, after descending through the ravines of *Othrys*, enters the plain in a line with the steep insulated hill of Keuzlár, on the left bank of the *Enipeus*, mentioned on the 10th of December. Like many of the rivers of Greece, the Kholó has a constant stream only in the upper part of its course. Here it consists only of some stagnant pools of water, though even as low as the bridge of Karádanli, three or four miles higher up, where we crossed it on the 10th, there was still a respectable current, showing that in the interval the principal derivations are made for watering the fields of cotton and tobacco.

Assuming the paleókastro at Kefálosi to have been *Alus*, and the river at that place the *Amphrysus*, the Kholó was probably the *Cuarius*; for it would seem from Strabo that Itonus, which was sixty stades distant from Alus, stood upon a river

Digitized by Google

named Cuarius[1]; and that interval corresponds to the general distance of the Kholó from the river of Kefálosi. As Itonus, according to the geographer, was situated above the Crocian plain, it stood probably near the spot where the river issues from the mountains. In the enumeration of the towns of Protesilaus, Iton is associated with Phylace and Pyrrhasus[2], both which were assuredly in the plain of Armyró or on its borders; the situation just assigned to *Itonus* accords, therefore, with Homer: and as Iton was in that case possessed of a portion of the pastoral highlands of Othrys, the epithet "mother of flocks" appears to have been well adapted to it.

From the Kholó-rema we ascend along an almost imperceptible slope towards the hills on the northern side of the plain; and not far from the foot of them, arrive, at 11, at Ak (or white) Ketjel, in Greek Κετζελί, having ten minutes before left Aidín a quarter of a mile on the left. These two villages were formerly inhabited by Koniáridhes, as the names, and ruined mosques, and kules indicate: the lands and houses now belong to Turks of Armyró, but the villages are inhabited entirely by Greeks who are tenants of the fields and houses, or mere day labourers. Of the two, Ak-Ketjel has the greater appearance of decline: the

[1] Ἀπέχει δὲ Ἰτώνου περὶ ἑξήκοντα σταδίους ὁ Ἅλος ἢ ἡ Ἅλος . . . . . —Strabo, p. 433.

Τούτου (τοῦ Κροκίου πεδίου sc.) ὑπέρκειται ὁ Ἴτωνος ὅπου τὸ τῆς Ἰτωνίας ἱερὸν ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ ὁ Κουάριος ποταμός.—p. 435.

[2] Οἳ ὁ' εἶχον Φυλάκην καὶ Πύῤῥασον ἀνθεμόεντα
Δήμητρος τέμενος, Ἴωνά τε μητέρα μήλων.
Il. B. v. 695.

Digitized by Google

cottages are dispersed at large distances among the ruined towers, and contain only six families of metayers. These are owners of the oxen, ploughs, and other agricultural stock, and in return for the seed supply the Turk proprietor with half the crop the tithe being first deducted. They are already preparing to abandon the place, being too few in number to bear the expences of the frequent konáks to which they are exposed by lying in the road from Velestíno to Armyró, which is one of the direct routes from the plains of *Thessaly* to Zitúni and 'Egripo. In the midst of the houses Vlakhiote shepherds are building mandhres or folds for their sheep with branches of trees.

Such is the miserable representative of a city which, during the most civilized ages of Greece, rivalled the leading members of the Thessalian community. A height half a mile to the north-east of Ak-Ketjel, is surrounded with the ruined walls of *Phthiotic Thebes*, for of the identity there seems no doubt, on considering the data left to us by Polybius and Strabo. From the former we learn that the district of Thebes confined upon those of Demetrias, Pheræ, and Pharsalus, that it was near the sea, and 300 stades from Lárissa[1], and in Strabo, whose periplus of this coast I have before shewn some reason for trusting, we find the maritime places of Phthia mentioned in the following order, beginning from *Phalara*, near *Lamia* or Zitúni: first *Echinus* (Akhinó), then *Lárissa Cre-*

[1] Polyb. l. 5, c. 99.

Digitized by Google

maste (Gardhíki), the islet *Myonnessus*, *Antron* (Fanó), *Pteleum* (Ftelió), *Alus* (Kefálosi), then a temple of Ceres, which was two stades distant from the ruins of Pyrasus, and 20 stades below Thebæ; then the promontory Pyrrha, which was the boundary of Phthiotis, and near which were two islets, called Pyrrha and Deucalion. The same author shows that the Crocian plain lay between Alus and Thebæ[1], whence it seems evident, assuming Kefálosi to have been *Alus*, that *Thebæ* was towards the northern side of the plain, at a distance of about three miles from the sea, which exactly agrees with the Paleókastro at Ak-Ketjel. The direct distance of this point from Lárissa being about 26 G. M., accords perfectly with the 300 stades of Polybius.

In the burying ground of a ruined mosque at Ak-Ketzel lies an inscribed sorus, entire with its cover[2], and in the village church are several other inscribed stones. Two of these were dedications to Artemis[3]; another was in memory of one Leon of Eretria[4], which we know from Strabo to have been a town in Phthiotis[5]. The rest are sepulchral with names only[6]. One of these, which seems to have been originally erected for a man

[1] ἡ Ἅλος . . . . ὑπέρκειται δὲ τοῦ Κρικίου πεδίου· . . . . . Ὑπὸ δὲ τῷ Κρικίῳ Θῆβαί εἰσιν αἱ Φθιώτιδες.—Strabo, p. 433.

Θηβῶν δ' ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τὸ Κρόκιον πεδίον πρὸς τῷ καταλήγοντι τῆς Οθρυος.—p. 435.

[2] V. Inscription, No. 186.

[3] V. Inscriptions, Nos. 187, 188.

[4] V. Inscription, No. 189.

[5] Strabo, p. 434.

[6] V. Inscriptions, Nos. 190, 191, 192, 193, 194.

Digitized by Google

named Diomedes and his wife Hellanocrateia, was afterwards reversed and inscribed with two names of men, aliens undoubtedly to the former family [1], which may perhaps have been extinct. Nothing was more common than such conversions, or violations of tombs or sepulchral monuments, as many epitaphs prove, containing imprecations against the violators, or stating the amount of the fines which the public chest had a right to demand from them [2]. Derivatives of δικη seem to have been common at Phthiotic Thebes among the names of females, three of whom were Δικαιὼ, Δικαιρέτα, and Δικαιοβούλα [3].

Dec. 15.—The ruins of *Thebæ* occupy the slope of a height crowned by cliffs, which faces the east and looks down upon the northern angle of the bay of Armyró, from whence the coast turns eastward to Cape Angkístri, the ancient Pyrrha, which separates the bay of Armyró from that of Volo. The entire circuit of the walls and towers, both of the town and citadel, still exist, though in some places the foundations only are seen; in others there are a few courses of masonry. The circumference is between two and three miles. On the northern slope, a brow which overlooks a torrent flowing in narrow gorges from the hills towards Velestíno, furnished an advantageous line for the walls of that front. On the south the ground was almost equally favourable to the ancient engineers,

[1] V. Inscription, No. 190.

[2] In many examples in Asia Minor one third of the fine is promised to the informer, but I have not met with any similar instance in Greece.

[3] V. Inscriptions, Nos. 187, 188, 191.

Digitized by Google

and on the lower or eastern side there is still a steep descent from the walls into the plain. The acropolis occupied a level above the rocky brow. The masonry is of the third kind, and in many parts quite regular; the thickness of the walls, as well as the form and size of the towers, are such as are generally found in that species. A little below the citadel, where the ground is very rocky, some large irregular masses were fitted to the rock as a basis to the superstructure. A few foundations of buildings are seen within the ancient inclosure, and the ground is every where strewn with stones, broken pottery, and fragments of inscribed marbles, in most of which the letters are of the form used under the Roman empire, or not much earlier. Among them was a monument lying on the ground so complete and at the same time so portable, that I was tempted to carry it away with me. It is a representation in relief of two platted locks of long hair, suspended to an entablature which is supported by two pilasters. On the architrave an inscription shows that the monument commemorated the dedication of their hair to Neptune, by Philombrotus and Aphthonetus, sons of Deinomachus, who were probably about to encounter, or had escaped from some peril by sea. The name Aphthonetus occurs again in one of the inscriptions in the church of Ak-Ketjel [1], and affords another example of the local prevalence of particular names, which is indeed observable in all countries.

[1] V. Inscription, No. 187.

Digitized by Google

About the centre of the city stood the theatre, looking towards the sea. Its remains consist only of a small part of the exterior circular wall of the cavea. This, however, together with the shape of the ground, are sufficient to give an idea of the dimensions of the entire structure, the diameter of which appears to have been about 180 feet. From the citadel I remarked, in a deep gorge of the hills, a mile and a half to the northward, the ruins of an ancient Hellenic wall, probably a defence to that approach towards the city.

The existing remains of Thebæ are of that degree of apparent antiquity, which accords with the notice of this city occurring in history. Like several of the leading states of Thessaly, it seems not to have existed in the Trojan war; its territory was then occupied by another town named Pyrrhasus, and even at the time of the Persian invasion it was probably an inconsiderable place, if existing at all; for *Alus*, which contained a celebrated temple of Jupiter Laphystius, and the antiquity of which is shown by its connection with the legend of Athamas, was then the chief town in the vicinity of the bay of Armyró, as we may infer from Herodotus, who describes the Greek army sent to defend Tempe as having landed at Alus, and Xerxes to have marched across Thessaly to the same place, in order to communicate with his fleet, which had arrived at Aphetæ. Alus, in fact, possessed in the neighbouring bay the most sheltered anchorage on the western side of the gulf. At a subsequent time when maritime commerce was on a larger and more opulent scale,

Digitized by Google

Thebæ was the chief emporium of Thessaly, and owed its importance to this advantage. It so continued until Magnesia having become a dependency of Macedonia[1], Demetrias, which was founded by Demetrius Poliorcetes, about the year 290 B. C., soon became, by the favour of the kings of Macedonia, the chief maritime city of the Thessalians. The most flourishing period of Thebæ appears, therefore, to have been in the fifth and fourth centuries, at which time the Thessalian cities formed an independent confederacy, and commerce was active in every part of Greece; we find accordingly that in the style and construction of its remains Thebæ resembles Pelinnæum and Pharsalus, which may be supposed from the tenor of history to have been in their meridian about the same time. It resembles also Mantineia and Messene, as well as Erchomenus, in the less ancient parts of its ruins, of all which the dates are still better ascertained. We first find Phthiotic Thebes mentioned in the history of the Lamiac war, B. C. 323, in which it was the only Thessalian state, except Pelinnæum, that remained neuter[2]. When Demetrius Poliorcetes, in the year 302 B. C., occupied Larissa Cremaste, Antron, and Pteleum, in his war with Cassander, the latter strengthened Thebes and Pheræ, and it appears to have been in the Crocian plain that Cassander drew out his army, consisting of 29,000 infantry, against the 56,000 of Demetrius, who derived no other

[1] Liv. l. 39, c. 25.
[2] Strabo, p. 436, 437.
[3] Diodor. l. 18, c. 11.

Digitized by Google

advantage from his superiority of numbers than that of liberating Pheræ from Cassander, having declined a general action, and made an armistice with his opponent, in order that he might move to the assistance of his father Antigonus in Asia [1]. When the Ætolians extended their power to the Eastern coast of Greece, Thebæ was their most distant and most valuable possession. It was taken from them in the year B. C. 217, after an obstinate siege by Philip, son of Demetrius, who changed its name to Philippopolis [2], and placed in it a Macedonian garrison, which made a successful resistance to the consul Flamininus previously to the battle of Cynoscephalæ [3]. The name of Philippopolis was probably not much in use after that event, though we find both names employed by Livy, in relating the transactions at the congress of Tempe, in the year 185 B. C [4]. The historian in his own narrative names it Philippopolis, but in citing the terms of the complaints of the Thessalians against Philip, Thebæ is the appellation employed, the complainants naturally avoiding that which attested the former subjection of the place to Macedonia.

Strabo, in a passage wherein he observes that Phylace and Alus, two of the cities of Phthiotis under Protesilaus, were near the borders of the Malienses, leaves us in doubt as to which of these places he intended to apply a farther remark,

[1] Diodor. l. 20, c. 110.
[2] Polyb. l. 5, cc. 99, 100.—Diodor. Exc. l. 26.
[3] Liv. l. 33, c. 5.
[4] Liv. l. 39, c. 25.

Digitized by Google

namely, that it was midway between Pharsalus and the Phthiotæ, meaning undoubtedly Thebæ; from which latter he adds that it was 100 stades distant[1]. There can be little question, if *Alus* was at Kefálosi, that *Phylace* was the place intended by him, the former position being very far from a line between the sites of *Pharsalus* and *Thebæ*, and not so much as 100 stades from the latter. The ancient site near Ghidék, on the other hand, which I suppose to be that of *Phylace*, is about 100 stades distant from the ruins of *Thebæ*, and nearly in a line with Férsala, as well as near the middle distance between these two points. Standing also at the debouché of the pass leading from *Pharsalus* into the *Phthiotic* plain, it was naturally a post desirable to both people, and likely to be conferred by Philip upon the party whom he wished to favour.

From the lower extremity of *Thebæ Phthioticæ* to Kókkina, at the north-western angle of the bay of Armyró, is a distance of 45 minutes, the road leading through plantations of vines and figs belonging to Ak-ketjel, and then crossing some charadræ strewn with rounded masses of black porous stone, and others of a blue and of a green cast, exactly resembling some of the lavas of Mount Ætna. Among them are fragments also of white marble. On the southern side of the

[1] Καθάπερ δὲ ἡ Φυλάκη ἡ ὑπὸ Πρωτεσιλάῳ τῆς Φθιώτιδός ἐστι, τῆς προσχώρου τοῖς Μαλιεῦσιν, οὕτω καὶ ἡ Ἄλος· διέχει δὲ Θηβῶν περὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους· ἐν μέσῳ δ' ἐστὶ Φαρσάλου καὶ Φθιωτῶν· Φίλιππος μέντοι Φαρσαλίοις προσένειμεν ἀφελόμενος τῶν Φθιωτῶν.—Strabo, p. 433.

Digitized by Google

plain of Armyró the hills are chiefly of schistous limestone, in which are veins of white marble. At the end of 20 minutes we pass through some Turkish sepulchres, where many of the stones are of ancient workmanship; one of them has formed part of a decorated ceiling of some large edifice, in which are figures of two doves joining their beaks; the execution not of the best. It may have been brought perhaps from the temple of Ceres, noticed by Homer in the same line with Pyrrhasus, and placed by Strabo at a distance of two stades from the site of that town, which was 20 stades below Thebes[1]. The exact site of the temple I take to have been at a spot where exist many stones and some hewn blocks, at 5 minutes short of Kókkina, at which latter place are vestiges of an ancient town, consisting of wrought quadrangular blocks, together with many smaller fragments, and an oblong height with a flat summit, partly if not wholly artificial. I observed another similar to it, rising from the plain on the right bank of the Kholó, distant one mile from the sea. At Kókkina a circular basin full of water, near the shore, was once probably a small harbour; for not far from it are the traces of a mole. These ruins, both in their distance from the supposed temple of *Ceres* and from *Thebæ*, agree

[1] Τὸ δὲ Δημήτριον Δήμητρος εἴρηκε τέμενος καὶ ἐκάλεσε Πύρασον. Ἦν δὲ πόλις εὐλίμενος ἡ Πύρασος ἐν δυσὶ σταδίοις ἔχουσα Δήμητρος ἄλσος καὶ ἱερὸν ἅγιον, διέχουσα Θηβῶν σταδίους εἴκοσι· ὑπέρκεινται δὲ Πυράσου Θῆβαι. — Strabo, p. 435.

Stephan. in Πύρασος, Δημήτριον.

Digitized by Google

with the position of the Homeric Pyrrhasus, which name was afterwards superseded by that of Demetrium, derived from the adjacent temple of Ceres[1]. As to the remains at Tzinghéli, or the skala of Armyró, they belonged perhaps to some establishment of commerce or maritime communication which may have arisen here after the decline of *Thebæ* and *Demetrium*, and when the more central situations of Armyró and Tzinghéli may have been found preferable. I have already remarked, the propriety of the epithets applied by Homer to Pteleum, Antron, and Itonus; that of ἀνθεμόεις which he attaches to Pyrrhasus, seems equally appropriate. This maritime valley seldom feels much of the rigour of winter, and the meadows of *Pyrasus* are doubtless adorned with flowers long before the interior plains, though separated from them only by the heights which shelter *Pyrasus* from the north, have equally felt the effects of the vernal season.

The level beach of the bay of Armyró ends at Kókkina; upon quitting it, at 7.10 Turkish, we immediately enter the hills which extend to Cape Angkístri[2]: the road for the most part passes along the edge of cliffs bordering the shore; it then crosses a small valley with a sandy beach, where stands the tomb of one Halíl Agá, who is said to have made himself so obnoxious to the people of Kokús, of which place he had been Vóivoda,

[1] Strabo et Stephan. ubi sup. — Scylax in Ἀχαιοί. — Liv. l. 28, c. 6.

[2] Ἀγκίστρι, hook.

Digitized by Google

that at their instigation he was way-laid and killed here by some thieves.

At 8.15 we halt to buy fish from a boat which had just hauled its net, and having roasted them, dine upon the sea-beach. A neighbouring height is occupied by one of the colonies of Vlakhiote shepherds, who at this season fill all the maritime valleys of *Thessaly* with their flocks. There is a house for the chief and several kalývia around it. At 8.40 we continue our route across heights and narrow valleys near the sea, where the wild olive is the most common shrub, and might be made valuable by the mere labour of engrafting. At 9.35, in crossing a height which terminates in Cape Angkístri, we arrive in sight of Volo and the adjacent country, and descend into a plain which is separated only from that of Volo by a high rocky projection of the hills, which are a continuation of those on the northern side of the *Phthiotic* or *Crocian* plain. A mile to our right, on the summit above cape Angkístri, are the remains of an ancient fortress. At 10 some very large Greek letters of antique form are engraved on the side of a rock to the left[1]; at 10.8 occur the walls of an ancient city, crossing the valley from some rocky hills on the left to lower heights on the right of the road, the crest of which they follow towards the sea, making many angles to meet the varieties of the ground. At the southern extremity they terminated in a projection of the coast, between which and another farther to the south, is a

[1] V. Inscription, No. 198.

Digitized by Google

plain called Furna, where many ancient tombs are found. In a bay between this second projection and Cape Angkístri are some salt-pans, and buildings belonging to them, which have given to the place the name of Tuzla, or Alikés.

On the northern side of the plain which formed the central part of the city, the walls are again to be seen following the summit of a chain of rocky heights which terminate in the lofty precipitous summit before mentioned, the eastern extremity of which meets the north-western angle of the beach of the bay of Volo. Here at the foot of the rocks are many copious sources of water, but rather saline to the taste, for which reason the ancient city was provided also with water from springs higher in the mountain. The ruined piers of an aqueduct of Roman times are a conspicuous object among the ruins, crossing the level in the middle of the city in a direction nearly parallel to the sea beach. The northern extremity of the arches rested upon a height in which the form of an ancient theatre is sufficiently preserved, but without any remains of masonry. Behind this spot are the ruins of a building of the same age as the aqueduct. On the highest summit of the rocks, above the saline sources, are two Hellenic towers, one of which preserves six courses of masonry. A little beyond it to the northward is a small level, the occupation of which was essential to the safety of the town, and it was accordingly inclosed, so as to form a citadel or outwork: several courses both of its walls and towers still subsist.

Just above the springs steps are cut in the rock,

Digitized by Google

and a little farther its slope has been levelled either for a road or for the foundation of a wall, more probably for the latter, in which case it would seem that a space on the northern slope of this hill was included within the city, or at least formed a walled suburb, for the form of the ground exhibits some further traces of buildings, and of an inclosure, towards the end of which there is a tumulus. Except on the mountain, foundations of walls only remain; the masonry is of the same regular order as at *Phthiotic Thebes*, and the two cities were nearly equal in circuit. The sources of water correspond so well to the πῆγαι πολλαὶ καὶ δαψιλεῖς, which Strabo believed to have given name to Pagasæ, (contrary to those who derived it from the building of the ship Argo [1],) that there can be little or no doubt that these are the ruins of *Pagasæ*.

The extent of the city in the times of independent Thessaly, as indicated by the walls of those ages, corresponds perfectly to that which might have been expected of a city which occupied such an important point of the sea coast: nor are the aqueducts and other vestiges of the Roman Empire less in agreement with the remark of Strabo, that Pagasæ was the *navale* of Pheræ in his time, having undoubtedly owed that distinction when Demetrias had lost the benefits of royal favour, to the more sheltered position of this ex-

[1] Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ναυπηγίας τῆς Ἀργοῦς καὶ Παγασὰς λέγεσθαι μυθεύουσι τὸν τόπον· οἱ δὲ πιθανώτερον ἡγοῦνται τοὔνομα τῷ τόπῳ τεθῆναι τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν, αἳ πολλαί τε καὶ δαψιλεῖς ῥέουσι.—Strabo, p. 436.

Digitized by Google

treme angle of the Gulf, as well as to its being the nearest point of the coast to *Pheræ*, the chief city in this quarter of *Thessaly*, and to its general convenience as a sea-port to the *Pharsalia*, *Larissæa*, *Pheræa*, and part of *Magnesia*. Strabo mentions Pagasæ as one of the places which contributed its inhabitants to people Demetrias at the time of the foundation of the latter[1]; so that it was probably extremely reduced, if not quite abandoned, between that time and the Roman conquest.

Cape Angkístri is identified with the promontory *Pyrrha* by the two adjacent rocks, which were named *Pyrrha* and *Deucalion*[2]. The fortress above the cape I take to have been *Amphanæ*, for a comparison of Stephanus and Scylax shows *Amphanæ* to have been a small place between *Demetrium* or *Pyrasus* and *Pagasæ*[3].

[1] Strabo, p. 436.

[2] . . αἱ Θῆβαι· εἶτα ἄκρα Πύρρα καὶ δύο νησίδια πλησίον, ὧν τὸ μὲν Πύρρα, τὸ δὲ Δευκελίων καλεῖται. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ἡ Φθιωτὶς πως τελευτᾷ.—Strabo, p. 435.

[3] Δημήτριον, Θῆβαι . . . . . Μετὰ δὲ Ἀχαιοὺς Θετταλία . . . . . καὶ εἰσὶ Θετταλίας πόλεις αἵδε ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ Ἀμφαναὶ, Παγασαί· ἐν δὲ μεσογείᾳ Φεραί.

Scylax in Ἀχαιοὶ, Θετταλία.

Ἀμφαναὶ . . . . . ἔστι καὶ χωρίον Θετταλίας.—Stephan. in voce.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XLI.

MAGNESIA. THESSALIA.

Volo, *Iolcus*—*Demetrias*—River *Anaurus*—Ancient towns of *Magnesia*—Cave of *Achilles*—Modern state of Mount *Pelium*—Trikeri, *Æanteium*—Mount Bardzóia, *Tisæum*—*Aphetæ*—Sesklo, *Æsonia*—Gherelí—Kastrí, ruins, inscriptions—Dugán—Dhésiani—Aghiá—*Melibœa*, *Eurymenæ*, *Homolium*, *Thaumacia*, *Myræ*.

The view of Mount *Pelium* from *Pagasæ* affords a scene of culture, population, and apparent prosperity, which would give a traveller entering Greece by the Gulf of Volo a most erroneous impression as to the condition of this country. The opposite mountains are covered with the houses and gardens of Makrinítza, Volo, and Portariá, each divided into several makhalás or portions, separated from one another by vineyards or plantations of mulberry and fruit-trees. To the right of these a continuation of the same heights exhibits a similar scene around the towns of Lekhónia, St. Lawrence, and St. George. Between three and four thousand houses are in sight, proving the capabilities of Greek industry and enterprize when only a little relieved from Turkish oppression and misrule. The contrast between 'Agrafa and *Upper*

Digitized by Google

Thessaly is an example sufficiently striking of the effects of Turkish government in causing the Greeks to cultivate and inhabit the mountains, while the fertile plains remain desolate; but the disproportion between the population of the mountains and plains is trifling there compared to that which is found in *Magnesia* and *Lower Thessaly*.

Turkish Volo affords a good contrast to the Greek towns on Mount *Pelium*, and is well calculated to remove any too favourable opinion, which a recently-arrived traveller may have conceived from the flourishing appearance of the mountain. There the custom-house, the narrow streets, almost impassable from stagnant pools and putrid filth, the ruinous and wretched habitations, a square whitened inclosure called the Castle, but consisting only of a slight low wall, surmounted with battlements, and including a mosque with a few Turkish houses, are all highly characteristic of the governing people. This small town, called Kastro by the Greeks and Golo by the Turks, stands at a distance of seventeen minutes from the springs of *Pagasæ*, from whence it is a walk of thirty-seven minutes across a plantation of vineyards and mulberry plantations to Perivólia [1], where the Turks of Kastro have their summer habitations, situated amidst gardens at the foot of Mount *Pelium*. A perennial torrent flows through the gardens; but the place is said to be hot and unhealthy in summer, and infested with gnats to an extreme degree.

[1] τὰ Περιβόλια—the gardens.

Digitized by Google

With two or three exceptions the houses are in a ruinous state.

From Perivólia an ascent of near twenty minutes conducts me to the middle of the Greek town of Volo[1], under which name are comprehended also Perivólia, Kastro, and a detached suburb of Volo to the southward, called Vlakho Makhalá. The houses of this town, so striking and attractive at a distance, hardly support, on a nearer view, the preconceived estimation of them. This is partly to be attributed to the general state of the arts in Turkey and partly to the insecurity even of this favoured district. Defence against hostile attack has been more considered than domestic comfort; not only against the robber, the pirate, the lawless Albanian, or Turkish soldier, or the extortion of neighbouring governors, but with a view also to intestine disputes, often ending in violence and open war, when the mountain is most secure against external enemies. Hence the houses are lofty and built in the form of towers. Glass windows are almost unknown; nor in other respects are the houses to be compared to those of the Vlakhiótes of Mount *Pindus*, or to those of some of the Greek towns of *Macedonia*. As an apology, the people of Volo remark, that being in the most exposed situation of the mountain, they have been less able to attend to luxuries than the securer inhabitants of Makrinítza or Zagorá.

The flourishing condition of this corner of

[1] Βῶλος.

Digitized by Google

Greece, although it could hardly have occurred in any but such a peninsular and defensible position, is in great measure owing to the circumstance of many of its villages having been vakúfs of the principal mosques at Constantinople, which has given them a more than ordinary protection from the Porte, and has caused the permission to wear arms for defence against robbers to have been extended to them all. Since the conquest of *Thessaly* by the Albanians, and the reduction of the kleftes by Alý Pashá, the power and well-known character of the latter has excited among the *Magnesians* a lively alarm for their liberties, attended with one good consequence, that they have never been more free from domestic quarrels.

Dec. 16.—The ancient Demetrias occupied the southern or maritime face of a height now called Gorítza[1], which projects from the coast of *Magnesia*, between two and three miles to the southward of the middle of Volo. Though little more than foundations remains, the inclosure of the city, which was less than two miles in circumference, is traceable in almost every part. On three sides the walls followed the crest of a declivity which falls steeply to the east and west, as well as towards the sea. To the north the summit of the hill, together with an oblong space below it, formed a small citadel, of which the foundations still subsist. A level space in the middle elevation of the height was conveniently placed for the

[1] Γκωρίτζα.

Digitized by Google

central part of the city. The acropolis contained a large cistern cut in the rock, which is now partly filled with earth. On one side of it is a modern semicircular inclosure, of rude construction, at which a miracle is exhibited on Easter Sunday. An aperture under the semicircle, which is dry all the rest of the year, then becomes full of water and remains so for 24 hours, whatever quantity may be taken out by the numerous spectators assembled to witness the miracle. Here also is a church of the Panaghía, and around it are the foundations of some ancient building, within which is a bottle-shaped cistern hewn in the rock, and lined with stucco; it is now half full of water, and is reported never to be dry even in the middle of summer. To the westward of this place, on the highest summit of the ridge, are the foundations of a round tower of modern construction, similar to those which are seen in many parts of the adjacent coasts. From this spot many of the ancient streets of the town are traceable in the level which lies midway to the sea, and even the foundations of private houses: the space between one street and the next, parallel to it, is little more than 15 feet. About the centre of the town is a hollow, now called the lagúmi or mine, where a long rectangular excavation in the rock, 2 feet wide, 7 deep, and covered with flat stones, shows by marks of the action of water in the interior of the channel that it was part of an aqueduct, probably for the purpose of conducting some source in the height upon which stood the citadel, into the middle of the city.

Digitized by Google

I have mentioned a similar construction on the site of *Pharsalus;* indeed, it appears from several examples, but particularly from the aqueduct of Syracuse, the longest and best preserved of any I have had an opportunity of observing, that a rectangular channel excavated in the rocks, or constructed where no rock existed, and following all the variations of the ground in preserving its level with a fall just sufficient for the current, was the ordinary mode of conveying water among the autonomous Greeks. The Roman method of carrying the conduit across valleys upon arches was an improvement, as admitting of more direct lines, and by shortening distances allowing a greater choice of springs; it might even, notwithstanding the arches and piers required for it, be an abridgment of labour, but like all the works of the Romans compared with those of the Greeks, it was less lasting, and more frequently in need of repair.

According to vulgar belief, the lagúmi formerly communicated with a cavern on the seaside, but on visiting the latter I found nothing to render the supposition probable. Boats are sometimes drawn up into the cavern through a narrow cleft in the rock, and it contains an altar sacred to the Panaghía σπηλιώτισσα.

In importance of situation Demetrias was considered equal to Chalcis and Corinth, and the three were denominated by Philip, son of Demetrius, the fetters of Greece[1]. To the great grand-

[1] Polyb. l. 17, c. 11.—Liv. l. 32, c. 37.

Digitized by Google

father of Philip, the celebrated Poliorcetes, Demetrias owed its name and foundation. It became a favourite residence of the kings of Macedonia, to whom it may have been recommended not more for its convenience as a military and naval station in the centre of Greece than for many natural advantages, in some of which it seems to have been very preferable to Pella. The surrounding seas and fertile districts of Thessaly supplied an abundance of the necessaries and luxuries of life: in summer the position is cool and salubrious, in winter mild, even when the interior of Thessaly is involved in snow or fog. The cape on which the town stood commands a beautiful view of the gulf, which appears like an extensive lake surrounded by rich and varied scenery; the neighbouring woods supply an abundance of delightful retreats, embellished by prospects of the *Ægæan* sea, and of its islands, while Mount *Pelium* might at once have afforded a park, an ice-house, and a preserve of game for the chace. The only parts of the gulf concealed from Gorítza are the north-eastern bay beyond St. George, another at the eastern end of the peninsula of Tríkeri and the northern extremity of the bay of Armyró, near Kókkina. To the left the view extends over a narrow plain and winding shore, which stretches along the foot of the mountain for four miles to Lekhónia, the only Turkish town in the peninsula, but which is inhabited also by Greeks in equal number, who are for the most part labourers for the Turkish proprietors. Above Lekhónia are the remains of a small Hellenic town, which was pro-

Digitized by Google

bably *Nelia*, *Demetrias* having been situated between *Nelia* and *Iolcus*[1]. Beyond Lekhónia are seen the modern villages of Argalastí and Lafko, situated upon the lower part of the *Magnesian* peninsula, near the isthmus which connects it with the smaller peninsula of Trikeri.

The description given by Strabo of the situation of Iolcus is involved in some difficulty, as he places it at a distance of 20 stades from Pagasæ, and of 7 from Demetrias[2], whereas the real distance between these two cities was scarcely less than 50 stades. There seems but one mode of reconciling this contradiction, supposing no textual error. Although Iolcus itself in the time of the geographer was only a τόπος, or site famed in ancient history, it appears that the name was still employed as descriptive of a portion of the sea coast of the district of Demetrias. If we suppose, therefore, this coast to have extended from Perivólia to Vlakho-makhalá, which is about a mile distant from *Demetrias*, the distance of one extremity of the coast of *Iolcus* from *Pagasæ*, and of the other from *Demetrias*, will be tolerably correct as stated by Strabo, and the αἰγιαλὸς Ἰωλκὸς will then comprehend all the space occupied by Volo, including

[1] Strabo, p. 436.

[2] Ἐπίνειον δὲ τῶν Φερῶν Παγασαὶ, διέχον ἐννενήκοντα σταδίους αὐτῶν, Ἰωλκοῦ δὲ εἴκοσι. Ἡ δὲ Ἰωλκὸς κατέσκαπται μὲν ἐω παλαιοῦ· . . . . . Τῆς δὲ Δημητριάδος ἑπτὰ σταδίους ὑπέρκειται τῆς θαλάσσης Ἰωλκός . . . . . Πλησίον δὲ τῆς Δημητριάδος ὁ Ἄναυρος ῥεῖ· καλεῖται δὲ καὶ ὁ συνεχὴς αἰγιαλὸς Ἰωλκός.—Strabo, p. 436.

ὁ δὲ τῆς Ἰωλκοῦ τόπος ἐν ὁδῷ κείμενος (ad Ormenium sc.) τῆς Δημητριάδος ἑπτὰ σταδίους διέστηκε.—Strabo, p. 438.

Digitized by Google

Vlako-makhalá. The only part of this space having any appearance of an ancient site is a steep eminence which rises from the shore between the southernmost houses of Volo and Vlakho-makhalá, and upon which stands a church with a few monastic cells adjoining to it. The church is called Episkopí, as being the cathedral of the bishop of Demetrias, one of the suffragans of the metropolitan of Larissa. In the walls of the church are some marbles representing in low relief subjects taken from the Gospels, a kind of decoration very uncommon in Greek churches, where painting, gilding, and framing in gold or silver, are generally the only arts employed. Some large squared blocks of stone, forming part of a wall, are said to have formerly existed at the foot of this height, and to have been broken to pieces, and carried away in boats for the construction of new buildings on the shore of the gulf. Possibly Episkopí may have been the acropolis of *Iolcus*, and the town may have been dispersed, like Volo, over the entire site, which is well suited to the description of *Iolcus*, as lying at the foot of Mount *Pelium*, and as fertile in grapes [1]. That *Iolcus* stood on some part of Greek Volo is the more credible, as a torrent, flowing through Vlakho-makhalá be-

[1] Παλίου δὲ πὰρ ποδὶ λατρείαν Ἰαωλκόν.

Pindar. Nem. 4, v. 88.

Ὃς δουρὶ πάντας νίκασε νέους,
Διναέντα βαλὼν Ἄναυρον ὑπὲρ
Πολυβότρυος ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ.

Simonides ap. Athen. l. 4, c. 21.

Digitized by Google

tween Episkopí and Gorítza, corresponds to that *Anaurus*, in which Jason was said to have lost one of his sandals [1], and which was near *Demetrias* [2].

There are said to be several Hellenic sites still apparent in the lower peninsula or isthmus, which stretching southward from Mount *Pelium* separates the gulf from the *Ægæan* sea, particularly near Argalastí, and to the eastward of Nekhóri, the two towns which possess the best districts and most level lands in the peninsula. The former I take to have been the district of *Magnesia*, or the city of the *Magnetes*, where the coins of that people were struck; for although this place is scarcely ever mentioned in history, its existence is proved from Demosthenes, from whom we learn that it was taken and fortified by Philip, but afterwards restored to the Thessalians [3]. From a scholiast of Apollonius, supported by an ancient author named Cleon, it appears to have been situated in the lower part of the peninsula, near the gulf, and not near the rugged exterior coast [4]. A ruin named Khortó-kastro, on the coast near Argalastí, may possibly occupy the

[1] Δηρὸν δ' οὐ μετέπειτα θεὴν κατὰ βάξιν Ἰήσων
Χειμερίοιο ῥέεθρα κιὼν διὰ ποσσὶν Ἀναύρου
Ἄλλο μὲν ἐξεσάωσεν ὑπ' ἰλύος, ἄλλο δ' ἔνερθε
Κάλλιπεν αὖθι πέδιλον ἐνισχόμενον προχοῇσιν.
Apollon. l. 1, v. 8.

[2] Strabo, p. 436. V. sup. p. 379. n. 2,

[3] Demosth. Olynth. 1, p. 12, 15. Olynth. 2, p. 21. Philip. 2, p. 71. Reiske.

[4] Αὐτίκα δ' ἠερίη πολυλήϊος αἶα Πελασγῶν
Δύετο, Πηλιάδας δὲ παρεξήμειβον ἐρίπνας
Ἀλὲν

Digitized by Google

exact site of *Magnesia*. That it stood in that part of the peninsula, may be inferred from Herodotus, who evidently alludes to the cape of St. George or Promíri on the eastern shore, not far from Argalastí, and opposite to the island of Skiátho, when he speaks of the promontory of Magnesia[1], which by later authors was denominated Cape Sepias. As to the lines of Apollonius to which the Scholiast refers, nothing can be made of them in illustration of the ancient positions in *Magnesia*; for although the poet appears to describe a succession of objects along the coast after the Argonauts had begun their voyage, he was obviously ignorant or totally negligent of their order when he named Sepias before Magnesia, and placed Aphetæ the last of all, which appears evidently

Αἰὲν ἐπιπροθέοντες· ἔδυνε δὲ Σήπιας ἄκρη,
Φαίνετο δ' εἰναλίη Σκίαθος, φαίνοντο δ' ὄπωθεν
Πειρεσιαὶ, Μαγνησά θ' ὑπεύδιος ἠπείροιο
Ἀκτὴ καὶ τύμβος Δολοπήϊος ἔνθ' ἄρα τοίγε
Ἑσπέριοι ἀνέμοιο παλιμπνοίῃσιν ἔκελσαν
. . . . . .
. . . . . ἀτὰρ τριτάτῳ προέηκαν
Νῆα, τανυσσάμενοι περιώσιον ὑψόθι λαῖφος,
Τὴν δ' ἀκτὴν Ἀφέτας Ἀργοῦς ἔτι κικλήσκουσιν.

Apollon. l. 1, v. 580.

Μάγνησσα δὲ χώρα καὶ πόλις ὁμώνυμος παράλιος καὶ εὔδιος ἦγουν οὐ τραχεῖα.—Schol. ibid.

Ὁ δὲ Δόλοψ υἱὸς ἦν Ἑρμοῦ δς ἐν Μαγνήσσῃ τῇ πόλει τέθνηκε· καὶ τάφος ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ ὡς Κλέων ἐν ἀ τῶν Ἀργοναυτικῶν ἱστορεῖ.—Schol. ibid.

If this was the same Cleon of Sicily, cited by Scymnus of Chius, he lived before 100 B.C.

[1] Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι .... κάμψαντες δὲ τὴν ἄκρην τῆς Μαγνησίης ἰθείαν ἔπλεον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Παγασέων φέροντα. —Herodot. l. 7, c. 193.

Digitized by Google

from Herodotus to have been within, or at least in the entrance of the Gulf, and nearly opposite to Artemisium in Eubœa [1]. The ancient existence, however, of a Peiresiæ in this quarter seems confirmed by Stephanus, who distinguishes it from the Piresia or Asterium of Thessaly [2].

In the description given by Herodotus of the wreck of the fleet of Xerxes on the coast of Magnesia, he describes Sepias only as an ἀκτὴ or shore [3]. This agrees with the nature of the coast, which presents neither cape nor shelter to the north of Promíri, except at a small port named Tamúkhari, near some ruins which seem to indicate the site of *Casthanæa*, a town from which the chestnut, a tree still abounding on the eastern side of Mount *Pelium*, derived its appellation in Greek and the modern languages of Europe [4]. *Ipni* being described by the historian as ἐν Πηλίῳ, or at the foot of the mountain itself, was possibly at the little Skala of Zagorá. The ruins to the eastward of Nekhóri, may be those of *Rhizus;* for this place was one of the circumjacent towns which contributed their population to Demetrias on its foundation [5], and according to Scylax, Rhizus was not in the gulf but on the exterior shore [6]. From

[1] Herodot l. 7, c. 193 ; l. 8, c. 4. 6.

[2] Stephan. in Πειρασία, Ἀστέριον.

[3] Herodot. l. 7. c. 183. 188.

[4] Δυσπελέος καρύοιο, τὸ Καστανὶς ἔτρεφεν αἶα.
Nicand. Alexipharm. v. 271.
Etymol. Mag. in Καστανέα.

[5] The others were Nelia, Pagasæ, Ormenium, Sepias, Olizon, Bœbe, and Iolcus.—Strabo, p. 436.

[6] Ἔθνος δὲ Μαγνήτων παρὰ θάλατταν καὶ πόλεις αἵδε· Ἰωλκὸς, Μοθώνη, Κορακαὶ, Σπάλαθρα, Ὀλιζὼν καὶ λιμήν. Ἔξω

Digitized by Google

the same authority we may infer, that there was a town Sepias near the Cape. The district of the rugged *Olizon* having been opposite to *Artemisium* in *Eubœa*[1], seems to be thus identified with the peninsula of Trikhiri; and the town itself may perhaps have been situated upon the isthmus connecting that peninsula with the rest of *Magnesia*, and having on either side a harbour answering to the λιμὴν of Scylax. The numerous ancient names in a small compass of territory, proves this angle of Thessaly to have been densely populated, as it is at the present day; nor is it surprising that the fine shelter of the Gulf compared with the rugged and inhospitable nature of the ἀκτὰ ἀλίμενος Πηλίου[2] on the eastern side, which proved so fatal to the fleet of Xerxes, should have caused the inhabitants to prefer to the exterior shore, the vicinity of the Gulf, where it would seem that Mothone, Coracæ and Spalathra were situated.

Mount *Pelium* has two summits connected by a ridge below which is a deep ravine. The north-western summit, called Plessídhi, rises immediately above Portariá; to the southward of which, one hour and a half above Dhrákia, which lies between

δὲ τοῦ κόλπου Παγασητικοῦ, Μέλίβοια, Ῥιζοῦς, Εὐρυμναὶ, Μύραι.—Scylax in Μαγνῆτες.

[1] . . . . . καὶ Ὀλιζῶνα τρηχεῖαν.
Il. β. v. 717.

ἀντιτείνει δ' αὐτῷ (Artemisio sc.) μάλιστα τῆς ὑπὸ Φιλοκτήτῃ χώρας γενομένης Ὀλιζών.—Plutarch, in Themist. c. 8.

[2] Eurip. Alcest. v. 595.

Digitized by Google

the two tops, there is a fine cavern, commonly known by the name of the Cave of Achilles[1]: it is supposed to have been the place where Achilles was instructed by the Centaur Chiron; and in fact the situation accords exactly with the data of Homer and Dicæarchus[2], the latter of whom states, that in the same place there was a temple of Jupiter Actæus, to which it was the custom for many of the sons of the principal citizens selected by the priest to ascend at the rising of the dog-star, clothed with skins on account of the cold. Dicæarchus mentions also two rivers of Mount Pelium called Crausindon and Brychon. One of these is now named Zervókhia, and falls into the Gulf between Nekhóri and St. George.

The coincidence of modern opinion and ancient authority in the instance of the Cave of Achilles, led me to hope that I should find in this civilized corner of Thessaly some more sound learning and geographical criticism than is generally to be met with in Greece, but I was quickly undeceived on receiving a visit from some of the Archons of Volo, the leading personage of whom proceeded immediately in a manner not uncommon among learned Turks as well as Greeks, to pour forth his whole

[1] τὸ σπήλαιον τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως.

[2] Πηλιάδα μελίην, τὴν πατρὶ φίλῳ πόρε Χείρων
Πηλίου ἐκ κορυφῆς φόνον ἔμμεναι ἡρώεσσιν.
Il. Π. v. 143.

Ἐπ' ἄκρας δὲ τῆς τοῦ ὄρους κορυφῆς σπήλαιόν ἐστιν τὸ καλούμενον Χειρώνιον καὶ Διὸς Ἀκταίου ἱερόν.—Dicæarch. descript. Montis Pelii.

Digitized by Google

stock of knowledge without order or connection. He knew that the gulf was the ancient Πελάσγιος κόλπος; but the greater part of his information on the antiquities of this interesting angle of Greece was not a little at variance with received opinions: as coming from a native of *Iolcus*, however, it may be worth mentioning. The ship Argo, he assured me, conveyed Agamemnon from hence to the Trojan war, in company with Akhilléfs, a famous giant of this neighbourhood, whose armour weighed 500 okes; and who, after having introduced the wooden horse into Troy, was murdered in a bath. The ruins which I supposed to be those of *Pagasæ*, are the remains of Demetrion, a city built by the Genoese, and so named from an ancient monastery of St. Demetrius no longer existing. The ruined building near the theatre was a mill, and the δόντια, or teeth, which I took for the piers of a Roman aqueduct, were for the purpose of conveying water to the mill, though the declivity is in the contrary direction. On hearing this strange effusion, I began to suspect that Kyr ——— had been maliciously put forward by his companions, that he might make himself ridiculous; but their gravity showed that they placed implicit confidence in his erudition. The same learned gentleman afterwards conducted me to see an ancient sepulchral stone, which his zeal for the fine arts and veneration for the works of his ancestors has induced him to preserve by fixing it in the wall of the church, and then blackening the letters and ornamenting the stone with some figures in the modern Greek taste. The inscription on it is

Digitized by Google

Ἀρίστῳ Κλεοπάτρας [1], of which Cleopatra he knew nothing more than that he was a βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, or king of the Greeks. This certainly is not a happy specimen of modern *Magnesian* learning. But in truth the people of this favoured peninsula, although not inferior to the other Greeks in natural talent, have been slow in the encouragement of education, and have derived little advantage in this respect from their secure and retired situation. The priests Gregorius and Daniel, of Miliés, authors of a work in Romaic called "ἡ Γεωγραφία Νεωτερικὴ," or Modern Geography; and a third Miliote, named Anthimus Γαζῆς, who has lately edited Meletius, having in vain attempted to make their countrymen sensible of the importance of education, were obliged to seek a subsistence in civilized Europe which they were unable to obtain in their native peninsula. One of their projects was to establish a college or academy on the mountain, which would quickly have attracted the youth of every part of Greece. They had even procured a firmáhn from Sultán Selím, had obtained 800 purses, chiefly from some rich merchants settled in Europe, and had provided books and mathematical instruments, in all which they were greatly assisted by the Greek princes Ypsilánti and Demetrius Morúsi, the enlightened supporters of learning at Constantinople;

[1] This inscription, V. No. 200, is an example of the Macedonian custom of describing a person in some particular cases by the mother's name instead of the father's; it was, therefore, brought probably from the ruins of Demetrias, which was a Macedonian city.

Digitized by Google

but a dispute having arisen in *Magnesia* respecting the town in which the academy was to be established, Makrinítza having claimed a right of preference which others contested, the principal persons on the mountain giving no encouragement to the measure, and the two Greek princes falling into disgrace at Constantinople, the project fell to the ground, soon after which the promoters of it retired into Christendom. There are now five schools on the mountain for teaching Hellenic; at Makrinítza, Dhrákia, Portariá, Zagorá, and Miliés. That of Makrinítza has generally about thirty scholars, a few of whom advance as far as Thucydides and Homer, the rest not beyond Æsop. When a little more instruction is thought desirable, the young men are sent to Constantinople. It is to be lamented that education has not met with better encouragement in this privileged and sequestered point in the centre of Greece; as it would soon have attracted many educated men as teachers or residents, and would have improved the native manners of the *Magnesian* peninsula, rendering it a centre of civilization and instruction for the Greeks, and ultimately for the other Christians of European Turkey. The Turkish government is no obstacle to such a proceeding, being too blind or too careless of distant consequences to oppose the education of its Christian subjects, and rather pleased perhaps to see them engaged in such peaceful pursuits, though in the end they may be the most formidable of any to the Ottoman power.

Mukhtár Pashá has purchased the customs of

Digitized by Google

Volo this year for 200 purses. In favourable years it is supposed that they yield twice as much; for the collectors, under one pretext or another, raise the duty from five per cent. to ten, and are great gainers by the clandestine exportation of grain, which is forbidden to all but the agents of the Porte, who only pay a fee of fifty piastres upon the lading of a ship. Rice from Egypt and Zitúni, and alum from the mines near Makri in Asia Minor, for the use of the dyers of *Thessaly* and *Macedonia*, are exempt from duty on importation.

Of the twenty-four villages of Mount *Pelium*, none but Argalastí, Nekhóri, and Lekhónia, grow corn sufficient for their consumption; but all the lower part of the peninsula abounds in wine, silk, oil, cotton, pulse, oranges, fruits, and all the varied productions of the maritime climate of Greece. Those of the higher villages are almost confined to silk, wine, honey, and horticultural produce: none of them have many flocks or cattle. Volo and Makrinítza owning a part of the plain at the head of the Gulf, possess corn land in that situation; and the same towns, together with Portariá and Lekhónia, have some olive-trees on the heights. The lands of Makrinítza and Portariá produce a sufficiency of oil to admit of the sale of a small quantity in the alternate years. In all the higher villages silk is the staff of life; with this they procure provisions from *Thessaly*, enjoying plenty when there is a good crop of silk, and the reverse when the season is unfavourable. It is reckoned that landed property pays a fourth of its produce in taxes;

Digitized by Google

and in case of dearth, as in the present year, there are many examples of severe distress on the mountain. Still they consider themselves fortunate in their privileges, in the protection which they enjoy from the unchecked extortion of provincial governors, and particularly in their exemption from the quartering of soldiers and the visits of Albanians. But they make a foolish use of their advantages. Internal discord divides every village into parties; a similar jealousy prevails between the principal towns, and each of them strives by bribery, intrigue, and the interest of their patrons at Constantinople, to injure its particular rival or adversary. The Turks are of course enriched, and the Greeks impoverished by these quarrels.

Capital crimes are rare; when they occur, the cognizance of them is referred to Constantinople if the parties concerned belong to the Vakúfs. Among the others all causes not settled by the elders are tried by the Kadý of the kazá in which the village is inscribed, and at which it is assessed for the imperial taxes.

There are six or eight hundred looms in the mountain for the manufacture of narrow silken or mixed stuffs or towels; but the greater part of these fabrics belong to strangers from Aghiá, Ambelákia, or Túrnavo. Silken articles of a smaller kind, such as cords, girdles, and purses, are made by the women in some of the towns, particularly Volo, Makrinítza, and Portariá. The men work in leather, and make shoes, sacks, and valises. A weaver may earn 50 or 60 parás a

Digitized by Google

day: a day labourer in the vineyards, olive and mulberry plantations, 30 parás, with bread, wine, and meat. The reapers in time of harvest in the plain receive 50 parás, with provision. Last year the deficiency of wheat was supplied at the rate of 16 piastres for the kará-kilo of 150 okes, for which they now pay 45 piastres. Goat's flesh is the meat chiefly in use, and is commonly 20 parás the oke; beef 8 parás; buffalo 6 parás; wine from 5 to 7 parás. The *Magnesians*, like the inhabitants of the coasts of Greece in general, derive little resource from the fish with which their seas abound. The women wear a cloth jacket, with a head-dress the most ungraceful that can well be imagined.

I shall here subjoin an enumeration of the villages of the *Magnesian* peninsula, assisted by the work of Daniel and Gregory, to which I before alluded. Beginning from the southern extremity, or isthmus of Tríkeri, the first village that occurs is Lafko [1], then Promíri [2], and Argalastí [3]. Promíri received its name probably from its proximity to the *Magnesian* promontory now Cape St. George; Argalastí is at no great distance from a bay of the *Pagasetic* gulf. The territory of the latter extends quite across the peninsula, and the town was formerly the chief place of the fourteen villages which are Vakúfia, but has been superseded in this dignity by Makrinítza. It contains between four and five hundred houses. Lafko and Promíri are also enrolled among the

[1] Λαῦκος. [2] Προμίρι. [3] Ἀργαλαστή.

Digitized by Google

Vakúfia. Nekhóri[1], another town of the lower peninsula, four hours distant from Argalastí, to the N.W., has, like that town, a district stretching from sea to sea. It contains, with an outlying makhalá, 280 houses. Three hours to the N.W. of it is Miliés[2], a town of 300 houses, which, although standing on the southern extremity of the mountain towards the gulf, has lands extending to the outer sea, near which it has also a large makhalá called Própando[3]. Nekhóri, Miliés, and Portariá, are the principal khásia, or villages which not being vakúfs belong to one or other of the kazás of Thessaly, of which the imperial revenue is sold every year at Constantinople, generally to some bey of Lárissa. Above Miliés is Vyzítza, then farther westward Pinakátes and St. George[4]; the lands of the latter reach to the gulf, and border upon those of St. Laurence[5], beyond which stand Dhrákia, Portariá, and Makrinítza[6], in that order, encircling the summit of the mountain on the western side.

Lekhónia is below St. Laurence, and possesses the largest plain in the peninsula: Volo lies just below Portariá and Makrinítza. The latter, with its makhaládhes, contains about 1200 houses, Volo 700, Portariá 700, Dhrákia 600, St. George, St. Laurence, and Lekhónia, about 400 each, Vyzítza and Pinakátes 100 each. Of the towns

[1] Νεχώρι.
[2] Μηλιαίς.
[3] Πρόπαντος.
[4] Βυζίτζα, Πινακάταις, Ἅγιος Γεώργιος.
[5] Ἅγιος Λαυρέντιος.
[6] Δράκια, Πορταριὰ, Μακρινίτζα.

Digitized by Google

on the eastern face of the mountain, the chief is Zagorá, from which the whole peninsula is often called Zagorá, and its inhabitants Zagoréi [1]. Zagorá stands immediately below the summit of *Pelium* on the eastern side, and contains 500 houses divided into four makhalás, situated amidst gardens, and dispersed in a forest of chestnut trees, mixed with some oaks and planes, above which, towards the summit of the mountain is a forest of beeches [2]. On the shore below the town is a small port named Khoreftó [3]. Zagorá produces no corn, and only a small quantity of oil and figs, but has some gardens of oranges and other fruits near the sea. It subsists almost entirely by foreign trade, by silk

[1] Ζαγορὰ, Ζαγοραῖοι.

[2] Besides these trees the Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον produces the elm and pine. The latter has been noticed by Ennius, Ovid, and Dicæarchus. The last author remarks the prevalence of the beech, and has also made mention of the sycamore, the cypress, the juniper, and a tree named ζυγία. Valerius Flaccus speaks of the ashes, of which I have not seen many:

> Utinam ne in nemore Pelio securibus
> Cæsa cecidisset abiegna ad terram trabes.
>
> Enn. Medea, v. 1.

> Pelion Hæmoniæ mons est obversus in Austros,
> Summa virent pinu, cætera quercus habet.
>
> Ovid. Fast. l. 5, v. 381.

Πλείστην δ' ὀξύην ἔχει καὶ ἐλάτην, σφένδαμνόν τε καὶ ζυγίαν, ἔτι δὲ κυπάρισσον καὶ κέδρον.—Dicæarch. de Mont. Pel.

> Jamque fretis summas æquatum Pelion ornos.
>
> Val. Flac. l. 2, v. 6.

[3] Χυρευτόν.

Digitized by Google

which is made in every house, and by the manufacture of skutiá, or cloth for capots: 2000 okes of raw silk are the annual produce, and 50,000 peeks of skutiá, which sell for 5 piastres the peek; and after the operation of fulling, or washing, quadruple the value of the raw material. The fulling is performed, as in Mount *Pindus*, by simply placing the cloth for several days under a torrent of water falling perpendicularly, which makes the cloth shrink and become thick. Almost all the male inhabitants reside abroad during some part of their lives, in the pursuit of commerce, and such is the effect of this industry, that Zagorá without any natural means has become the richest of all the villages of the mountain, as the superior comfort of its houses testifies. The principal makhalá, which is called St. Saviour[1], from a large church which it contains, has a school, the oldest in the peninsula, and a library founded by a native named John Prinko, who made his fortune as a merchant in Holland. The other towns on the eastern side of the mountain stand in the following order to the southward of Zagorá: — Makriarákhi, Anílio, Kissós, Múrisi, Tzangarádha[2], next to which is Própando, the before mentioned makhalá of Miliés. To the north of Zagorá is Porí. All these towns are vakúfia, and to this advantage the development of their industry is in great measure to be ascribed. They are all employed in the manufacture of

[1] Ἅγιος Σωτῆρας.

[2] Μακριαράχι, Ἀνήλιον, Κισσὸς, Μούρισι, Τζαγγαράδα.

Digitized by Google

skutiá. It appears from the authors of the "Geography," that there are not less than 7000 houses in the twenty-four villages of the mountain, and as many of these are inhabited by more than one family, and Greek families are seldom small, the whole population of the mountain cannot be computed at less than 45,000.

Tríkeri, called Bulbúlje by the Turks, contains three or four hundred houses, constructed in the same manner as those of the district of Volo, and situated on the summit of a high hill at the eastern entrance of the gulf. The people live entirely by the sea; some of the poorer classes, as well as many of those in the southern villages of the *Magnesian* peninsula, cut sponges and catch starfish. The others are sailors, ship or boat-builders, and traders. The highest rank are ship-owners, or captains of ships. The richest lend money at a high interest upon maritime traffic, or make advances upon bills drawn upon Constantinople, where the cargoes which are chiefly of corn are generally sold. The Trikeriótes usually fit out their ventures in the same manner as the people of Ydhra, Spétzia, Poro, and many other maritime towns; that is to say, the owner, captain, and sailors, all have shares in the ship and cargo, the sailors generally sharing a half among them, which is in lieu of all other demands. During the scarcity of corn in France at the beginning of the Revolution a sailor's share for the voyage amounted sometimes to three purses, which at that time was equivalent to 150*l.* sterling.

Digitized by Google

The peninsula of Tríkeri produces nothing but wood; this is brought to town by the women, who perform all the household work; while the men are employed entirely in maritime concerns. The women of some of the other towns of *Magnesia* are equally laborious, but it is said that none are to be compared with the Trikeriótes for strength, and for the enormous burthens of wood which they bring into the town spinning cotton all the way. Tríkeri, although on the main land, is included in the Kapitán Pashá's government of the islands, and White Sea, as the Turks call the *Ægæan*, and receives its orders from his interpreter, one of the four great Greek officers of the Porte. This arose from the circumstance of the old town having been on the island of Tríkeri, the ancient Cicynnethus [1], from whence they were driven by the pirates.

In the south-eastern angle of the gulf, which was probably the harbour of the city of the *Magnetes*, is a long narrow island named Alatá, which produces olives, corn, and vines. To the westward of it is a smaller island bearing olives, named Prassúdha. On each of them is a monastery. The lofty summit now called Bardjóia [2], which occupies all the eastern portion of the peninsula of Tríkeri, was probably the Mount *Tisæum* of *Magnesia*, on which stood a temple of Diana [3], and from which, in the

[1] Scylax in Θεσσαλία.—Artemidorus ap. Strabon. p. 436.—Pomp. Mel. l. 2, c. 7.—Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 12.

[2] Μπαρτζώγια.

[3] Apollon. Rhod. l. 1, v. 568. Orphic. v. 462. Valer. Fl. l. 2, v. 6.

Digitized by Google

year 207 B.C., Philip, son of Demetrius, communicated by torches with other stations in Phocis, Eubœa, and Peparethus, for the purpose of obtaining immediate knowledge of the movements of the Roman fleet[1]. The western portion of the *Tisæan* peninsula, on which the town of Trikeri is situated, appears to have been known as the promontory *Æanteium*, and Ptolemy gives reason to believe that there was a town of the same name[2]. Either the modern harbour of Trikeri, or that between the island of Paleá Trikeri and the main was the ancient Aphetæ, so called as having been the place from whence Jason took his departure for Colchis. There seems at least no other situation in which *Aphetæ* can be placed, so as to accord with the narrative of Herodotus in describing the transactions which preceded or accompanied the battle of Artemisium, when the Greeks occupied the latter bay, and the Persians that of Aphetæ[3].

Dec. 19.—The southerly winds, which have prevailed since I left Ioánnina, with the exception of two or three days at Férsala, and again two between Ftelió and Volo, when it blew from the north-east, have had the effect of covering the interior plains with fog or a light rain more fre-

[1] Polyb. l. 10, c. 42.—Liv. l. 28, c. 5.

[2] Ptolem. l. 3, c. 13.

[3] Herodot. l. 7, c. 193; l. 8, c. 4.—In illustration of this question, see a memoir on the Demi of Attica, in the transactions of the R. S. of Literature, vol. i. p. 244.

Digitized by Google

quently than with a heavy rain. On the coast the same kind of mist or fine rain has occurred occasionally, but without any fog, which has been confined to the basin of Thessaly. So marked is this difference between the sea-coast and the interior, that a fog has been visible from Volo for the last three days (and I am assured it is a common occurrence in winter) resting upon the heights of St. George, which separate the maritime plain of Volo from that of Velestíno, and giving to the country beyond that ridge the appearance of a boundless lake. The coast meantime has generally enjoyed a bright sky, with the temperature of a fine English April. The difference of climate between *Magnesia* and inner *Thessaly* is shown by the olive, which abounds in the former, but in the latter exists only in one or two very sheltered places; for instance, under the great natural south-wall of Kalabáka.

From Volo I proceed to Sesklo in an hour and 30 minutes, leaving to the left in succession the castle of Volo, the rocky mountain on which are the northern walls of *Pagasæ*, and at the foot of the same range a small village called the Kalývia of Volo, beyond which we ascend some heights connected with the north-western side of the mountain of *Pagasæ* to Sesklo [1]. This village contains fifty houses, and the ruins of many others. The inhabitants complain bitterly of the continual passage of Albanians, which they feel the more, both

[1] Σέσκλος, Σιέσκλος, vulgarly pronounced Sheskló.

Digitized by Google

positively and comparatively, in consequence of the exemption of their neighbours of Mount *Pelium* from this most tormenting of all the oppressions to which the Christians of this empire are subject. An Ioannite Greek, on a mission from Alý Pashá, is now residing at Sesklo, not venturing to remain among the Turks of Kastro, whose hatred and jealousy of Alý might easily tempt them to ill-treat a Christian agent of his, especially as they are countenanced at this moment by the Istiradjí, or officer of the Porte, who is charged with the collection and export of *Thessalian* corn, and who is specially instructed to counteract Alý's encroachments in this angle of Rumilí, and to supply the government with accurate reports of his proceedings.

A little below Sesklo is an eminence covered with stones, which has much the appearance of an ancient site, though without any actual traces of walls. It may possibly be the site of *Æsone*, or *Æsonia*, which was evidently in this vicinity, having been so called from Æson, who was father of Jason of Iolcus, and whose name is coupled in the Odyssey with that of Pheres, the founder of Pheræ. Nor could it have been much farther than this place from Mount *Pelium*, as it was considered a Magnesian town, and is named by Apollonius in the same verse with Pagasæ, which was also a Magnesian city [1].

[1] Αἴσονά τ' ἠδὲ Φέρητ' Ἀμυθάονά θ' ἱπποχάρμην.
Od. Λ. v. 258.

Κλεθ-

Dec. 20.— From Sesklo to Gherelí 3 hours 50 min. The morning was clear and warm, with a breeze from the sea; but in less than half an hour after entering the foggy region the air became cold, and so damp that our clothes were soon covered with drops of water. In 1 hour 20 min. we arrive at St. George, a considerable village, situated on the range of heights which connect those near the sea coast with the mountain of Velestíno. There is a copious source of water in the village. The lands produce corn and silk. The women manufacture ropes and bags of goat's hair, and spin cotton as in all the *Thessalian* villages. From thence we descend into the plain of Velestíno, and in less than half an hour leave that town two miles on the left, passing at the same time close to an artificial height which is low with a broad base, and is situated between two others having the usual size and shape of barrows. They form a direct line across the narrowest part of the plain

Κλῦθι ἄναξ Παγασάς τε πόλιν τ' Αἰσωσίδα ναίων
Ἡμετέροιο τοκῆος ἐπώνυμον (Jason loquitur).

Apollon. l. 1, v. 411.

Αἰσωνὶς δὲ πόλις Μαγνησίας ἀπὸ Αἴσωνος τοῦ πατρὸς Ἰάσονος, ὡς καὶ Πίνδαρος ἱστορεῖ.— Schol. ibid.

. . . . . ἔνθα περ ἀκταὶ
Κλείονται Παγασαὶ Μαγνήτιδες.

Apollon. l. 1, v. 237.

Stephanus distinguishes Αἰξωνία of Magnesia from Αἴσων of Thessaly, which received its name from the father of Jason, in which he is supported by the Etymologicum (in iisdem voc.) but this seems to be an error arising from the situation of Æsonia, on the extreme borders of Magnesia, towards the Pheræa of Thessaliotis.

Digitized by Google

between Velestíno and the last heights of the *Pelian* range. A little farther we pass a rising ground, and beyond it another, both strewed with numerous fragments of marble and stones, the remains of ancient habitations. At the end of an hour and a quarter from St. George, we pass close to the right of the village of Rizómylo (rice mill) by the Turks called Dinghi, and at an equal distance from thence arrive at Gherelí; midway Hadjímes, a Turkish tjiftlík of fifty Greek houses, is a mile to the right; the whole interval between these villages is an uninclosed plain of nascent corn. The soil resembles that around Lárissa, being light and easily wrought with the plough: in good seasons it yields ten or twelve to one in wheat, but is said to require more moisture than *Upper Thessaly* or the *Larissæan* plain.

Gherelí belongs to the family of Mustafá Pashá of Lárissa, whom I remember as Pashá of the Moréa, and who died in Bosnia, of which he latterly had the government. The Sultán, who according to the Turkish laws was heir to his property, gave it up to the family without any deduction.

Many squared stones of ancient fabric are observable at Gherelí, and some sori, roughly formed out of a single block of stone. They have all been brought from a magúla or height covered with remains of ancient buildings, a mile or two to the westward, at the foot of the ridge of hills called Karadágh, or Mavrovúni, whither it has been the custom from time immemorial for the neighbouring

Digitized by Google

villagers to resort for building materials. Wrought stones and sori brought from thence are to be seen in many parts of the surrounding plain, the former encircling the wells, and the latter serving as water troughs.

An old Hadjí, who is master of my konák at Gherelí, and Subashí of the village, which is inhabited by Greek labourers, remembers many sepulchres to have been opened at the Magúla; and once, a small coin to have been taken from between the teeth of a skeleton. An inscribed marble, which is now at Gherelí, was brought probably from the same place; the letters are unfortunately so much obliterated as to be quite illegible.

Dec. 21.—From Gherelí to Aghiá five hours; Kastrí, a place mentioned on my second *Thessalian* tour[1], is exactly half way. Quitting Gherelí at 4.25, Turkish, we leave, in fifteen minutes, Kililér at the foot of the hills one mile and a half on the left: at 5.5 pass between the two small villages of Buragán and Alufadá, the latter to the right; then passing a little to the right of Hadjóbashi, leave, at 5.30, on the same side, Sakalár, a little beyond which is a large tumulus, with some other small artificial heights near it. So far, this fertile plain is well cultivated; but at 6 the land becomes marshy, and a quarter of an hour farther covered with water. This inundation follows the western foot of the *Pelian* range. In spring, when the Salamvría is swollen by the

[1] See Vol. III. p. 373.

Digitized by Google

melted snow of the mountains surrounding *Thessaly*, a channel situated at a short distance below Lárissa conducts the superfluous waters into the Karatjaír or Μαυρολίμνη, the ancient Nessonis. As soon as this basin is filled, the Asmák (in Greek Asmáki) conveys the waters to the lake of Karla, which, with the exception of some torrents falling into it from the northern and western sides of Mount *Pelium*, is entirely thus formed. The river not having overflowed last year, the Karla is now low, and there is not much water in the intermediate marsh, compared with its state in ordinary seasons. But the Asmák always contains some deep pools near Karalár, as I witnessed when crossing it on the 17th of December, 1806. The vulgar assert that it has no bottom; and that the fish of the lake of Karla, which are very numerous in favourable seasons, are all bred in the Asmák, and are carried into the lake by the καταβασιὰ, or descent of the Salamvría. This may be partly true; but the Asmák is so inconsiderable in very dry seasons, that the lake *Nessonis* and the river itself are probably the chief breeding places. At 6.30, having crossed the marsh, we arrive at the foot of the *Pelian* range, about two miles to the northward of a large Greek village called Kukuráva, and follow the foot of the hills, which consist for the most part of a bare calcareous rock, to Kastrí. This is a ruinous village belonging to Velý Pashá, and derives its name from the walls of an ancient city inclosing the face of the hill at the foot of which the village

Digitized by Google

stands. The position is such as the ancient Greeks frequently chose, being a rocky height on the edge of a plain, with a copious source of water at its foot, separated by a hollow from the main body of the mountain, defended on one side by precipices and on the other by a ravine and torrent. The spring at Kastrí recommended the situation the more from its vicinity to a thirsty plain, where the only supply of water in summer is from wells. It issues from the foot of a rock which forms the foundation of a large tower. This tower and all the remaining walls, although consisting of small rude stones and mortar, mixed with broken tiles, are of very solid construction. They are remarkable for having many square perforations through the entire thickness. The plan of the fortification is similar to that at Gritziáno, excepting that here the flank defence is obtained by semi-circular towers and redans, whereas at Gritziáno the towers are rectangular, like those commonly used in Hellenic works. The lower front of Kastrí, being the weakest side, was protected by an outer wall or counterscarp. Not a vestige of any building remains within the inclosure except an ancient church. In some parts the walls are almost complete, in others they are ruined to the foundations. The circumference is about a mile.

The Proestós of Kastrí has preserved a sepulchral inscription which he found on the outside of the ancient walls. The characters are evidently of the best times, but too much defaced for copy-

Digitized by Google

ing. Among the ruins of a small building in some vineyards on the southern side of the village, lies another inscribed stone in characters of a much later date, and remarkable for having the sigma turned in a direction opposite to the accustomed—a fashion which seems to mark the period when Magnesia, comprehending all Pelium and Ossa, was a province of Macedonia, and Demetrias its chief town[1]. This inscription is complete, and signifies that Hellenocrates, who had held the office of purveyor of corn, had erected the stone as a boundary in a road called Hecatompedus[2]. Ancient coins are said to be very commonly found within the paleókastro and in the adjacent fields, but none of the villagers have any at present. When they happen to find a coin of silver, they take the first opportunity of disposing of it to some χρυσικὸς, or goldsmith, at Aghiá or Lárissa, who may perhaps melt it, if he has not an opportunity of disposing of it to advantage to some itinerant Frank, or of sending it to a correspondent at Constantinople. In Thessaly, as in Macedonia, coins of copper are found in abundance on the ancient sites, and are generally sold by the peasants, when a sufficient number of them has been collected, to the workers in that metal, who most frequently convert them into cooking utensils.

The occurrence of inscriptions and coins at Kastrí is deserving of notice, as proving that the ruins, although the masonry bears no resem-

[1] Strabo, p. 436.

[2] Ἑλλανοκράτης σειτσταμιεύσας ὁδῷ Ἑκατομπέδῳ τέρμονα. —V. Inscription, No. 204.

Digitized by Google

blance to the southern Hellenic, are really of those times, and thus confirming the opinion which I formed of the similar constructions at Dhamási, Gritziáno, and several other places in Thessaly, where, as at Kastrí, few if any wrought masses of stone are to be seen; but where the position, the mode of occupying the ground, and the general construction sufficiently resemble the undoubted Hellenic to show that they are works of the same people. Indeed, since the time of the early Roman Empire, Thessaly has never been sufficiently tranquil, opulent, or populous, to require or to execute fortifications so extensive and so numerous.

From Kastrí we follow for upwards of a mile along the foot of the mountain the vestiges of an ancient wall, obviously intended as a protection to the road from the encroachments of the marsh: it was constructed of solid masonry, and is probably the ὁδὸς ἑκατόμπεδος, or road of a hundred feet, mentioned in the inscription.

In thirty-five minutes we pass through Plessiá, a small tjiftlík-village, and then turn the angle of the hills which form the southern side of the entrance into the valley which branches eastward from the great *Larissæan* plain, and extends to Dugán, Dhésiani, and Aghiá. An insulated eminence which rises from the plain between Plessiá and the foot of Mount *Ossa*, but nearer to the latter, has apparently been the site of an ancient *come*, as well from the form of the ground as from numerous vestiges of walls on the slope and around the brow of the height. The valley into which we

Digitized by Google

now enter presents a pleasant contrast to the immense naked plains which we have left, and which, although as well cultivated as any in Greece, are less remarkable for beauty than for the grandeur derived from their great extent and their noble horizon of mountains. Scarcely a tree is to be met with between Férsala or Velestíno and Lárissa. The valley of Dhésiani, on the contrary, is enlivened by a rivulet which flows to the Asmáki, and is shaded in some places by majestic plane-trees, in others by the oleander, lentisk, and agnus castus. The villages on the including heights of *Ossa* and *Pelium*, as well as those in the valley, are surrounded by mulberry plantations, vineyards, and fields of corn, which is just above ground: in the lowest levels the land is prepared for maize. To the left the snowy peak of Kíssavo surmounts lower heights well covered with a variety of trees: on the right the northern summit of Mount *Pelium*, less elevated, but having a small quantity of snow upon it, is clothed in this part almost entirely with oaks. The only modern name I can learn for this northern extremity of the *Pelian* ridges is Mavrovúni, which is hardly a distinction, being, as I before mentioned, attached to the heights north-west of Velestíno, as well as to another mountain near Petrinó.

At the end of thirty-five minutes from Plessiá, having followed generally the left bank of the rivulet, we cross it and pass through Dugán, which contains one mosque, a few Turkish houses, and about 100 Greek. A height on the opposite side of the stream seems by its appearance of art

Digitized by Google

to indicate an ancient site. Twenty-five minutes farther is Dhésiani, of the same size as Dugán, and consisting entirely of Greek houses, with the exception of a serái belonging to Velý Pashá, who has lately converted this formerly free village into a tjiftlík. The serái has a garden, in which is a large square tank with a kiosk in the centre, surrounded by a square inclosure regularly planted with young fruit-trees. Besides this house, Velý possesses two others in Thessaly, one at Tríkkala, the other at Misdáni in the Trikkaline plain; but they are now both neglected, while this is in tolerable order. Some fine groves of planes border the rivulet a little beyond Dhésiani. Soon afterwards we arrive in sight of Aghiá, which stands on the foot of Mount *Ossa*, and half an hour before sunset arrive in the middle of the town at the end of a fifty minutes' ride from Dhésiani.

Soon after my arrival, a formal visit from the *Tagi* of Aghiá, now entitled the Γέροντες or elders, is interrupted by the chimney catching fire—an accident that seemed alarming, as the house is chiefly of wood, and the fire burnt for some time with great fury; my visitors, however, considering it a matter of no consequence, or rather as a convenient substitute for sweeping, our discourse proceeds uninterrupted by the roaring flames. Aghiá, which has now about 500 families, is said to have been considerably more populous before it fell into the hands of Alý Pashá. It was then governed by a vóivoda appointed by the Sultana, to whom its revenue is assigned; and it enjoyed, as well as several other places in this neighbourhood simi-

Digitized by Google

larly protected, among which the principal are Thanátu, Karítza, and Rápsiani, all now in the hands of Alý Pasha, the same advantages as the towns in the southern part of *Magnesia*. The upper classes at Aghiá live upon the produce of their corn-fields and vineyards, or the culture of silk, and the manufacture of stuffs made of silk, called fitília, or of silk and cotton mixed, named aladjá, and of cotton towels. Out of 100 workshops, some of which have two looms, the cotton towels employ twenty. The fitília are about twenty-five feet long; those called kaftanlík for making kaftáns rather longer. The width is two feet, which is the usual breadth of a *Thessalian* loom. The measures in use at Aghiá for their stuffs are a rupi, which is the breadth of the hand including the thumb: eight rúpia make an endízia. A weaver earns forty parás a day. Labourers in the vineyards and mulberry grounds, and in the fields of corn and kalambókki receive twenty-five parás, and in the summer forty with provision; in the plain of Lárissa sixty.

Aghiá had begun to share in the commerce of dyed cotton thread with Germany, by which Ambelákia and Rápsiani have arisen to eminence, but the interruption caused by the war between Russia and the Porte, which has so much injured those two towns, has at Aghiá almost annihilated the traffic with Germany. Enjoying a better soil and richer territory than Ambelákia and Rápsiani, it would have had a great advantage over those places had it not been more exposed by its situa-

Digitized by Google

tion to Albanian extortion. It is now 22 years since Alý first entered it as Dervént Agá; but it was not till a few years ago that he bought the malikhiané or farm for life from the Porte. He has been greatly assisted in his avaricious projects by the factious spirit of the inhabitants. By alternately encouraging each of the taráfia, or parties into which the place is divided, and by readily listening to their mutual accusations, he derives profit from every new complaint, and renders his power more secure in this quarter. At present the town is divided between the parties of two brothers, Alexis and George. The latter had held the post of hodjá-bashi, and having been regular in his half-yearly visits to Ioánnina with the aladják, or collective payments from the town, accompanied by a present from himself, he had enjoyed for many years the undisturbed possession of a great part of his private property, together with the chief municipal power. In 1807 Mukhtár Pashá coming into *Thessaly* in pursuit of the rebel Papa Evtímios, listened to the persuasions of Alexis, who finding all other modes insufficient, openly accused his brother of having been in league with an Albanian Bolu-báshi, who is the Dervént Agá's agent at Aghiá, to favour the flight of the bishop's niece, who had run away with one of the deacons; and of having received a bribe to connive at the elopement. In consequence of this accusation, both brothers were sent for to Ioánnina, and have not yet been allowed to return home, though they have made great pecuniary sacrifices, both to the Vezír and to Mukhtár Pashá, and

Digitized by Google

though Alý has at length declared himself satisfied that George had no share in the elopement. George's son, who had been at Vienna for his education, had not been twelve days in Aghiá before the opposite taráfi accused him of having taken upon himself to act as a Ghérondas, and of having raised money in that capacity without authority. He was forthwith sent for to Ioánnina, where he still remains. Besides the brothers, some other branches of the family, to the amount of twelve or fourteen, are now there. The heads of the other chief houses are in Germany, so that the wife of Kyr Ghiorghi seems now to be considered the chief person at Aghiá.

Dec. 23.—The houses of Aghiá are pleasantly dispersed among beeches, walnut-trees, oaks, planes, cypresses, mulberry plantations, vineyards, and gardens. The part of *Ossa* which rises immediately to the northward is chiefly covered with beeches. Chestnut, oak, and ilex, are the trees most common on the opposite slopes of *Pelium*. The only deficiency in this beautiful situation is that of a view of the sea, of which, although only a few miles distant, it is deprived by a ridge, noticed by Herodotus, which closes the valley of Dhésiani, and unites the last falls of *Ossa* and *Pelium*[1]. To the eastward this ridge falls to another valley, terminating in a wide κόλπος, or gulf, bounded to the northward

[1] Τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς (Θεσσαλίης) πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ ἔχοντα, τό τε Πήλιον οὖρος καὶ ἡ Ὄσσα ἀποκληίει, συμμίσγοντα τὰς ὑπωρείας ἀλλήλοισι.—Herodot. l. 7, c. 129.

Digitized by Google

by Cape Kíssavo, on the coast of *Ossa*, and to the southward by a projection of the *Pelian* range, between Porí and Zagorá. Although the retreat of the coast is so small, compared with its extent, that it has not at present any specific name as a gulf, there can be no doubt of its identity with that which Strabo names the gulf of Melibœa, since besides his clear description of it, as lying between Pelium and Ossa, he has accurately assigned to it a length of 200 stades, and to the sea-coast of either mountain 80 stades [1].

Between Aghiá and the sea, a central position in the connecting heights, at the western extremity of the maritime valley, was occupied by an ancient fortress, or small fortified town. The walls are constructed, like those at Kastrí, of broken tiles and small stones, with a large proportion of mortar; and they are of the same thickness, or about nine feet, but their state of preservation is very different. On the north in particular, they are scarcely traceable; but the hill is here so precipitous, that a slight defence was perhaps thought sufficient. All this end of the height is surrounded by the bed of a torrent, which descends from Kíssavo, and having been joined just below the Paleókastro by another from Mavrovúni, or *Pelium*, flows through the valley above mentioned to the *Melibœan* gulf. The ruined

[1] Τραχὺς δ' ἐστιν ὁ παράπλους πᾶς ὁ τοῦ Πηλίου, ὅσον σταδίων ὀγδοήκοντα· τοσοῦτος δὲ καὶ τοιοῦτος καὶ ὁ τῆς Ὄσσης. Μεταξὺ δὲ κόλπος πλειόνων ἢ διακοσίων σταδίων, ἐν ᾧ ἡ Μελίβοια.—Strabo, p. 443.

Digitized by Google

walls are chiefly preserved towards the latter mountain, upon which, at the distance of a mile, is a small village named Askíti. The walls on this side cross a ridge which connects the height with that mountain; and here stands the only remaining tower, which is not semi-circular like those at Kastrí, but quadrangular. Within the ruined inclosure are the remains of a large cistern, and heaps of stones collected from the ruins of ancient habitations, together with some foundations composed of large irregular masses.

This position commands a fine view of Aghiá, of the valley which extends to the *Melibœan* gulf, and in the opposite direction, of that which contains Dugán, Dhésiani, and many smaller villages, as well as of the including mountains, *Ossa* and *Pelium*, and of the *Pelasgic* plain, beyond which rise the hills of Khassiá and Mount *Pindus*. On the side of *Ossa* is seen Nevolianí, in a lofty situation above Aghiá, and Selítzani, similarly situated above Aidinlí, which last is two or three miles north-west of Aghiá on a root of the mountain. At Aidinlí, Alý Pashá is now building a Tekiéh for his favourite Bektashlís. To the southward the view of the land is terminated by a steep bluff of Mount *Pelium*, between Porí and Zagorá, already mentioned as the southern extremity of the *Melibœan* gulf; beyond which, to the eastward, the view extends over the open sea between the cluster of islands to the north-east of Skópelo and the western shore of the peninsula of *Pallene*, which is twelve leagues distant. Behind the latter rises the highest part of the

Digitized by Google

Toronaic peninsula, and beyond it Mount Athos. To the northward of these appear the mountains of the *Chalcidice*, which terminate near Saloníki.

Returning from the Paleókastro, I visited a large ancient monastery, pleasantly situated in a wood of oaks a mile to the eastward of Aghiá, and commanding a partial view of the sea, but found no remains there of Hellenic antiquity.

A comparison of Livy and Strabo, the former of whom describes Melibœa as standing on the roots of Mount Ossa, and the latter as situated in the gulf between Ossa and Pelium [1], leave no doubt that it was near Aghiá. As Herodotus, Scylax, and Apollonius, describe it as a maritime town, and as the historian mentions it among those near which the ships of Xerxes were wrecked, it can hardly have been so far from the sea as the paleókastro of Askíti, which is three miles distant from the shore. These ruins moreover are not those of a town of sufficient importance for the capital of Philoctetes. *Melibœa* therefore I take to have stood at a place called Kastrí, not far beyond Dhematá, where now exists only a monastery of St. John Theologus. Above that situation, amidst a wood of beeches on the side of Mount *Ossa*, is Thanátu, a village of 400 houses, on the road from Aghiá to Karítza, producing chiefly wine and silk. Between Tha-

[1] Sita in radicibus Ossæ montis, quâ parte in Thessaliam vergit, opportunè imminens super Demetriadem.—Liv. l. 44, c. 13. Strabo, p. 443, v. sup. not. 1, p. 412.

Digitized by Google

nátu and Karítza there are said to be indications of another ancient site, at a spot where several large quadrangular blocks of stone are seen in the fields, below which is a ruin, vulgarly named the Tersaná, or mint, and another with arches, called ὁ παλαιὸς λουτρὸς, or the ancient bath.

Karítza stands in a steep and rugged position, a mile or two above the sea; it contains 150 families, who live chiefly by supplying Saloníki with wood. The land produces little but figs and grapes. Fterí, the port of Karítza, and the most frequented on this coast, is situated an hour to the north of Karítza, midway between Karítza and the mouth of the Salamvría on the edge of the maritime level, which with slight interruptions is continued as far as the great *Macedonian* plains at the head of the *Thermaic* gulf. Above Fterí on the lower part of Mount Kíssavo, is a convent of St. Demetrius, noted for its magnitude and antiquity. It stands perhaps on the site of *Homolium*. As to the ancient remains between Thanátu and Karítza, I am inclined to think they are those of *Eurymenæ*, which we know from several authorities to have been a town of the Magnesian coast[1]. Apollonius, indeed, seems opposed to this particular site, by naming Eurymenæ as if it were the nearest place to Tempe[2], but as he has evidently not been particular in introducing the names of the places

[1] Scylax in Μαγνῆτες.—Strabo, p. 443.—Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 9.—Hecatæus ap. Stephan. in Εὐρυμεναί.

[2] Apollon. l. 1, v. 597, vid. inf. p. 448.

Digitized by Google

on this coast in their exact order, his testimony is of little weight.

On the coast between Askíti and Porí, on the eastern face of Mount *Pelium*, are the following villages in succession, all situated about two miles above the sea shore, and about two hours asunder, with the exception of the first, which is only about half that distance from Askíti: their names are Polydhéndhri, Sklíthro, Keramídhi, Venéto, and Mintzéles, above which last is Kerasiá, and beyond it Porí. If *Melibœa* was near Aghiá, it becomes not improbable that the paleókastro of Askíti, or one of the villages just named, may have been the site of *Thaumacia*, one of the four cities whose ships in the Trojan war were commanded by Philoctetes[1], for Methone and Olizon were, according to Scylax, as before remarked, in the Pagasetic Gulf; Thaumacia, therefore, it is natural to suppose, was near the intermediate shore between those places and Melibœa. It is proper to observe that this Thaumacia is not to be confounded with the Thaumaci of Phthiotis, a place which either did not exist at the time of the Trojan expedition, or was included by Homer among the other unnamed towns of the dominions of Peleus. Myræ, according to Scylax, was another ancient town on the eastern shore of Magnesia[2]. Three ancient sepulchral inscriptions

[1] Οἱ δ' ἄρα Μηθώνην καὶ Θαυμακίην ἐνέμοντο,
Καὶ Μελίβοιαν ἔχον καὶ Ὀλιζῶνα τρηχεῖαν,
Τῶνδε Φιλοκτήτης ἦρχεν τόξων εὖ εἰδώς.
Il. B. v. 716.

[2] Scylax in Μαγνῆτες.

Digitized by Google

are preserved in the churches of Aghiá, brought probably from the site of *Melibœa;* one of these is a fragment, giving notice of a fine of 5000 denaria to be paid by any violator of the tomb to the ταμεῖον, or public chest of the city[1]—a number so large that we may infer a great depreciation of the denarius at the time of the inscription; the two others bear names only[2]: as to one of these, the remark occurs, that although it is evidently of a date when the Thessalians employed the patronymic adjective, the father's name is here expressed as generally in Greece by the second case[3]. Probably the Magnetes did not acknowledge themselves to be Thessalians.

[1] V. Inscription, No. 207.

[2] V. Inscriptions, Nos. 205, 206.

[3] Ἐρατὶς Κερκίωνος.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XLII.

THESSALIA.

Return to Kastrí—Kanália—Fishery of the lake of Karla, or *Bœbeis*—*Bœbe*—Káprena, *Glaphyræ*—*Orminium*—Velestíno, *Pheræ*—Mount *Chalcodonium*—Petra—*Lacereia*—*Amyrus*—*Dotian* and *Amyric* plains—*Cercinium*—*Armenium*—Gheremí—Suplí—*Scotussa*—Battle of *Cynoscephalæ*—Duvlatán—Tjanglí, *Eretria Phthiotis*—Ghenítzaro-khori—River *Enipeus*—*Melitæa*—*Coroneia*—*Erineium*—Mount *Narthacium*—*Pras*—*Thetidium*.

Dec. 24.—Dhésiani, to which I return this afternoon from Aghiá, was once evidently of more importance than it is at present, as it contains four ancient churches, two of which are large. In all of them are many squared blocks, brought from some neighbouring Hellenic site. One of these is the tomb-stone of a woman named Hermione[1]. In the pavement of the principal church are two handsome slabs of verd-antique, or at least of a species of green marble, of which I observed two similar pieces at Aghiá, one of them lying at a fountain.

Dec. 25.—Having returned by the same route to Kastrí, we follow the foot of the hills instead of recrossing the marsh, and in 35 minutes from Kastrí leave Kukuráva a mile and a half on the left, upon

[1] V. Inscription, No. 208.

Digitized by Google

the side of the mountain. Its mukatá being in the hands of Halíl Bey of Zitúni, it is now considered as belonging to the district of Zitúni. Halíl is the intended son-in-law of Velý Pashá. In 35 minutes more we halt at Abufaklár, a Koniaric village divided into two makhalás, and bearing the usual Turkish signs of poverty and ruin, though the inhabitants enjoy the double advantage of cultivating their own lands in a situation not to be molested by travellers or soldiers. But like their brethren of Asia Minor, these Turks seem to be satisfied with the bare necessaries of life, and to think that all beyond is unworthy of the labour of procuring it.

The calcareous rocky hills at the back of Abufaklár produce nothing but the prinokókki or shrubby holly-leaved oak. Towards the plain are some groves of large oaks and plane-trees near the village which give it a pleasant appearance, but the marsh is too near to be agreeable or wholesome. At 8, (Turkish time,) we prosecute our route over some rich corn land, and at 9.10 arrive at a projection of the mountain, beyond which it retires and forms the great *bay* or retreat of the *Pelian* range, which embraces the lake of Karla. To the right, or west, beyond the marsh, and opposite to the projecting point of the mountain, a very remarkable height rises like an island out of the plain. This hill, the foot of which is touched by the marsh when the inundation reaches its maximum, is about four miles in circumference, rocky in many parts, but no where lofty, and having two summits connected by a ridge: the southern is pointed, that

Digitized by Google

to the northward is more low and even. Between them, on the northern slope of the ridge, stands a Koniaric village named Petra: around the height some rocks rise out of the level, and two or three miles south-eastward is another detached height, smaller and lower than that of Petra, but similar to it, and forming at present an island in the lake of Karla. I have been the more particular in describing the hill of Petra, because it answers most remarkably to a position in the plain *Dotium*, described by Hesiod in a fragment of the Eœæ of that poet preserved by Strabo [1].

Having turned the projection, our route leads eastward along the foot of the hills, which consist of a bare rock, so rugged that it must be very difficult for any cattle to pass over the points when the inundation reaches to the rocks. These seem to be the Βοιβιάδος κρημνοὶ alluded to by Pindar [2]. At present there is a wide level, covered in some places with rushes, between the rocks and the edge of the water, which, as the lake is now reduced to a small compass, is at the distance of a mile to our right. In various places on the foot of the hills there are stone huts for the use of the agents of the person who farms the fishery of the lake from the Sultán. Opposite to each hut is a rough quay or jetty, made of loose stones, for the convenience of those who drag the nets. Approaching Kanália, I observe the villagers plough-

[1] Ap. Strabon. pp. 442. 647, et Schol. Pindar. Pyth. 3, v. 14.—Vide infra. p.

[2] Pindar Pyth. 3, v. 60.—Vide infra, p. 446.

Digitized by Google

ing the borders of the lake, attended, as in Egypt, by the Ghérondes or elders, who at seed-time, on the subsidence of the inundation, superintend the adjustment of the boundaries of the fields. Their award admits of no appeal. The soil is excellent; but if the water rises beyond the usual extent, the peasant may lose his seed-corn, or may be obliged to look for a harvest of fish instead of grain.

At 11 we arrive at Kanália. This village, which contains 200 houses, is situated on the foot of Mount *Pelium*, shut in on either side by the lower declivities of that mountain, and open only to a view of the eastern end of the lake, of the hills to the south of it, and of a part of Velestíno. Such a position cannot be very healthy or agreeable in summer. In fact, the heat and glare of light reflected from the bare white rocks which inclose the lake and adjacent plain are described as intolerable, and not less so the clouds of gnats and flies which infest all the borders of the lake. The village stands nearly on the edge of the highest inundation, where begin vineyards and mulberry plantations, which occupy all the lower part of a fertile valley, extending for three miles to the eastward, with a breadth half as great, and terminating at the northern foot of Mount Plessídhi. The fertile soil and valuable fishery of Kanália make it the richest village in the district of Velestíno, and would have caused it to prosper still more, had not intestine quarrels checked improvement, and at one time almost ruined the place. They have lately adopted the plan of placing a bridle upon themselves in the shape of a Bostanjí

Digitized by Google

of Constantinople, whom they pay as governor or representative of the Sultán, to whose Hasné the village and fishery belong: from this measure they hope also to derive some protection against Alý Pashá. A party, nevertheless, at the head of which is my host the Hodjá-bashi, has been already gained over to assist the Pashá in his design of forcing the Sultán to compound with him by giving him the life farm of the district as at Aghiá. The Hodjá-bashi justifies his inclination to the Vezír's projects, by the remark, that although the Albanian does not yet command the place, he walks over it, and treads it down[1], meaning that the Albanians quarter upon them. The Mukatá comprises, together with the fishery of the lake, the dhekatía of Kanália, of Kiserlí on the western side of Mount *Ossa*, of Miliés on Mount *Pelium*, of Demirádhes in the district of Elassóna, of Vlakhoiánni in that of Dheminíko, of Megárkhi near Kalabáka, and of Apidhiá in 'Agrafa. It has been for several years in the hands of a Greek of Miliés, who continues to pay eighty purses a year for it to the Sultán, though from two of the villages he has little prospect of obtaining his dues, as they have become tjiftlíks of Mukhtár Pashá and his father. Alý's principal object at present seems to be that of laying hold of the person of this mukatesí, who, when the Vezír had introduced some of his Albanians into the castle of Volo, under shadow of the rebellion of Papa Evtímio, found it prudent to re-

[1] *ἀγκαλὰ δὲν τὸ ὁρίζει ὁ 'Αρβανήτης, τὸ πατεῖ.*

Digitized by Google

tire to Constantinople; and though he returned to Miliés, on ascertaining that the Albanians had been withdrawn from Volo in consequence of the capture of Evtímio in the *Ægæan* sea, he dares not visit Kanália, but entrusts his interests here to a deputy. He is entitled to a third of the produce of the fishery, the Kanaliótes enjoying the sole right of fishing, which in plentiful seasons they relax in favour of some of the neighbouring villages. The only fish are carp [1], a small flat fish [2], and eels [3]. They are caught with seines and hand-nets, but chiefly in inclosures made of reeds which grow in the lake, and are called μανδράκια, because the fish follow the leader into them like sheep into a fold, the entrance, of course, being so constructed that they cannot return. When the fishing takes place, κερατζίδες, or carriers, attend on the shore with their πράγματα, or things κατ' ἐξοχήν, by which is here meant either horses or asses [4], and having paid for the fish, transport them forthwith to the surrounding markets. In summer fish caught in the evening are thus sold at daybreak in Lárissa, Aghiá, Armyró, or Férsala: in winter, Katerína, Trikkala, and even Métzovo, are supplied from hence. The agents of the Zabít, as the farmer of the Sultán's share is styled, attend at the landing places to take an account of the sums received by the Kanaliote fishermen, and receive the third at

[1] σαζάνι, a Turkish word.
[2] πλατύτζαις.
[3] χέλια.
[4] In the smaller islands of the Ægæan, where horses are rare, πράγματα generally mean asses.

Digitized by Google

their houses in Kanália. At present there are no carp in the lake, as they all come through the Asmáki on the overflowing of the *Peneius* into the *Nessonis*, and thence into the *Bœbeïs*; and this year, according to the local expression, "the mother has not come down[1]:" nor was there any considerable inundation last year, so that few fish were caught in the summer, and none have been taken this winter. A deficient inundation is often followed by the farther calamity, that the fish remaining in the reduced lake are killed by the sun, as happened last summer, when the heat and drought were excessive. The wind too is sometimes fatal to them, by raising the water on the lee-side of the lake, and then suddenly abating, by which the fish are stranded or left in small pools, where the heat of the sun soon kills them. The *Etesian* winds in particular have this effect, as they occur in the hottest season, and when the lake is generally at the lowest.

To make amends for the want of fish this year, there has been a plentiful crop of corn from the banks of the lake, which, as the harvest was indifferent in other parts of Thessaly, and in some places failed entirely, has borne a good price; and hence the Kanaliótes have been induced this winter to sow the borders of the lake to a great extent, and with the more confidence, as after a scanty inundation, a more than usually plentiful one is required to restore the lake to its average limits, and consequently they have a good chance

[1] δὲν ἐκατέβασε ἡ μάνα.

Digitized by Google

that their crop of corn will not be injured by the water. Sometimes, though very rarely, the lake is quite dry, as it will be next winter if there should be no inundation in the course of the year. Indeed, they say that it would now be dry but for the torrents which have poured into it from the mountain. The inundation generally takes place from the middle of February to the middle of April of the Roman calendar, and brings with it fish full of roe, which is soon afterwards converted into young fish. In the middle of summer these weigh about ten to the oke, towards the end of the year three or four to the oke, at the end of the second year an oke each, and of the third year two okes. When the seasons are favourable for two or three successive years, the quantity caught is immense, and the fish are sold at six or eight parás the oke, at other times from ten to twenty. The fishing times are not regulated by natural causes, but by the calendar, the principal object being to supply the market with fish during the Greek fasts, and to those who fast strictly on the days of ἀργία or suspension, when there is an ἴχθυος κατάλυσις; that is to say, when instead of ἀναίματα, such as shell-fish, star-fish, and botargo, fish having blood is allowed, as well as eggs, milk, and cheese, and which days are therefore in reality feasts. The fasts which chiefly affect the fishery of Karla are in August, before the κοίμησις τῆς Παναγίας, the twenty-five days preceding the feast of St. Demetrius, which occurs on the 26th of October (old style), and the fast of Advent before Christmas. On all these occa-

Digitized by Google

sions, Wednesdays and Fridays are excepted from the suspension of the fast. The sale is most extensive in December, as the fish may be carried farther. In good years the Zabít gains from twenty to forty purses, but this year will be a considerable loser by his mukatá.

The Kanaliótes estimate the degree of bereképti[1], or plenty, by the number of pithamádhes or palms in the lake. The depth of water in the centre at present is five palms: when it is full there are twenty-five palms.

Dec. 26.—The obstinacy and violence of the Etesian winds in July and August, to which I have just alluded, are well known to those who have had to struggle with them in the *Ægæan* in that season. As a contrast for this sometimes disagreeable, though probably always salutary characteristic of the climate of Greece, nothing can be more delightful than the general tranquillity of the autumn and early winter throughout the eastern side of the Grecian continent, beginning generally about the middle of November, and sometimes lasting the greater part of the month of January, between which and April is generally the true winter in Greece. The wind, since I have been in this province, has generally been light, whether with or without rain, and during the last month there have been only two violent gales; one of these occurred yesterday, the other at Aghiá, and neither of them lasted more than twelve hours.

[1] Turkish words, of which this is one, are common among the Greeks of Thessaly.

Digitized by Google

Eastern Greece, however, is subject to greater extremes of temperature than the country to the westward of *Pindus*, where southerly and westerly winds are so prevalent during the winter, that the cold is seldom very durable or very severe, except in the parts near the central ridge. Daniel and Gregory of Miliés state in their "Geography," that the olive trees of *Magnesia*, where the climate is milder than in any other part of Thessaly, were killed by the frost in 1782. In 1779 the lake *Bœbeïs*, which was then so full as to extend to Kastrí, was frozen entirely over, so that persons passed from Kanália to the opposite side. The flocks perished, and many a Vlakhiote shepherd returned to his mountains without a single sheep. The authors confirm the truth of their account by describing the peculiar sound caused by the cracking of the ice from one end of the lake to the other, a phænomenon remarkable to them from its rare occurrence in so southern a latitude. I have met with many similar testimonies as to the occasional severity of the winter, particularly in *Upper Thessaly*, where only two years ago the sheep perished in great numbers, and where the plains are covered sometimes for a fortnight with snow to the depth of eight or ten palms; this may be seen also in *Epirus*, in the interior plains of Ioánnina, Arghyrókastro, Kónitza, and in the intermediate valleys, but seldom nearer to the sea.

The lake *Bœbeïs* derives its modern name of Karla from a village which stood a mile to the

Digitized by Google

south-east of Kanália, but of which no traces now remain, except scattered stones and a large ancient church, dedicated to St. Nicolas, in the middle of the valley, near the high-water mark of the lake. Kanália, which has supplied its place, was formerly situated in the upper part of the mountain, but when robbers and the other vexations perpetually occurring in Turkey had depopulated Karla, the prospect of gain induced the people of Kanália to descend from their healthy situation. The ruins of the houses and churches of old Kanália are still to be seen on the mountain. The ancient *Bœbe*, which as well as the lake is sufficiently identified by the words of Strabo [1], occupied a height advanced in front of the mountain, sloping gradually towards the plain, and defended by a steep fall at the back of the hill. It appears to have been constructed of Hellenic masonry properly so called. The acropolis may be traced on the summit, where several large quadrangular blocks of stone are still in their places, among more considerable ruins formed of small stones and mortar. Of the town walls there are some remains at a small church dedicated to St. Athanasius at the foot of the hill, where are several large masses of stone showing by their distance from the acropolis that the city was not less than two miles in circumference. The hill

[1] Ἡ δὲ Βοιβηὶς λίμνη πλησιάζει μὲν ταῖς Φεραῖς· συνάπτει δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀπολήγουσι τοῦ Πηλίου πέρασι καὶ τῆς Μαγνησίας. Βοίβη δὲ χωρίον ἐπὶ τῇ λίμνῃ κείμενον.—Strabo, p. 436.

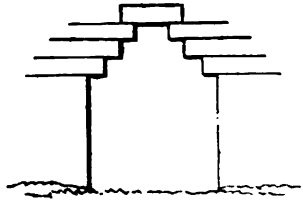
Digitized by Google

on which it stood is rocky and covered with prinária: at the back of it are some sepulchres, formed of quadrangular slabs placed vertically in the earth. At the foot of the height to the north-west, without the walls of the town, there is a never-failing source of water in a deep cavity; in winter it generally fills up the cavern to the mouth: it is now however very low, but the water is excellent, and contributed probably to recommend this site to the original settlers. It may have been perhaps to protect their fountain as well as to command a view to the westward over the lake and plain, that the ancients built a small castle on the peak of a rock, about half way in a right line between the Paleókastro and Kanália. Its masonry is of the same kind as that of the ruins at Kastrí and Gritziáno; that is to say, the walls are thick, formed of small irregular stones and mortar, and pierced with many square holes.

At a distance of five or six hundred yards to the south-east of the site of *Bœbe* are the remains of a small ancient building, composed of a coarse species of white marble which splits easily into thin slabs. It was apparently a detached temple; the length within is fourteen, and the breadth ten feet, with walls $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, having an entrance in the middle of one end 3 feet 7 inches wide. One of the long sides is still six feet high above the soil, in five courses of regular masonry, forming the whole thickness of the wall, and of which the two upper courses project over each other within; thus showing that they formed a part of the roof of the building, and that

Digitized by Google

it was constructed in a manner very commonly found in Greek doors and roofs of small span.



A small quantity of cement mixed with broken tiles has been employed in this masonry. The building is on the slope of a rocky height, a little above the foot of it.

At the church of St. Nicolas, on the site of Karla, are some fragments of fluted Doric columns 1 foot 9 inches in diameter, with 20 flutings, and several masses of white marble, of which stone the adjacent mountain seems to be chiefly composed. From the church of St. Nicolas I cross the mountain which borders the vale of *Bœbe* on the south to Káprena. In various parts of the mountain huts have been built by the people of Káprena for the Vlakhi, who come into this part of Thessaly with their sheep in the winter, and hire both pasture and huts. By the Greeks of Thessaly these people are commonly called Karagúnidhes [1], or black cloaks. With the extension of Alý Pashá's landed property in Northern Greece, his flocks also have increased, and the greater part of those which winter in the plains of Thessaly now belong to him or his sons. Each of the three Tepeleniote Pashás has a tjobán-bashí, or head-

[1] Καραγκούνιδες.

Digitized by Google

shepherd, who appoints the winter-quarters, corresponds with the subordinate leaders, and reports to his master. Not only these persons, but those likewise who conduct the flocks of others or their own into Thessaly, and who were formerly exposed to the extortions of the Koniáridhes, now enjoy the Vezír's protection, as coming from places subject to his government. Hence the Vlakhiótes are better disposed towards Alý than his other subjects, except those immediately in his employment. In like manner the Vlakhiote shopkeepers, tailors, day-labourers, and itinerant venders of capots, enjoy in the towns a greater degree of security than formerly.

The numerous flocks on the heights around Káprena and Kanália illustrate the epithet πολυμηλοτάτη bestowed upon *Bœbe* by a dramatic poet who was a careful observer of manners and topography [1]. The fish of the *Bœbeïs*, on the contrary, are not noticed in any of the ancient authors, unless Βοίβη should be substituted for Βόλβη, in a fragment by a poet often quoted by Athenæus [2], though as Bolbe was a lake in Macedonia, such an alteration is by no means necessary. As to the *cereal* capabilities of *Bœbe*, it is not surprising that they should have been unnoticed so near to the *Pheræan*, *Amyric*, and *Larissæan* plains.

Káprena is a village of 50 houses situated on

[1] Τοιγὰρ πολυμηλοτάταν
Ἑστίαν οἰκεῖς (Admete sc.) παρὰ καλλίναον
Βοιβίαν λίμναν.
Eurip. Alcest. v. 588.

[2] Archestratus ap. Athen. l. 7, c. 17.

Digitized by Google

an elevated level among the hills which lie between the lake of Karla and the plains extending to Volo. Above the village, on one of the highest points of these hills, are the ruins of an ancient town with a citadel on the summit, of which the entire circuit is traceable. On its lower side a part of the wall is still standing, built of rude masses of stone, the interstices of which are filled with smaller rough stones without mortar. Though the masonry resembles the Cyclopian of Tiryns, the rude blocks are so much smaller than at that place, that the *Hellenism* of these ruins might perhaps be doubted did not the extent, the nature of the position, the general construction, the citadel on the summit, and the body of the place on the slope to the southward all furnish a strong testimony of their origin. Within the inclosure the ground is covered with small stones, and the foundations of the buildings are so preserved that the streets might be planned. The place is defended on the east and south by steep cliffs, which in the latter direction overhang Káprena.

The acropolis commands a view of Volo, *Demetrias*, great part of the *Pagasetic* gulf, and in the opposite direction of the lake *Bœbeïs*, and of the plains as far as Lárissa and Túrnavo. If we may suppose Homer in his catalogue to have named the towns of Greece as nearly in their order as his versification would allow, these should be the remains of *Glaphyræ*, which he places between Bœbe and Iolcus[1]. As Glaphyræ is not men-

[1] Βοίβην καὶ Γλαφυρὰς καὶ ἐϋκτιμένην Ἰαωλκόν.
Il. B. v. 712.

Digitized by Google

tioned in subsequent history, it may perhaps have ceased to have any importance at an early period, which in some measure agrees with the appearance of the ruins.

The fields of Káprena produce only corn, and are not very fertile: the soil is of that red colour so often met with in the hilly districts of Greece. The situation is healthy, but cold in winter, and the inhabitants are often annoyed by the wolves of Mount *Pelium*. These animals are equally troublesome at Zagorá, on the opposite side of the mountain, and more or less to all the villages near the forests, in which abound also the deer, the roe, and the wild hog.

It would appear from Strabo that there was a town of *Orminium* at the foot of Mount *Pelium* between Káprena and Volo, for he describes it as situated ὑπὸ or at the foot of that mountain, near the lake Bœbeïs, at a distance of 27 stades from Demetrias, the road passing through Iolcus; and this he confirms by the remark, that Iolcus was 7 stades from Demetrias, and 20 from Orminium [1]. The geographer conceived this place to have been the same as the Ormenium of the Iliad, but we

[1] Τὸ μὲν οὖν Ὀρμένιον καλεῖται νῦν Ὀρμίνιον· ἐστὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ Πηλίῳ κώμη κατὰ τὸν Παγασητικὸν κόλπον τῶν συνῳκισμένων εἰς τὴν Δημητριάδα πόλεων, ὡς εἴρηται. Ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ τὴν Βοιβηΐδα λίμνην εἶναι πλησίον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡ Βοίβη τῶν περιοικίδων ἦν τῆς Δημητριάδος καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ Ὀρμένιον. Τὸ μὲν οὖν Ὀρμένιον ἀπέχει τῆς Δημητριάδος πεζῇ σταδίους ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι· ὁ δὲ τῆς Ἰωλκοῦ τόπος ἐν ὁδῷ κείμενος τῆς μὲν Δημητριάδος ἑπτὰ σταδίους διέστηκε, τοῦ δ' Ὀρμενίου τοὺς λοιποὺς εἴκοσι σταδίους. — Strabo, p. 438.

Digitized by Google

may be permitted to doubt whether he was right in this opinion, or in supposing that the fountain Hypereia, mentioned in the same verse of the Catalogue, is that which at a later time was celebrated as a source in the town of Pheræ[1], for the warriors from the country around Pheræ, Bœbe, and Iolcus, followed Eumelus[2], whereas those from Ormenium and Hypereia were under Eurypylus, whose third town was *Asterium*[3], which I have already shewn to have stood at Vlokhó, near the junction of the *Apidanus* and *Enipeus*, forty miles to the north-westward of *Pheræ;* whence it seems clear that Eurypylus ruled over the plains of *Thessaliotis*, which are watered by the *Apidanus* and *Enipeus*, and which bordered south-eastward upon Phthia, to the south and south-west upon Dolopia, and north-westward on the Tripolitis of the Asclepiadæ. Ormenium, therefore, probably stood in some part of these plains. It was said to have been founded by Ormenus, grandson of Æolus, and to have descended to Eurypylus in preference to his first cousin Phœnix, although Amyntor, father of Phœnix, was the elder son of Ormenus, because Phœnix had quitted his

[1] Strabo, p. 439.

[2] Οἳ δὲ Φερὰς ἐνέμοντο παραὶ Βοιβηΐδα λίμνην,
Βοίβην καὶ Γλαφυρὰς, καὶ ἐϋκτιμένην Ἰαωλκόν·
Τῶν ἦρχ' Ἀδμήτοιο φίλος παῖς ἔνδεκα νηῶν
Εὔμηλος. Il. B. v. 711.

[3] Οἵ τ' ἔχον Ὀρμένιον, οἵ τε κρήνην Ὑπέρειαν,
Οἵ τ' ἔχον Ἀστέριον, Τιτάνοιό τε λευκὰ κάρηνα,
Τῶν ἦρχ' Εὐρύπυλος, Εὐαίμονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός.
Il. B. v. 734.

Digitized by Google

family[1]. That the native place of Phœnix was not near Mount Pelium is evident from his speech to Achilles, wherein he describes his quarrel with Amyntor, and relates, that when he fled from his paternal house, he crossed the "broad Hellas" before he arrived in Phthia, where Peleus cherished him like a son, and at length made him king over the Dolopes[2]. The Orminium of Mount Pelium, or Magnesia, seems therefore to have been different from the Ormenium of Thessaliotis. Similar considerations tend to the belief, that the Hypereia of the poet was not the fountain at *Pheræ*, but possibly the source below Dhomokó, or that near Ghynekókastro, or at Vrysiá[3].

Our road from Káprena to Velestíno follows a valley which branches westward from the little plain of Káprena, and then descends by a gentle slope to an opening just opposite to Velestíno, where the plain is narrowest, and is crossed by three tumuli, noticed on the 20th. They form a direct line, and are nearly equidistant respectively, as well as with reference to the heights on either side. The distance of Kanália from Velestíno is the same as that of Káprena, which occupied two hours and a half at the usual pace. The road from Kanália leads between the southern side of the lake and the mountain of *Glaphyræ*, and enters the plain at Delikalí, a small valley situated at the foot of those heights.

Dec. 27 to 31.—The vilayéti of Velestíno[4] for-

[1] Demetr. Sceps. ap. Strabon. p. 438.

[2] Il. I. v. 474.

[3] See Vol. I. p. 454.

[4] Βελέστινος.

Digitized by Google

merly contained 72 villages, and included the district of Volo, but by the effects of discord among the chief Turks who seem to have caught the infection from Mount *Pelium*, without acquiring the industry and economy of their Christian neighbours; their possessions in the plain gradually became the property of beys of Lárissa, and the revenues of the khásia of the mountain, which were before farmed by them, fell into the hands of Turks of Lárissa, Férsala, or Tríkkala; even the spahilík of Rizómylo, which is only three or four miles distant from Velestíno, now belongs to a Larissæan, and there are only twelve villages in the district, none of which except Káprena, Kanália, St. George, and Seskło, contain more than from fifteen to twenty-five houses. In the town there are about 250 Turkish families, but the Turkish houses are much more numerous: such of the remainder as are tenantable are occupied by Greeks of 'Agrafa, or by Vlakhi of Mount *Pindus*. The chief profit of the Turks is derived from their gardens and mills, a sort of property they prefer, as it gives a good return without much trouble. The Turkish houses are built amidst gardens, which extend also beyond the houses to a considerable distance in the plain, the stream which flows from the fountain anciently called Hypereia furnishing an abundant irrigation, as well as the means of working numerous mills. All the surrounding villagers bring their corn here to be ground, and supply themselves with vegetables from a weekly market on Fridays. The Turks who possess corn land depend upon the

Digitized by Google

Greeks for its cultivation. The former supply the seed, and a house for the κολλήγας, or farmer, who furnishes cattle and implements of agriculture, and takes half the crop after the deduction of the dhekatía; sometimes every thing belongs to the landlord, and the farmer is only an ἐργάτης, or labourer, who receives a third of the nett produce for his own wages and the daily labour he may employ. The lower classes of Turks are shoemakers, tailors, barbers, butchers, bakers, cooks, menial servants, and labourers in the gardens but not in the fields. The Varúsi, or Greek quarter, which once contained as many families as the present Turkish, now consists for the greater part of ruins or uninhabited houses, and a part of its site is converted into gardens or cornfields. The decline of the Greeks has been caused, like that of the Turks, as much by their foolish contentions as by the oppression of the government. The φαρίαις or ταράφια into which they were divided, persecuted one another, intriguing with the Beys for this purpose, and lodging complaints against their rivals in the Turkish Mekhemé; while the Turks found their interest in fomenting these disputes, and as at Lárissa, each Bey patronized some one or other of the principal Greek families.

Velestíno was long noted for the savage disposition of its Turkish inhabitants, and for its lawless government, and it would then have been impossible for a traveller to make such a journey in Thessaly as I have done. Affairs are now altered. The Turks still retain their barbarous

Digitized by Google

manners, and their hatred of Christians, but they are kept within bounds by the fear of Alý Pashá, whose authority is unquestioned here, though he has not yet introduced one of his pedicular bulubáshis to complete the humiliation of these insolent Osmanlís. On the fall of the nizám djedíd and the elevation of Mustafá Bairaktár they flattered themselves that Alý's influence at the Porte was at an end, and that they could resist his incroachments in Thessaly: he soon however sent twenty of his Derventlí horsemen from Aghiá to quarter upon the town, and did not withdraw them until their expences, with the addition of a present, had cost the community eighty purses. Since that lesson his mandates have met with no resistance, and according to the lively expression of the Greeks, a dirty buyurtí from Ioánnina half the size of one's hand is of more effect than a firmáhn of the Porte three feet in length. By means of these "impressions of the lion's paw" the people of Velestíno are robbed of 20 purses every year, without being saved thereby from similar imposts from the Porte when required by the necessities of war, or other causes. All such extraordinary contributions, which are entirely separate from the ordinary imposts paid to the Mukatesí, are called avayét, in Greek οἰκοδομία, because they are raised by a classified house tax. The yearly amount paid by each principal Turk of Velestíno styling himself Bey, is from 250 to 300 piastres. The mukatá is in the hands of Seid Agá of Armyró, who is now in prison at Ioánnina

Digitized by Google

on the pretence of his having insulted one of the Vezír's tatárs, for which he will probably atone by a heavy fine before he is allowed to return home.

The walls of *Pheræ*, although apparent only in places, still preserve enough of their foundations to give an accurate idea of the limits of the city on every side, except towards the plain, where no remains are traceable. When Velestíno was in the height of its prosperity, it occupied two thirds of the same ground. On the northern side, the ancient walls followed the brow of two tabular summits, the sides of which seem to have been partly indebted to art for their present shape, and to have had the effect of two great bastions protecting the entrance into the city from the northward. Vestiges of the northern or Larissæan gate, and some foundations of the adjacent walls still remain on the neck between the two heights. The approach must have been very imposing to the stranger who arrived at Pheræ on that side, the ground being so formed that nothing but the walls could have been visible until the gate was passed, when the whole city was laid before him. Even now this entrance into the Varúsi has a striking appearance, although little but the ruins of Greek houses form the foreground of the picture. The ancient walls are principally preserved at the back of a church in the highest part of the Varúsi, where stood a tower which has lately fallen, and has been restored by some modern masonry. To the north the two heights are defended by a deep torrent bed, in the steep banks of which many sepulchres have been found. In

Digitized by Google

the corn-fields beyond the torrent to the north-east are several large squared blocks, which belonged apparently to some temple standing without the city. Very little of the foundation now remains, many squared masses having lately been taken from thence and applied to the building of a new bridge. The mason who was employed in this work asserts that some of those which he found there he buried again, because they were covered with figures and ornaments. Not far from thence on the road to Lárissa are still lying some fragments of fluted Doric shafts of two feet in diameter and very tapering, formerly perhaps columns of the same temple.

Below the easternmost of the two heights an inferior level, but considerably higher than the plain, was included within the city, as appears by a few straggling blocks indicating the direction of the ancient walls. At the foot of this height on the southern side is the fountain *Hypereia*[1], surrounded by handsome plane trees, in the midst of the Turkish quarter, on one side of an open space, another side of which is occupied by a mosque. The water rushes from several openings in the rock, and immediately forms a stream,

[1] . . . . . ἐγ-
γὺς μὲν Φέρης, κράναν Ὑπερηΐδα λιπών.
Pindar. Pyth. Od. 4, v. 221.

Ὦ γῆ Φεραία χαῖρε· σύγγονόν θ' ὕδωρ
Ὑπερεία κρήνη, νᾶμα θεοφιλέστατον.
Sophocl. ap. Schol. Pindar. ibid.

Ἡ δ' Ὑπέρεια κρήνη ἐστὶν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ τῶν Φεραίων πόλει.—Strabo, p. 439.

Digitized by Google

which is conveyed in a channel lined with wrought stones, once belonging to Hellenic buildings; after turning several mills it is joined by another stream flowing from a pond to the southward of the principal fountain, and thus augmented pursues a course of three miles to Rizómylo, through gardens of fruit-trees, melons, and pot-herbs, mixed with oaks, elms, and poplars,—the successors of the plantations near Pheræ, which are noticed by Polybius[1]. Near Rizómylo are some groves of large oaks which are said to have been much thinned of late years. From Rizómylo the *Hypereia* crosses the plain to the lake of Karla. The water is bright and pure, cold in summer, and generally issues in greater quantity in that season than in the winter. Nevertheless, the Greeks of the Varúsi prefer the water of their wells for drinking, nor do they make much use of the *Hypereia* for other purposes, as the ascent of the hill with full vessels is laborious, and the women are afraid of insult from the Turks. Just above the principal source are the remains of a curved wall concave towards the water. The stones are laid together without cement, and the courses are narrower in proportion to the length of the stones than was usual in Hellenic masonry. Near these, which are the remains perhaps of a small circular temple, lies a fragment of a Doric shaft 3 ft. 3 in. in diameter.

The ancient inclosure of the city is not so easily traceable on the western and southern sides as on

[1] Polyb. l. 18, c. 3.

Digitized by Google

the northern. A little beyond the north-western angle a wall is visible, crossing the hollow which separates the two heights above noticed from another parallel ridge, upon the summit of which, in two or three places, the ancient masonry may be distinguished among the remains of modern walls. From this hollow and the upper part of the Varúsi rises a peaked hill, upon which are some quarries, and on the summit the remains of a small castle of very massy Hellenic workmanship. The line of wall beyond these points is not evident; nor is it very certain whether the peak was in the acropolis, or only an outwork to cover it. It seems not impossible that this height, whether it was the acropolis or the site of an exterior fortress, may have been the Mount *Chalcodonium*, below which Apollonius represents Pheræ to have been situated[1]; as we sometimes find that an acropolis bore a specific name. But *Chalcodonium* may also be applied on the same authority to the southern and highest summit of Mount Karadágh, which is only about five miles to the S.W. of this point; and as that remarkable summit has not been described in ancient history so as to be recognized by any other name, it will be convenient at least, if not certainly correct, to attach

[1] Οὐδὲ Φεραῖς Ἄδμητος ἐϋῤῥήνεσσιν ἀνάσσων
Μίμνεν ὑπὸ σκοπιὴν ὄρεος Χαλκωδονίοιο.
Apollon. l. 1, v. 49.

Τὸ δὲ Χαλκωδόνιον ὄρος ἐστὶν ὑπεράνω Φερῶν.
Schol. ibid.

Digitized by Google

to it the name of *Chalcodonium*. In general the masonry of the walls was of a regular kind, like that of *Pharsalus*, but there is a piece approaching to the polygonal kind in the cellar of a house near the *Larissæan* gate. At the church, a pedestal which has three holes on the upper surface of it appears from the inscription to have supported a statue of Augustus[1]: there is also a sepulchral monument at the same place erected by one Aglais, daughter of Hippolytus, where the father's name is expressed according to the elegant Thessalian custom by the adjective Ἱππολύτεια[2]. As all the inscriptions which I have seen in this form are in letters of the best times of antiquity, and as the monuments on which they are found bear a small proportion to those in which the ordinary Hellenic form of the genitive prevails, we may infer that the custom became obsolete in this province, together with the disuse of the Thessalo-Æolic dialect. Although it is impossible to assign an exact period to this change, which probably was gradual, some states having preserved their ancient dialects for a longer time, or in greater purity than others, we can hardly suppose that dialectic distinctions long survived the Roman conquest; as by that event the country, already depopulated and impoverished by wars and calamities of every kind, was completely humiliated, and little was left in Greece of that pride of antiquity and spirit of emulation by which the use of the dialects had been retained in public documents after they

[1] V. Inscription, No. 210. [2] V. Inscription, No. 211.

Digitized by Google

had ceased in the spoken language. The latter change was probably complete in the age of Alexander; but we have a proof in an inscription of Orchomenus, of the Bœotic having been employed on public monuments after his time[1], and a few Æolic or Doric forms were even retained in that of Augustus.

Dec. 29.—This day I made a tour in the plain of Velestíno by Rizómylo and Hadjímes to Petra, returning from thence by the magúla of Gherelí, and along the roots of Mount Karadágh, to Velestíno. This plain is considered more productive than the *Pharsalian*, and equal in fertility to the *Larissæan*. Even this year, when the harvest was generally deficient in Thessaly, the lands of Hadjímes, Rizómylo, and Gherelí, gave a tolerable return. The plough, which is of the same form as in other parts of Greece, and yoked to a single pair of oxen, makes only a slight impression on the surface, and manuring is never practised.

The hill of Petra is two miles beyond Hadjímes. The village, which is inhabited by Koniári Turks and a few families of Greek labourers, stands, as I before remarked, on the northern side of the long ridge, which I described as uniting the two summits of the height. Several Turks of the village followed us to the top of the hill, curious to know the object of my visit, and murmuring that it was some τέχνη or contrivance of Alý Pashá portending no good to them. They were too much afraid of my Albanian servant, although a Christ-

[1] See Vol. II. p. 152.

Digitized by Google

ian, to offer any incivility; but sufficiently showed that it would have been difficult to visit the place in safety under other circumstances.

The sides of the hill of Petra are steep and in some places precipitous, but on the summit there is an undulating space, which, where not rocky, is covered with grass, and from whence there is a fine view of Velestíno, Lárissa, Túrnavo, and the mountains *Olympus*, *Ossa*, *Pelium*, and *Othrys*. The waters of the lake, which are now at the distance of two miles, advance, when the inundation is at its height, quite to the foot of the hill on the eastern and northern sides. The larger, or north-eastern summit of the hill, is surrounded by foundations of Hellenic walls of remote antiquity, and other remains, similar in their apparent antiquity, are seen at the foot of the same height to the north, as well as quite to the edge of the marshy ground, which, in times of inundation, becomes a part of the *Bœbeïs*. The only other monument of antiquity I can find is a sepulchral stele now used as a step in the stair of a Turkish house, and which is inscribed, in letters of the best times, with the name of Attyla, daughter of Eurypothus, the name of the father being expressed by the adjective Εὐρυπόθεια [1]. The walls on the hill were of great thickness, constructed of large irregular masses, and when complete resembled probably in con-

[1] V. Inscription, No. 209. Attyla seems to have been not uncommon in this province as a woman's name. On the site of Metropolis of Upper Thessaly I purchased a silver ring for the finger, inscribed ΑΤΤΥΛΑΣ in letters of gold beautifully formed.

Digitized by Google

struction those of Tiryns or Mycenæ. The south-western, or smaller of the two hills, seems not to have been included in the ancient acropolis, though it has some appearance of having been fortified, which, as it is the steeper and higher of the two, was necessary to the safety of the place: it rises about 200 feet above the plain, and ends in a peak. I have already suggested that the height of Petra is that double hill near the lake Bœbeïs said to have been the dwelling-place of Coronis, daughter of Phlegyas and mother of Æsculapius by Apollo, who, on the information of a busy crow, punished her with death for having intrigued with Ischys son of Eilatus[1].

We learn from Pindar that these twin hills were the site of a town called Lacereia, which, from

[1] Ἡ οἵη διδύμους ἱεροὺς ναίουσα κολωνοὺς
Δωτίῳ ἐν πεδίῳ πολυβότρυος ἀντ' Ἀμύροιο
Νίψατο Βοιβιάδος λίμνης πόδα παρθένος ἁδμής
* * * * * *
Τῷ μὲν ἄρ' ἄγγελος ἦλθε κόραξ ἱερῆς ἀπὸ δαιτὸς
Πύθωι ἐς ἡγαθέην καί ῥ' ἔφρασεν ἔργ' αἴδηλα
Φοίβῳ ἀκερσεκόμῃ, ὅτ' ἄρ' Ἴσχυς ἔγημε Κορωνὶν
Εἰλατίδης, Φλεγύαο διογνήτοιο θύγατρα.

Frag. Hesiod. ap. Strabon. pp. 442. 647. et ap. Schol. Pindar. Pyth. 3, v. 14. 48.

Καὶ τότε γνοὺς (Apollo sc.) Ἴσχυος Εἰλατίδα
Ξείνιαν κοίταν ἄθεμίν τε δόλον,
Πέμψεν κασιγνήταν μένει
Θύοισαν ἀμαιμακέτῳ
Ἐς Λακέρειαν· ἐπεὶ
Παρὰ Βοιβιάδος
Κρημνοῖσιν ᾤκει παρθένος.

Pindar. Pyth. 3, v. 55.

Ἰητῆρα

Digitized by Google

other authors [1], seems to have been also known by the name of Dotium, though this appellation was more generally applied to the surrounding plain. As Hesiod describes the twin-hills to have been situated "in the Dotian plain opposite to the vine-bearing Amyrus;" a natural consequence of placing *Lacereia* at Petra, will be that the ruins at Kastrí are those of *Amyrus*, Kastrí being on the opposite side of the marshes of the *Bœbeïs*. The hills, at the foot of which Kastrí is situated, are well adapted to the vine; and the plain around it will be found perfectly to accord with that *Amyric* plain mentioned by Polybius in relating the last transactions of the Social War, when the Ætolians, by means of their possession of Thebæ Phthioticæ, were enabled to cause damage not only to the people of Demetrias and Pharsalus, but even to those of Larissa, by making incursions as far as the Amyric plain [2]. As the words of Hesiod indicate that the Amyric and Dotian plains were contiguous, we may infer, from the two authorities, that the *Amyric* plain lay between the *Dotian* and *Larissæan*, or exactly opposite to Kastrí, between that place and the

Ἰητῆρα νόσων Ἀσκληπιὸν ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν
Υἱὸν Ἀπόλλωνος, τὸν ἐγείνατο δῖα Κορωνὶς
Δωτίῳ ἐν πεδίῳ κούρη Φλεγύου βασιλῆος.
Hom. Hymn. in Æsculap.
V. et Antim. frag. 34. Apollodor. l. 3, c. 10.

[1] V. Stephan. in Δώτιον.

[2] *βλάπτεσθαι . . . . . ἔτι δὲ Λαρισσαίους· πολλάκις γὰρ ἐποιοῦντο τὰς καταδρομὰς ἕως ἐπὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ἀμυρικὸν πεδίον.*—Polyb. l. 5, c. 99.

Digitized by Google

north-eastern extremity of the ridges of Karadágh. At the same time it must be admitted, that as tumuli are commonly unerring evidences of an ancient site, the artificial heights near Sakalár may possibly indicate the site of *Amyrus*, they being moreover still more central than Kastrí to the *Amyric* plain. Apollonius alludes to a river Amyrus near Lacereia, which thus accords with the Asmáki. The same poet, however, in another passage, seems to describe the river Amyrus as that which joins the sea in the Gulf of *Melibœa;* but this would identify *Lacereia* with the paleókastro of Askíti, and would remove it too far from the lake *Bœbeïs*, to which it was certainly contiguous. Upon this question there can be little hesitation in preferring the testimony of two native poets to that of an Alexandrian of later times, who, from the passage just referred to, as well as other examples, appears to have been more anxious for the harmony of his verses than for an accurate preservation of an order of names agreeing with that of

[1] . . . . . τὸν ἐν λιπαρῇ Λακερείῃ
Δῖα Κορωνὶς ἔτικτεν ἐπὶ προχοῇς Ἀμύροιο.
Apollon. l. 4, v. 616.

[2] Ἔνθεν δὲ προτέρωσε παρεξέθεον Μελίβοιαν,
Ἀκτήν τ' αἰγιαλόν τε δυσήνεμον ἐκνεύσαντες·
Ἠῶθεν δ' Ὁμόλην αὐτοσχεδὸν εἰσορόωντες
Πόντῳ κεκλιμένην παρεμέτρεον, οὐδ' ἔτι δηρὸν
Μέλλον ὑπὲκ ποταμοῖο βαλεῖν Ἀμύροιο ῥέεθρα.
Κεῖθεν δ' Εὐρυμένας τε πολυκλύστους τε φάραγγας
Ὄσσης Οὐλύμποιό τ' ἐσέδρακον· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Κλίτεα Παλλήναια, &c.
Apollon. l. 1, v. 592.

Digitized by Google

positions. There is greater reason to doubt whether Apollonius was right in placing a river Amyrus on the coast near Mount Ossa, as a different name or word occurs in the corresponding passage of the Orphica[1].

Livy relates that a town named Cercinium was besieged by the Ætolians and the Athamanes under Amynander, when they joined the Romans against Philip in the year 200 B. C. Cercinium, though garrisoned by Macedonians, was speedily taken and burnt, and its inhabitants were either slaughtered or carried away as slaves, which so alarmed all the people around the lake Bœbeïs, that they fled to the mountains. The Ætolians being chiefly intent on plunder, and hopeless of obtaining it in this quarter, proceeded into Perrhæbia, where, having taken Cyretiæ, they sacked it without mercy, and then received the submission of Mallæa. At the instance of Amynander, who thought the moment favourable for attacking Gomphi, which was important to him from its proximity to the Athamanian frontier, the allied forces proceeded from Perrhæbia towards Upper Thessaly; but no sooner had they entered the plains below

[1] Τισαίη δ' ἀπέκρυφθεν ἄκρη καὶ Σηπιὰς ἀκτή,
Φάνθη δὲ Σκίαθος, Δόλοπός τ' ἀνεφαίνετο σῆμα,
Ἀγχίαλός θ' Ὁμόλη, ῥεῖθρόν θ' ἁλιμυρὲς Ἀναύρου (al. ἐναύλου.) Orphic. Argon. v. 462.

Valerius Flaccus, however, who is more correct in his order of places than either of the Greeks, names the Amyrus (Argon. l. 2, v. 11.)

Digitized by Google

Pharcadon, than the Ætolians began to spread over them for the sake of plunder, and encamped in an insecure situation. Here they were surprised by Philip and forced to retire within their camp, which they abandoned as soon as it was attacked by the king, retreating into that of Amynander, who, disapproving their proceedings and fearful of the event, had established his followers on a height near Pharcadon, half a mile in the rear of the Ætolian camp. Night prevented Philip from pursuing his advantage, and gave facility to the retreat of the Ætolians, who, conducted by the Athamanes through the mountains by roads unknown to their pursuers, arrived, without much farther loss, in Ætolia[1]. As Magnesia and the eastern part of Thessaly were the countries chiefly dependent on Macedonia under the successors of Demetrius, we may infer from this circumstance, coupled with the mention made by the historian of the lake Bœbeïs, that *Cercinium* was near Mount *Pelium*, possibly at Kastrí; or if the ruins at that place were those of *Amyrus*, in some part of the vale of Dhésiani, perhaps at the spot which I remarked as retaining some remains of antiquity near Dugán. The situations of *Cyretiæ*, *Mallæa*, *Pharcadon*, and *Gomphi*, having already been stated, there remains no difficulty in understanding the entire movement of the Ætolians as described by Livy. In retreating from near *Pharcadon* they probably crossed the hills of Khassiá towards Kalabáka.

[1] Liv. l. 31, c. 41, 42.

Digitized by Google

The breadth of the *Dotian* plain from the foot of the hill of Petra to Gherelí, which is situated at the first acclivity of the height of Karadágh, is three miles and a half; a mile and a half farther, in a direction a little more southerly, is the Magúla, a circular eminence three quarters of a mile in circumference, which has some appearance of having been surrounded with walls; and where though little is observable at present except broken stones and fragments of ancient pottery, these are in such an abundance as leaves no doubt of its having been a Hellenic site: this, indeed, is amply confirmed by the surrounding villagers, particularly by those of Gherelí, who have always been in the habit of resorting to the site for building materials, and sori, which they use for water-troughs. Following the testimony of Strabo, Magúla should be the site of *Armenium*, for he twice states that town to have been situated between Pheræ and Larissa, near the lake Bœbeïs[1]; and there is no point on a line drawn from Velestíno to Lárissa nearer to the lake of Karla than the Magúla.

From the Magúla of Gherelí to the foot of Mount Karadágh is a distance of two miles; three miles beyond which, near the crest of that part of the ridge which connects the northern

[1] Τὸν δὲ Ἄρμενον εἶναι ἐξ Ἀρμένου πόλεως, τῶν περὶ τὴν Βοιβηΐδα λίμνην, μεταξὺ Φερῶν καὶ Λαρίσσης.—Strabo, p. 503.

Ἄρμενος ἐξ Ἀρμενίου, πόλεως Θετταλικῆς, ἡ κεῖται μεταξὺ Φερῶν καὶ Λαρίσσης ἐπὶ τῇ Βοίβῃ, καθάπερ εἴρηται.—Strabo, p. 530.

Digitized by Google

summit above Kililér with the southern or *Chalcodonium*, stands the Turkish village of Dederianí. Here are copious sources of water, which form a small stream crossing the road from Velestíno to Lárissa between the Magúla and Kililér. There is another kefalóvrysi at Hadjí Barak, a small village in the mountain above Kililér. These streams join the Asmáki opposite to Abufaklár. Two others which rise on the western side of the heights join the Asmáki towards Kastrí and Plessiá.

Dec. 31.—Having sent my baggage to Férsala by the direct road, which traverses a pass on the southern side of Mount *Chalcodonium* and from thence enters the valley of the *Enipeus*, I cross the ridge by Gheremí and Suplí, leaving the summit on the left. The pass just mentioned separates this mountain from that which borders the *Crocian* plain to the north, and which is commonly known by the name Tjiraghiótiko, from a small village on it named Τζιράγι. In the pass is the small village Ondoklári, beyond which the road to Férsala follows a valley between the two ridges to Magúla, two hours distant from Férsala, and crosses the *Enipeus* by the bridge of the Pashá on the road to Lárissa. Between the pass of Ondoklári and the hill of Sesklo, is a plain crossed by the road from Armyró to Velestíno, coinciding nearly with that which led from *Phthiotic Thebes* to *Pheræ*. In this plain, at a distance of fifty stades from Pheræ, T. Q. Flamininus, coming from Thebæ, was encamped previously to the

Digitized by Google

battle of Cynoscephalæ, when Philip, advancing from Larissa, placed his army at thirty stades from Pheræ, in the opposite direction [1], or about Rizómylo.

Mount *Chalcodonium* is covered with dwarf prinária, which, being evergreen and of a dark colour, may have given the name Karadágh or Mavrovúni to the whole ridge which stretches from it to the northward notwithstanding that the summits towards that extremity are conspicuously white. Although *Chalcodonium*, the highest point, is diminutive compared with the mountains which surround the basin of *Thessaly*, the whole ridge is one of the most remarkable of the *Thessalian* hills, from its insulated position in the midst of the eastern plains of this province. The higher parts of the ridge furnish an excellent pasture to sheep, and justify the epithet εὐρηνεῖς, which Apollonius applies to Pheræ [2]. Gheremí, which village we pass through at the end of two hours, is now reduced to three or four Greek families. It stands amidst bare calcareous rocks, exactly on the crest of the ridge, and commands to the westward a view of the plains of *Pharsalus* and *Crannon*, with the heights beyond them which rise from the plain on the right side of the *Enipeus*, near Hadjóbashi and Orfaná.

At a quarter of an hour beyond Gheremí we cross the road leading from Lárissa to Armyró,

[1] Polyb. l. 18, c. 2. Liv. l. 33, c. 6.

[2] Apollon. l. 1, v. 49.—V. sup. p. 442.

Digitized by Google

and in one hour from Gheremí arrive at Suplí, a tjiftlík of ten or twelve families. The western face of Karadágh, on either side of the road from Gheremí to Suplí, consists of easy slopes of pasture land, diversified with small levels of corn-fields mixed with groves of oaks and copses of underwood. At Suplí the waters from the elevated country which we have passed collect into one bed, and taking a course first to the west and then to the north-west, form at Kusbasán a stream sufficiently large to turn some mills. From thence they flow by Moimúli round the northern end of the Karadágh to Saridjilár, which is an hour to the southward of Karalár, and at length join the Asmáki opposite to Plessiá, the tjiftlík which I passed on the road from Kastrí to Dhésiani.

Suplí is about three miles distant from the northern point of the ridge of Karadágh, and just below the south-western extremity of that summit. On the peak was situated an ancient fortress, the walls of which inclosed it together with a great part of the slope towards Suplí. With the telescope irregular masses are perceivable among the bushes in several places, and the general direction of the walls is indicated by heaps of stone: the masonry seems to have been of a rude kind, like that upon the height above Orfaná, at Káprena and other places. In front of the remains, towards Suplí, rises another summit composed entirely of a very white bare rock.

A mile from Suplí, in the opposite direction, or towards Férsala, are the ruined walls of a Hellenic

Digitized by Google

city of much larger dimensions, and evidently one of the principal members of the *Thessalian* community. The inclosure, which was between two and three miles in circumference, follows on the lower or northern side the bank of the torrent already mentioned, and to the south incloses some heights which were defended by the ravine of another torrent joining the former a little below the western extremity of the city. At the south-western end of the site stood the acropolis, below which, on the east and north, the ground is covered with foundations of buildings, heaps of stones, and fragments of tiles and pottery. But not a single sculptured marble is to be seen, or a fragment of an inscription. The walls, which in no part have preserved more than a few courses of masonry, are best preserved on the eastern front. Here the modern road from Suplí to Férsala passes through the foundations of a gate which was defended by towers and flanked within bowshot by a height on the left which formed the south-eastern angle of the city. Just without the gate, on one side of the modern road, are the foundations of a large building, probably a temple: I have before had occasion to notice instances of ancient temples similarly situated. The masonry of the town walls is of the same elaborate and almost regular kind seen in the ruins of *Pharsalus* and *Pheræ*, showing that the city was contemporary with those two places, and flourished about the same time; there can be little doubt, therefore, that it was *Scotussa*, the situation agreeing with all

Digitized by Google

that history has left us as to the position of that place relatively to the other chief cities in this part of *Thessaly*, namely, *Larissa*, *Crannon*, *Pharsalus*, and *Pheræ*.

From the account given by Xenophon of the march of Agesilaus through Thessaly into Bœotia previous to the battle of Coroneia [1], we learn that the Scotussæa as well as the Crannonia lay in a direction from Larissa to Pharsalus and the mountains of Achæa Phthiotis; in fact, the site of *Crannon* is about the same distance to the right of the road from Lárissa to Férsala that these ruins are to the left. That Scotussa was not far from Pheræ seems evident, as well from the manner in which it was treacherously occupied by Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ [2], as from a transaction in the Antiochian war, when a body of troops from Larissa, endeavouring to relieve Pheræ, retired into Scotussa upon finding that the approaches to Pheræ were occupied by Antiochus [3]. Soon afterwards the consul Acilius having marched from Larissa to Crannon received the submission of Pharsalus, Scotussa, and Pheræ, and thence proceeded to Proerna and to Thaumaci [4]. With all these transactions the position of these ruins seems perfectly to agree. It remains to be seen whether their situation will equally accord with the circumstances

[1] B.C. 394.—Xenoph. Hellen. l. 4, c. 3.

[2] B.C. 367.—Diodor. l. 15, c. 75.

[3] B.C. 191.—Liv. l. 36, c. 9.

[4] Liv. l. 36, c. 14.

Digitized by Google

attending the greatest event in history, of which the Scotussæa was the scene, namely, the battle of Cynoscephalæ.

It was in the spring of the year B. C. 197 that T. Quinctius Flamininus, who had been consul in the preceding year, and was now charged as Imperator with the prosecution of the war against Philip, son of Demetrius, marched from Elateia in Phocis to Heracleia Trachinia, where he concerted measures with the Ætolians, and then encamping near Xyniæ on the borders of the Ænianes and Thessalians, was there joined by 2000 Ætolian infantry and 500 horse. From thence he moved into Phthiotis, where he received a further reinforcement of 2000 infantry consisting of Athamanes under Amynander, together with some Cretans and Apolloniatæ. After an unsuccessful attempt to take Thebæ Phthioticæ he marched towards Pheræ, having previously directed each soldier to provide himself with the usual materials for constructing the χάραξ, or vallum, with which it was customary among the Greeks and Romans to protect their camps in presence of an enemy. When Quinctius had encamped at a distance of 50 stades[1] from Pheræ, Philip advanced from Larissa, and pitched his camp at a distance of 30 stades[2] from the same city in the opposite direction. Philip's phalanx of Macedonian infantry

[1] Polyb. l. 18, c. 2. Sex ferme millia.—Liv. l. 33, c. 6.

[2] Quatuor millia fere.—Liv. ibid.

Digitized by Google

amounted to 16,000, besides which there were 5000 other troops and 2000 cavalry; the Romans had an equal number of infantry, but a superiority of about 400 horse. On the day after the arrival of the two armies in the Pheræa, parties from each met on the hills above the city, but were recalled without coming to an engagement. On the following day there was an action of cavalry near the city, on the heights towards Larissa, in which the Ætolians had some advantage over the Macedonians.

On the third day, both the commanders having found the plantations, gardens, and inclosures, in the suburbs of Pheræ inconvenient to their operations, quitted their positions, Philip directing his route to Scotussa for the purpose of obtaining supplies from that city, and Quinctius, who suspected his object, advancing towards the same point by a different route, with a view of destroying the corn of the Scotussæa [1]. A high ridge separated them during this day's march, at the end of which the Romans encamped at Eretria of Phthiotis, and Philip on the river Onchestus. On the following day the camp of Quinctius was placed near Thetidium in the Pharsalia, that of Philip at Melambium in the Scotussæa, each party continuing

[1] Ὁ μὲν οὖν Φίλιππος ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Σκότουσαν, σπεύδων ἐκ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως ἐφοδιάσασθαι· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γενόμενος εὐτρεπὴς, λαβεῖν τόπους ἁρμόζοντας ταῖς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεσιν· ὁ δὲ Τῖτος ὑποπτεύσας τὸ μέλλον, ἐκίνει τὴν δύναμιν ἁμὰ τῷ Φιλίππῳ, σπεύδων προκαταφθεῖραι τὸν ἐν τῇ Σκοτουσαίᾳ σῖτον.—Polyb. l. 18, c. 3.

Digitized by Google

ignorant of the adversary's position. On the third morning Philip moved forward towards Scotussa [1], but a thick fog having followed a tempest of rain and thunder, he had not proceeded far before he found himself under the necessity of halting, when forming the charax, he sent forward a detachment to occupy the heights of Cynoscephalæ. These troops fell in with ten turmæ of horse, and 1000 light infantry, who had been ordered out by Quinctius to obtain information of the enemy's movements. After a short pause, caused by mutual surprise, an engagement commenced. At first the Romans were hard pressed, but Quinctius sending a reinforcement of 2000 Roman infantry, with 500 Ætolian horsemen, and Philip not being able so readily to succour his men, because, not expecting an engagement, he had directed a great part of his army to collect fodder [2], the Romans forced the Macedonians to retreat to the highest part of the hill just as the fog cleared away. The king then sent to their assistance all the cavalry and the greater part of the mercenary infantry, which gave them such a superiority, that the Romans were driven from the heights, and were only saved from a disorderly flight by the Ætolians. Quinctius, finding his whole army in consternation in consequence of this repulse, thought it expedient to advance with all his forces to the foot of the heights, while Philip, though he disapproved of the position, and was

[1] ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον. [2] ἐπὶ χορτολογίαν.—c. 5.

Digitized by Google

not inclined to engage, was at length induced by some of his officers, who represented the enemy as routed, and the opportunity as favourable, to draw out his phalanx from the charax, and to advance to the ridge. But on reaching the summit he was met by his troops retreating before the enemy's legions, and though the right wing only of the phalanx accompanied him, he found himself under the necessity of immediately engaging. Placing therefore on his right those who had just been retreating, and doubling the depth of the phalangitæ and peltastæ, he commanded the former to charge with their sarissæ, while the latter covered the flanks of the phalanx [1]. Quinctius, who had ordered his right wing to remain unmoved with the elephants in front, placed himself at the head of the left, in opposition to Philip. The encounter was accompanied by a tremendous shout on both sides. The Romans were unable to resist the shock of the phalanx, which Quinctius perceiving, instantly formed the design of counteracting the effect by taking advantage of the disunited state of the Macedonians, whose centre was unemployed, and whose left wing had only just attained the summit of Cynoscephalæ. Quitting therefore the left of his

[1] Τοῖς μὲν φαλαγγίταις ἐδόθη παράγγελμα καταβαλοῦσι τὰς σαρίσσας ἐπαγεῖν, τοῖς δὲ εὐζώνοις κερᾷν.—c. 7.

Livy seems to have misunderstood these words, for he writes, "Cætratos et Macedonum phalangem, hastis positis quarum longitudo impedimento erat, gladiis rem gerere jubet."—l. 33, c. 8.

Digitized by Google

line, he led on his right with the elephants in front against the left of the Macedonians as it arrived, more in marching than in fighting order, on the summit of the ridge, where the ruggedness of the ground increased the difficulty of forming, or of preserving the form of, the phalanx. The success of Quinctius was complete. The Macedonians, terrified by the elephants, and thrown into confusion, soon began a disorderly flight, when a tribune[1], who was in this part of the Roman line, by a prompt unordered movement, and at the head only of a small body of men, completed the victory by making a circuit to the left, by which means he gained that part of the summit of the ridge which remained in Philip's rear, in following the retreating left wing of the Romans. At the same moment therefore that the latter, having rallied, had returned against the front of the phalanx, the tribune attacked it in the rear, and in consequence of its dense formation and difficulty of changing front, threw it into the utmost confusion. After a great slaughter, the Macedonians either fled, throwing away their arms, or surrendered and laid them down; 8000 of them were slain in the battle, and 5000 taken. Of the victors only 700 fell[2]. The Romans took possession of the enemy's camp, but found that it had already been plun-

[1] εἷς τῶν χιλιάρχων.—Polyb. c. 9.

[2] Some of the Latin writers gave incredible accounts of the loss of the Greeks on this occasion, but Livy had the good sense to follow Polybius: "Nos Polybium secuti sumus non incertum auctorem quum omnium Romanarum rerum, tum præcipuè in Græcia gestarum."—l. 33, c. 10.

Digitized by Google

dered by the Ætolians. Philip, as soon as he saw his troops flying in confusion, retired from the field, on the first day to the tower of Alexander, on the second to Gonnus, where he waited to collect his fugitives, and from thence, after having given orders for burning his papers[1] at Larissa, he retired through Tempe into Macedonia[2].

[1] τὰ βασιλικὰ γράμματα.—Polyb. c. 16.

[2] Polybius has appended to his narrative of this celebrated battle some valuable observations on the advantages of the Roman method of palisading a camp, with others still more important and extended, on that superiority of the Roman legion over the Greek phalanx, to which the Romans were mainly indebted for the empire of the world. The Greeks were so heavily laden with their armour that a man could not carry more than a single charax, or pale, and in forming the pales they made choice of large branches with many boughs, which were liable by an effort of three or four of the enemy to be drawn out of the ground. The Romans, on the other hand, slinging their shields by leathern thongs over their shoulders, could carry two or three characes, in forming which, they selected smaller stakes than the Greeks, and such as, having branches only on one side, could be more firmly entwined together, and fixed in the ground, while by sharpening each branch to a point, they rendered it difficult for the enemy to lay hold of them. The phalanx is described by Polybius as sixteen files deep, with a distance of about two feet between the ranks, and a breadth of three feet to each man. The arms were the sarissa or spear, and the sword: the former was fourteen cubits long. Their front rank protruded its spears ten cubits, and each following rank two cubits less, so that all behind the fifth rank made no other use of their spears, while the phalanx was entire, than to hold them lifted up to keep off the missiles which passed over the heads of the five ranks in their front. So dense an order was incapable of much motion, nor could it

Digitized by Google

The citadel of *Pharsalus* is seen from a part of the ruins of *Scotussa* over the neck of the rocky height which I have before described as lying on the north-eastern side of Férsala. To the westward the eye enfilades and looks down upon the

easily change its face or position, so that its main effect depended entirely upon its acting in a body, in which case nothing could resist it in front. But it required level ground and several other conveniences which the chances of war often denied.

In the legion there were only three ranks, and besides the three feet allowed to each man there was an interval of three feet between him and his neighbour, so that the legionary had two phalangitæ opposed to him. But he had it in his power to move his shield and sword according to circumstances, and could readily act independently of his cohort, to which the phalangite was little accustomed. Against the irregular barbarians, to whom the Greeks were often opposed, the phalanx was invincible, defying their numerical superiority, and justly obtaining the credit of having been the salvation of Greece against them. As long as its republics, with a similarity of military institutions, were only opposed to each other upon the contracted field of their own country, it was natural that no great change should occur in their tactics, which were well adapted to their circumstances. But in the reign of Philip, a change which had been in progress from the time of his greater predecessor of the same name had rendered the phalanx less suited to the altered system of warfare. The Macedonians had immensely extended the boundaries of Grecian civilization, arts, and customs; the enlarged system of politics which arose from that change had been still farther widened by the Romans, war was in consequence conducted on a greater scale and a more extensive field, and the phalanx was found unequal to contend with the Roman legion, more moveable and not requiring the concurrence of so many favouring circumstances of time and place.

Digitized by Google

ridge which connects Mount Karadágh with the remarkable height near Orfaná, before noticed as known by the synonymous Greek appellation of Mavrovúni. On a conspicuous point of the connecting ridge are seen the tekiéh and cypresses above Tatári, on the road from Lárissa to Férsala. Thereabouts the crest of the ridge may have formed the boundary between the *Crannonia* and *Pharsalia*, and a little nearer to *Scotussa* it may have separated the *Scotussæa* from the *Pharsalia*.

The rocky crest of Mount Karadágh on either side of Gheremí, and as far as the summits above Suplí, seems to have been the scene of the battle, for here alone are any of those rocky eminences to be found which, according to Polybius, prevented the formation of the phalanx, all the ridge which separates the *Pharsalian* valley from the *Crannonian* and *Scotussæan* plains being a gradual, smooth, and even slope. That the battle was fought very near to *Scotussa*[1] may be inferred from the words of Plutarch, though it would be difficult to discover the resemblance to the heads of dogs, which, according to the biographer, was the origin of the name Cynoscephalæ. It is observable, however, that Polybius, who was probably much better acquainted with the ground than Plutarch, merely describes the ridge as "rugged, broken, and of a considerable height[2]," and that no very clear idea

[1] περὶ τὴν Σκότουσσαν.—Plutarch. in Flamin.

[2] Οἱ γὰρ προειρημένοι λόφοι καλοῦνται μὲν Κυνὸς κεφαλαί· τραχεῖς δ' εἰσὶ καὶ περικεκλασμένοι καὶ πρὸς ὕψος ἱκανὸν ἀνατείνοντες.—Polyb. l. 18, c. 5.

Digitized by Google

can be attached to the description of the place which Plutarch has given, either on this occasion [1] or in his relation of the death of Pelopidas [2], which had conferred celebrity upon Cynoscephalæ long before the Roman wars [3]. Pelopidas had marched from Pharsalus to take possession of Cynoscephalæ, when he found the position already occupied by Alexander of Pheræ, who had moved thither from the nearer position of Thetidium. The Thessalians of the party of Pelopidas succeeded in dislodging the enemy, but Pelopidas was slain in the pursuit, by incautiously advancing too far in front of his army in order to engage in personal combat with the tyrant.

About two miles from the ruins of *Scotussa*, towards Férsala, is the tjiftlík of Arnautlí, which we leave on the right, and then crossing uncultivated downs covered for the most part with dwarf prinária, arrive, at the end of one hour from the ruins, at Duvlatán, a small village of Greeks. The Turkish makhalá of Duvlatán is half a mile farther to the left. From hence we cross the plain of the *Enipeus* in the direction of Tjanglí, which lies in the road from Suplí to Armyró, not much more than one hour distant

[1] ἐμάχοντο περὶ τὰς καλουμένας κυνὸς κεφαλὰς, αἳ λόφων οὖσαι πυκνῶν καὶ παραλλήλων ἄκραι λεπταὶ δι' ὁμοιότητα τοῦ σχήματος οὕτως ὠνομάσθησαν. —Plutarch. in Flamin.

[2] Ἀνατεινόντων δὲ πρὸς τὸ μέσον κατὰ τὰς καλουμένας κυνὸς κεφαλὰς λόφων περικλινῶν καὶ ὑψηλῶν . . . . . ἰσχυρὰ καὶ μετέωρα χωρία.—Plutarch. in Pelopid.

[3] B.C. 364.

Digitized by Google

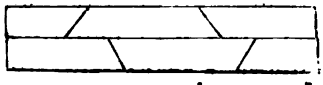
from Duvlatán; but we lose our way, and wander for two hours in the dark. At length, attracted by a fire, we find some shepherds sitting round it, and desire one of them to conduct us into the road towards Tjanglí, or the khan of Inelí. While he hesitates, a boy happens to speak at a little distance: "Ah!" says the shepherd, "there is the Khanjí's boy," and makes his escape under the cover of this ready lie, leaving us to find our way as we best can. Such are the tricks which the Greeks are forced to by the Turks, who take them from their labour and often carry them and their cattle several miles without rewarding them with any thing but blows or abusive words.

January 1, 1810.—Tjanglí contains thirty families, and stands in the entrance of a narrow valley which leads from the plain we have just crossed into that anciently called Crocium, and to Armyró. In the walls of the church are two inscribed stones, one of which is a fragment of verses, the other a sepulchral memorial[1]. The village stands on the eastern side of the pass, and opposite to it rises a steep rocky height around the summit, the sides and the northern slope of which are the ruined walls of an ancient city, probably Eretria Phthiotis, the place where Quinctius halted at the end of the first day's march from Pheræ towards Scotussa. The hill resembles that of *Pharsalus* on a smaller scale, and was fortified in the same manner. A long and narrow

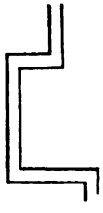
[1] V. Inscriptions, Nos. 212, 213.

Digitized by Google

table-summit formed the citadel, of which the lower courses of the walls still exist in their whole circuit. The town walls are still better preserved, and are extant in some parts on the eastern side to the height of 18 or 20 feet. Here also are two door-ways still perfect. On the western side are the openings of a door and gate, the former about half as large as the latter, which is 11 feet wide. There is another gateway in the lower or northern front, close to the north-western angle: on this side, where the walls were built along the foot of the slope, they are less preserved than on the others. The masonry is of the same kind as that of *Pharsalus*, *Pheræ*, *Scotussa*, and *Thebæ*; the courses being generally equal, and one foot and a half or two feet in height, but formed of stones ending obliquely, thus:

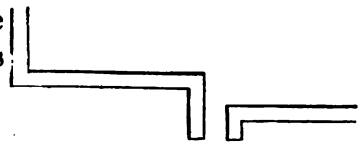


In some places the courses are not quite equal. The walls are in general eight feet thick; the two facings are formed of large uncemented blocks, and the middle of the wall of rough materials mixed with mortar. On the slopes the flank defence is obtained, not by a line broken into oblique angles, as in the ruins of *Asterium* at Vlokhó, and in many other examples of the highest antiquity, but by short perpendicular flanks: on the eastern side two of these flanks are unequal, and opposed to each other, thus:



Digitized by Google

In the western front the gate is placed in this manner:



Interior.

At the foot of the hill, to the west, stands Inelí, a hamlet of six or eight houses now deserted. Both on this side of the hill and towards Tjanglí, but particularly in the latter direction, ancient foundations are apparent on the outside of the walls, whence it would seem that there were suburbs; which is the more probable, as the fortifications do not inclose a circumference of more than a mile. On the western slope of the hill, a little below the walls, are the lower courses of an oblong building, perhaps a temple.

Opposite to Tjanglí, on Mount Karadágh, is the village Karabairám. The road from Férsala to Velestíno continues beyond Tjanglí to follow the valley between the two ridges, and at the end of half an hour passes between Iriní on the foot of the Tziraghiótiko, and Aivalí on the Karadágh. An hour farther it enters the pass between the two mountains in which Ondoklári is situated. From thence the distance is reckoned two hours to Velestíno, descending by Kránovo, once the largest village in the district, but now ruined.

From Inelí we follow the lower road from Armyró to Férsala, one hour to Ghenítzarokhori[1], situated opposite to Duvlatán on the

[1] Γενιτζαροχώρι—Janissary village.

Digitized by Google

heights of Karadágh. To the left of the road rises near us the mountain, which forms the northern side of the pass of Ghidék on the upper road from Férsala to Armyró: on the right is the plain which I crossed yesterday evening between Duvlatán and Tjanglí. Ghenitzarokhóri contains twelve or fifteen Greek families, and stands on the side of a lofty hill which rises gradually behind it, and on the other or western side falls precipitously to the *Enipeus*, which issues into the *Pharsalian* plain between this hill and another on the opposite or left bank, equally steep. The round rocky summit of the hill of Ghenitzarokhóri is inclosed by the remains of walls of a remote antiquity. They are most apparent on the eastern side, and were built, like those of Tiryns, of large irregular masses, having the intervals filled with uncemented smaller stones, most of which have fallen out. The whole seems to have been nothing more than a fortress at the debouché of the river into the plains. On the summit stood a square castle of uncertain date, and indicated only by lines of small stones.

From the ravine of Ghenitzarokhóri the course of the *Enipeus* may be traced upward by the eye as far as the mountain of Gura, where are the sources of this famous river. From its left bank rises the lofty hill crowned with the ruins of an ancient fortress, which was seen from our road on the 10th December between lower Tjaterlí and Ghidék, and which is conspicuous from Armyró and its vicinity. The small village of Keuzlár, as I before stated, stands at the foot of the hill.

Digitized by Google

The remains are perhaps those of *Melitæa*, for this city stood nearly in the route from *Heracleia Trachinia* to *Pharsalus*, near the *Enipeus*, and at a day's march from the *Apidanus*, where that river was nearest to *Pharsalus*. The proximity of *Melitæa* to the *Enipeus* may be inferred from Strabo, who states that the Melitæenses pointed out the ruins of the city Hellas, on the opposite side of the Enipeus, 10 stades from their own city, which was named Pyrrha[1]. From Thucydides the distance of Melitæa from the Apidanus may be collected. He relates, that when Brasidas marched through Thessaly, from Heracleia Trachinia to Dium in Macedonia, in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian war, his Thessalian friends from Pharsalus met him at Melitæa, and that from thence on the following day he moved to Pharsalus and encamped on the Apidanus, near that city[2].

The hill of Ghenitzarokhóri commands a view also of the elevated valley which I traversed between *Pharsalus* and the *Enipeus* going to Armyró. The branch of that river which we crossed a little to the west of Kato Tjaterlí flows from an opening between the high round mountain behind Férsala and the range of hills at the foot of which stands upper Tjaterlí; from lower Tjaterlí it flows by Derenglí to the *Enipeus*. One of the roads from Férsala to Zitúni follows the ravine of this tributary of the *Enipeus*, and in an hour and a half from upper Tjaterlí reaches Tjeutmá, a Turkish

[1] Strabo, p. 431.

[2] Thucyd. l. 4, c. 78.

Digitized by Google

town with three makhalás, where on the root of the mountain are the walls of an ancient city, of the same dimensions as that at Tjanglí. From Tjeutmá a plain extends to the lake of Tauklí, the ancient *Xynias*, and to the dervéni leading to Zitúni. The ruins at Tjeutmá may have been *Erineum*, or *Coroneia*, I am more inclined to think the latter city, as it would seem to have been the more important of the two, being noticed by Ptolemy and Stephanus [1] as well as by Strabo, whereas Erineum does not occur in any author but the last [2]. Possibly the remains on the left bank of the *Enipeus* near Koklóbashi, may be those of *Erineium*.

It was probably by the pass of Tjaterlí that Agesilaus, proceeding from Asia into Greece a little before the battle of Coroneia in Bœotia, in the year B.C. 394, crossed the mountains of Achaia Phthiotis, after having made his way through the Thessalian plains, in defiance of the Larissæi, Crannonii, Scotussæi, and Pharsalii, through whose districts he passed, and who with the Thessalians in general were allied with the Bœotians against him. He not only conducted his infantry safely through the plains in a square body, but at length defeated the renowned Thessalian cavalry, and slew the leader of the Pharsalii [3]. This action occurred probably in the valley of the *Enipeus*, not far from the mountains, as the defeated Thessalians

[1] Ptolem. l. 3, c. 13.—Stephan. in Κορώνεια.

[2] Strabo, p. 434.

[3] Xenoph. Hell. l. 4, c. 3.—Vit. Agesil.

Digitized by Google

fled into Mount Narthacium, in some part of which Agesilaus, halting after the action, set up a trophy between the town Narthacium [1] and another place named Pras. The next day he crossed the mountains of Achaia Phthiotis, and from thence had none but friendly territories to traverse in his progress into Bœotia. It seems from this transaction, that *Narthacium* was the mountain which rises immediately to the southward of Férsala. Pras would seem to have been near lower Tjaterlí, and *Narthacium* on the mountain not far from upper Tjaterlí.

Leaving Ghenitzarokhóri at 8 Turkish, we descend the hill, and in ten minutes cross the *Enipeus*, which is here a wide torrent, often very formidable in winter, and sometimes quite dry in summer. The road then follows the foot of the hills for 35 minutes to Derenglí, the *Enipeus* flowing along the middle of the valley a mile on our right. Derenglí is on a root of the heights which we have coasted, a mile short of it we crossed the neck of a low tabular projection advancing to the river side; it is now cultivated, but among the arable some indications of an ancient site are visible, such as large blocks, and smaller stones scattered about the ground. It may be the site perhaps of a frontier fortress of the *Pharsalii*. As to Thetidium [2], where the pro-

[1] Ptolem. l. 3, c. 13.

[2] τὸ Θετίδιόν ἐστι πλησίον τῶν Φαρσάλων ἀμφοῖν τῆς τε παλαιᾶς καὶ τῆς νέας.—Strabo, p. 431.

Thetidium was so named from a temple of Thetis, who was a favorite goddess of the Phthiotæ, as having been the mother of their hero Achilles.

Digitized by Google

consul Quinctius encamped at the end of the second march from Pheræ toward Scotussa, it was probably at or near Magúla, on the opposite side of the *Enipeus*, that situation being in the plain, and not far from the frontiers of the *Pharsalia* and *Scotussæa*, as the Roman camp appears from the historian to have been. The march of Philip from his camp, near the site of Rizómylo, seems to have led on the first day by the position of Gherelí to the river beyond that place, which is thus identified with the *Onchestus*. Dederianí at the sources of the same river was perhaps the site of *Melambium*, for it seems evident from Polybius, and particularly from the word περιήει, to have been Philip's intention to make a circuit round the northern summits of the mountain to Scotussa, when the fog having obliged him to halt, he sent an advanced body to secure the heights between his camp and Scotussa[1], not doubting that the enemy was in that direction, and was at length obliged to follow the same route with his whole phalanx.

Φθίας δὲ τῆσδε καὶ πόλεως Φαρσαλίας
Ξύγχορτα ναίω πεδί', ἵν' ἡ θαλασσία
Πηλεῖ ξυνῴκει χωρὶς ἀνθρώπων Θέτις
Φεύγουσ' ὅμιλον· Θεσσαλὸς δέ νιν λεὼς
Θετίδειον αὐδᾷ θεᾶς χάριν νυμφευμάτων.

Euripid. Androm. v. 16.

[1] *Φίλιππος κατανύσαι, σπεύδων ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον, ἀναζεύξας περιήει μετὰ πάσης τῆς στρατείας, δυσχρηστούμενος δὲ κατὰ τὴν πορείαν διὰ τὴν ὁμίχλην, βράχυν τόπον διανύσας, τὴν μὲν δύναμιν εἰς χάρακα παρενέβαλε, τὴν δ' ἐφέδρειαν ἀπέστειλε, συντάξας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄκρους ἐπιβαλεῖν τῶν μεταξὺ κειμένων βουνῶν.* — Polyb. l. 18, c. 3.

Digitized by Google

Beyond Derenglí we follow the foot of the mountain for three miles, when the atmosphere, which had been nearly in the same state as on the morning of the battle of *Cynoscephalæ*, suddenly clearing, shows the magnificent rocks of the Metéora or *Æginium* very distinctly in front of us, though distant not less than fifty miles. The fair weather, after having lasted three or four days, had ended yesterday evening in clouds, and this morning a little snow fell with a light northerly wind. Such a change in winter generally produces the clearest atmosphere. A line of N. 44 W. S. 44 E. will cut the rocks of *Æginium*, the hill of *Asterium* or Vlokhó, the western end of Mavrovúni near Orfaná, the road from Férsala to Velestíno, one hour east of Férsala, where the observation was made, and the pass of Tjanglí or *Eretria*, leading out of the valley of the *Enipeus* into the *Crocian* plain, or that of Armyró.

Having crossed the root of the rocky height, which borders the site of *Pharsalus* on the east, we enter the town of Férsala at 10.35, having halted ten minutes on the road from Derenglí.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XLIII.

THESSALIA.

Battle of *Pharsalus*—Fountain *Hypereia*—Present state of Férsala—Demirlí—Simiklí—Yusuflí—*Euhydrium*, *Palæpharus*—Sofádhes—Maskolúri—Mataránga, *Cierium*—Rivers *Cuarius*, *Apidanus*—Kaputzí—Kardhítza—Paleókastro, *Metropolis*—Loxádha—Fanári, *Ithome*—*Limnæa*—Rivers *Pamisus*, *Onochonus*, *Phœnix*, *Asopus*, *Melas*—*Ctemenæ*—Ghelánthi—Episkopí, *Gomphi*—*Pheca*—Rapsísta—Musáki—Portes—*Athenæum*—River Portéïko—Kótziaka—Mount *Cercetium*, *Phaloria*, *Pialia*—Poliána—*Silana*—Tríkkala—*Homeric geography of Thessaly*—*Melibœa*—Stagús—Kastráki—Metéora—Ioánnina.

To the traveller who takes an interest in the illustration of history, (and to all others Greece will afford but a barren field,) there are few points in the whole country more worthy of a visit than the *acropolis of Pharsalus*. From hence may be traced a great part of the marches through Thessaly, of Xerxes, of Brasidas, and of Agesilaus, as well as many of the movements of the armies of Rome and her opponents in the Macedonian wars. At a short distance are the scenes of two of the greatest events in ancient history; by the former of which a Roman army more than half achieved the conquest of Greece, and by the latter extinguished the

Digitized by Google

republic of Rome. Of this great event the field lies immediately below the spectator.

Cæsar relates[1], that after his failure against Pompey at Dyrrhachium, both parties came to the resolution of marching into Macedonia, where divisions of their respective armies under Calvinus and Scipio had been opposed to each other on the Haliacmon, their purpose being exactly the same, namely, that of giving succour to their friends or of cutting off the hostile forces as circumstances might determine. But Cæsar being at Apollonia was farther removed than his adversary from the direct route by Candavia, for which and other reasons he resolved to march through Epirus into Thessaly. The exaggerated accounts spread through the country of Pompey's victory had created a feeling which prevented any communication between Cæsar and Calvinus by messengers, so that when Cæsar was marching through Epirus and Athamania to Æginium, Calvinus, who had quitted his position on the Haliacmon for the sake of obtaining provisions, and had arrived at Heracleia of Pelagonia (or Lyncestis), there fell exactly into the track which Pompey was pursuing, after having crossed the Candavia. By great good fortune, however, Calvinus received advice of the occurrences in Illyria, and of the route taken by Cæsar, just in time to avoid the danger, when marching without delay to the southward he met Cæsar at Æginium. The situations of Apollonia, Æginium, and Heracleia of Lyncestis, being certain, the

[1] Cæsar de B. Civ. l. 3, c. 78, et seq.

Digitized by Google

march of Cæsar was evidently through the valleys of the Dryno and Ioánnina, and by the Métzovo pass to Stagús; Calvinus, who was near Filúrina, may be supposed to have directed his movement upon the same point, through Anaselítza and Grevená.

After this fortunate reunion of his forces, Cæsar took Gomphi by assault, and gave it up to plunder; then marched to Metropolis which capitulated on hearing of the fate of Gomphi, and from thence proceeded into the Pharsalia, where he encamped in a place abounding in corn which was then nearly ripe. A few days afterwards, Pompey and Scipio, who had effected their junction at Larissa, arrived at Pharsalus[1], and established their camp on some neighbouring heights. After having gathered in the corn and allowed sufficient time for repose, Cæsar endeavoured to make up for his great inferiority in cavalry by constantly exercising it, and often skirmishing with the enemy, and at length, as well with the view of obtaining new supplies as with the hope of drawing Pompey from the foot of the hills where his army was posted, he determined frequently to change the position of his whole army, in order to fatigue his adversary, and trusting that he should at last be able to seize some favourable opportunity for attacking the enemy.

[1] Cæsar does not mention the place of encampment either of his own army or that of Pompey; the names are supplied by other authors.

Digitized by Google

Scarcely had he struck his tents for this purpose[1], when finding that the Pompeians had advanced farther than usual into the plain, he instantly perceived that the moment for engaging had arrived. Pompey also, as Cæsar afterwards learnt, had come to the same resolution. The former had 45,000 men, besides 3000 left in charge of the camp and fortresses: Cæsar had only 22,000 men in position. The right of Pompey being well protected by a river which had precipitous banks[2], he placed his cavalry, which amounted to 7000, as well as all his archers and slingers, on the left. Cæsar headed the tenth legion on the right, opposite to Pompey, and in order to prevent his right from being turned by the adverse cavalry, he selected from the third line six cohorts, and placed them in the rear of his right wing, with the admonition that upon them would depend the fortune of the day. He gave at the same time strict injunctions to the third line not to move without especial orders. Pompey resolved to await the attack. The Cæsareans made a short halt midway between the two lines, again advanced, discharged their javelins, received those of the enemy, and then came to a close engagement with swords. While the two lines were thus occupied, the cavalry and

[1] According to Plutarch he was taking the road to Scotussa: — ὡς ἐπὶ Σκοτούσσης ὁδεύων ἐζεύγνυεν. — Plutarch. in J. Cæs.

[2] The Enipeus, as Appian informs us (de B. Civ. l. 2, c. 75.

Digitized by Google

light troops of Pompey attempted a manœuvre which he had ordered when he placed them on his left; having forced the Cæsarean horse to retreat, they were extending themselves in the rear of Cæsar's line, when they were unexpectedly attacked by the six cohorts and completely routed, flying to the mountains, and leaving the archers and slingers to be cut in pieces. The six cohorts following up their advantage now moved into the rear of the enemy's left and attacked it, at the moment when the third line of Cæsar was ordered to advance; the Pompeians thus at once assailed in the rear, and exposed to fresh troops in front, gave way, and fled to their camp, to which Pompey also retired, giving orders for its defence.

Cæsar determined immediately to attack the camp, and notwithstanding the fatigue of his men and the meridian heat, was readily followed by them, prepared as they were by discipline for any degree or kind of labour. The cohorts of Pompey which had been left in charge of the camp, aided by some Thracian auxiliaries, made a good defence, but at length fled to the mountains at the back of the camp[1], while Pompey had only time to change his dress and mount his horse for Larissa, from whence he continued his route by night to the coast, and embarked in a corn ship. The mountain into which the Pompeians had retired being without water, and Cæsar having begun a circumvallation around it, they lost no

[1] In altissimos montes qui ad castra pertinebant, confugerunt. —c. 95.

Digitized by Google

time in quitting it, and in taking the road to Larissa. Cæsar followed with four legions, leaving the rest of his army in the two camps, and by taking a shorter way than the Pompeians, overtook them at the end of six miles. They now retired into another mountain, at the foot of which there was a river, but Cæsar having before night erected a work which cut them off from the water, they made offers of surrender, and in the morning descended from the mountain and laid down their arms. Cæsar then sent to the camp for the legions which had been all night in repose, and proceeded the same day to Larissa. Fifteen thousand Pompeians were slain in the action, and more than 24,000 taken, a part of whom were the cohorts which guarded the forts, and who surrendered to L. Sylla. The remainder of the army took refuge in the neighbouring cities. Cæsar lost 30 centurions and 200 legionary soldiers.

It is curious that Cæsar has not named the place in which he gained the most important of all his victories, so that had there been no other relation of it or allusion to it in history, we should only have known that it occurred in some part of the country between Metropolis and Larissa, two places which are forty miles distant from one another. But there is no want of evidence that it occurred in the territory of Pharsalus, although Appian alone has indicated the exact position both of the adverse camps and of the battle, by having remarked, that the camps were 30 stades apart, and by showing that the river which covered the right of Pompey's line, and the left of Cæsar's,

Digitized by Google

was the *Enipeus*, and that the action took place between that river and the city of Pharsalus [1]. There can scarcely remain a doubt, therefore, that the camp of Pompey was on the heights to the eastward of Férsala, and that of Cæsar at or near Hadjéverli, at the foot of the rocky height which advances into the plain three miles westward of Férsala. Here a fertile plain surrounding copious sources furnished exactly the conveniences which Cæsar had sought for [2]. The two armies when drawn up for battle stretched from the *Enipeus* towards *Pharsalus*, and occupied a line of near three miles, beyond which there was a space near the foot of the hills, sufficient for the operations which occurred between the light troops of Pompey and the six cohorts of Cæsar, with their respective cavalry. Strabo distinguishes Palæpharsalus from new Pharsalus [3], and Livy, who also mentions both, applies the former name to the situation where the Romans under Hostilius were long encamped, in the third year of the Persic war, B. C. 169 [4]; it would seem, therefore, either that the fortress, of which remains still exist half a mile to the eastward of the *acropolis* of *Phar-*

[1] Πομπήϊος . . . . ἐπῆλθε καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευσε τῷ Καίσαρι περὶ Φάρσαλον, καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίους ἀλλήλων ἀπεῖχον.—Appian. de Bel. Civ. l. 2, c. 65.

Πομπήϊος . . . . . παρέτασσε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ Φαρσάλου τε πόλεως καὶ Ἐνιπέως ποταμοῦ, ἔνθα καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀντιδιεκόσμει.—c. 75.

[2] Cæsar. de B. C. l. 3, c. 81. 84.

[3] Strabo, p. 431, v. sup. p. 472, note 2.

[4] Liv. l. 44, c. 1.

Digitized by Google

salus, was known at that time by the name of Palæ-pharsalus, or that the acropolis itself was intended by it, possibly because the town then existing occupied, like the modern Férsala, only the vicinity of the sources of water at the foot of the height, or the north-western part of the ancient inclosure, of which the upper part, including the acropolis, may have been uninhabited, and the walls perhaps in a state of dilapidation. After the disasters to which Greece had then been long exposed, such may very probably have been the state of Pharsalus, though it would seem to have recovered afterwards by favour of the conqueror and his successors, as it was the only city in Thessaly noticed by Pliny as a libera civitas [1]. Whichever of these conjectures as to Palæ-pharsalus may be correct, there will be little difference in the situation of the camp of Pompey, so inconsiderable is the interval between the two points in question. The camp occupied the heights to the eastward of Férsala, which, secured by Mount *Narthacium* on one side, and defended by rocky declivities towards the plain, afforded such a position as the Romans seem to have considered eligible for an encampment [2].

The mountain towards Lárissa into which the Pompeians retired when Cæsar encamped opposite to the foot of it, was probably near *Scotussa*; for

[1] Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 8.

[2] Appian remarks of the position of Brutus at Philippi: τὸ πεδίον ἦν ἐναγωνίσασθαι καλὸν καὶ οἱ κρημνοὶ στρατοπεδεύσαι. — Appian. de Bel. Civ. l. 4, c. 106.

Digitized by Google

there alone is any mountain to be found with a river at the foot of it. This river I take to have been the same which Herodotus has named Onochonus. If we suppose Cæsar to have computed his distance of six miles from the banks of the *Enipeus* north-eastward of Férsala, and to have encamped at some little distance short of the *Onochonus*, the march would not have been much greater than six miles, though it seems rather underrated at this number.

Appian sufficiently accounts for the defeat of so superior a force, by showing that a large proportion of the army of Pompey was formed of Greeks or Asiatics, who fought very ill or not at all; but who, nevertheless, were slaughtered without mercy —whereas, as soon as the victory was complete, Cæsar gave an order to spare the Italians, which being speedily known to both armies, the words "stare securos" became a parole used by one party and respected by the other. According to Asinius Pollio, one of the generals of Cæsar, 6000 Pompeians were found dead on the field of battle[1]; but these were probably the Italians only, as other authors reported a much greater number to have fallen on that side.

Plutarch appears to have composed his narrative of the battle as well in his life of Cæsar as in that of Pompey, entirely from Cæsar and Appian; and except that he names Scotussa as the place towards which Cæsar designed to march on the morning of the battle, Tempe as the route through

[1] Ap. Appian. B. C. l. 2, c. 82.

Digitized by Google

which Pompey proceeded from Larissa, and the mouth of the Peneius as the place where he embarked, there is scarcely a circumstance which is not noticed in the Commentaries or the Greek history. Nothing is more probable, considering the position of the two camps, and the design of Cæsar in moving as stated by himself, than that he intended to march in the direction of the site, which I have supposed to be that of *Scotussa*. The mention, therefore, of that place by Plutarch on this occasion, may be considered in some degree as confirming the identity of the ruins.

It is generally believed among the Greeks of *Thessaly* having any pretensions to erudition, that Férsala is the site of an ancient city Phthia, capital of the homonymous district, Pharsalus not being acknowledged among them as an ancient name. That the city as well as district was named Phthia at a remote period is not an absurd supposition, as Pharsalus is not mentioned by Homer though it was probably the capital of Phthiotis, according to its largest boundaries, which comprehended all the country surrounded by the plains of the Apidanus and Spercheius, by the Euboic frith, the Gulf of Pagasæ, and a line drawn from thence to the Enipeus at its exit from the mountains, thus including the districts of Pharsalus, Proerna, Thaumaci, and Lamia, as well as the country around Othrys, which in later ages seems more specifically to have constituted Phthiotis [1]. In all this region there was no

[1] Strabo, pp. 433, 434.

Digitized by Google

spot to be compared to *Pharsalus* for a combination of strength, resources, and convenience. Euripides represents Andromache to have been a captive at Pharsalus of Phthia [1]; this place, therefore, seems to have been the capital and residence of Eurytion and Peleus [2], whose territory included apparently not only Hellas, of which the chief town was Trachis, since Achilles led the ships of Hellas to Troy as well as those of Phthia, but Dolopia also, which is described by Homer as a portion of Phthia [3], and which, as well as the eastern part of the kingdom, was under a subordinate chieftain. If Andromache was a captive at Pharsalus, it becomes the more probable that the fountain Hypereia of Homer was not the source at Velestíno, but some other in or near the kingdom of Achilles [4]; and such, in the time of Strabo, was the opinion of the Pharsalii, who pointed out the fountains Messeis and Hypereia at a distance of sixty stades from their city, where existed some remains of an ancient town which they supposed to have been named Hellas [5]. The distance sufficiently corresponds to Vrysiá. As to Messeis, the Spartans maintained that fountain to have been

[1] Eurip. Androm. v. 16. V. sup. p. 472, note 2.

[2] Thus also Lucan—regnum Pharsalus Achillis (l. 6, v. 350).

[3] Ναῖον ἐσχατιὴν Φθίης Δολόπεσσιν ἀνάσσων. Il. I. v. 480.

[4] V. sup. p. 435.

[5] Strabo, p. 431.

Digitized by Google

near their city[1]; and with some probability, as the poet when he represented Hector as predicting to Andromache that she should be a slave at Argos, or draw water at Messeis or Hypereia[2], seems to have had in view the three chief cities of the enemies of Troy, in one of which Hector thought it too probable that his wife should thereafter be a captive.

Coins, vases, figures of clay and brass, are often found in the fields near Férsala, and in general are destroyed as soon as found. Two brothers working in a field not long since struck upon the arm of a bronze statue of the size of life, and broke it in two by way of sharing the metal equally. All I can recover of it is a joint of one of the fingers, which bears the marks of fire.

Férsala is an archbishopric, depending immediately on the patriarch of Constantinople. The present prelate had previously been a kalógheros in the patriarchate; and after having been employed as exarch upon several ecclesiastical missions, has been unable to obtain any better preferment than a see, of which the annual revenue is about 2000 piastres, or 130*l.* sterling. He has lately been sent by the patriarch to Ioánnina upon the subject of the union of the metropolitan bishop-

[1] Pausan. Lacon. c. 20.

[2] Καί κεν ἐν Ἄργει ἐοῦσα πρὸς ἄλλης ἴστον ὑφαίνοις,
Καί κεν ὕδωρ φερέοις Μεσσηΐδος ἢ Ὑπερείης
Πολλ' ἀεκαζομένη.

Il. Z. v. 456.

Digitized by Google

rics of Arta and Ioánnina, which the Vezír has now effected by his influence at Constantinople, and probably with advantage to both sees. The bishop confirms the favourable opinion of the Greek hierarchy as to the general conduct of Alý towards the Church, and states that on his late mission the Pashá said to him, "I never injured your Church and never will[1]." He complains more of his holy brother of Lárissa, who, he says, in spite of the patriarch, has torn from him four of the best villages of the plain, leaving only twenty in the archbishopric. Having found ninety piastres a year a rent too burdensome for his slender income, he has lately endeavoured to repair the palace, but has been obliged to confine himself to the expence of a few boards to save himself from falling into the stable through the floor of the only apartment which he inhabits, and in which some sheets of paper now supply the place of glass in the window-frames, while a few rugs on the divan and floor are the only furniture. The Greek church is severely burthened at present by an imdát seféri, or extraordinary war-tax, which the Porte has lately imposed upon the clergy, leaving them to repay themselves from their flocks as they can. The bishop, though conversant upon general subjects in consequence of his long residence at Constantinople, is totally deficient in ancient literature and history, and was even unconscious that the modern name, from which he takes his title, is but slightly corrupted from that which the city

[1] Ποτὲ δὲν ἔκαμα κουζούρι στὴν ἐκκλησίανσας οὔτε θέλω κάμνω.

Digitized by Google

bore anciently during a long succession of ages. He supposes inscribed marbles to indicate hidden treasures; and of all the ancient names in this country Thessaly and Phthia alone seem to be known to him. He might easily obtain a little more information by means of the work of Bishop Meletius.

The ignorance of the history of their country, which the Greeks so generally betray, arises from the total neglect of Hellenic literature among them after they have acquired what is taught at school, or what is sufficient to qualify those young men for the church who are intended for that profession. But in this respect they might perhaps retort upon more civilized nations, and ask: "How many of you, after having spent several years of your youth in decyphering a small portion of the poets, orators, and historians of Greece, have ever bestowed a thought upon them; or how many of that superior class among ye, who have so many advantages over us, have any knowledge of the history or geography of Greece. Such knowledge ought undoubtedly to interest those most nearly who are born and live in the country, and speak the ancient language little changed. Nor will these motives fail to produce corresponding effects when education has made greater progress. The Greeks will then easily take the lead of all the nations of Europe in a familiar knowledge of their ancient literature.

Férsala and Dhomokó form one Turkish kazá, containing about sixty villages, all belonging to Turks but inhabited by Greeks, who have no

Digitized by Google

agricultural property in the district except sheep, which belong chiefly to Greeks of Férsala or its plain, and which thrive exceedingly, as they find excellent pasture in the plain or hills, according to the season of the year. The Greek families in the town are chiefly shopkeepers of the bazár, who in their houses spin cotton and weave it into coarse kerchiefs for the head and waist, which are consumed in the town or immediate neighbourhood. There is a school for teaching boys to read and write, held, as usual in the poorer villages of Greece, in the church porch; the schoolmaster, who is likewise papás, receives from each scholar twenty or thirty parás a month. The retail price of wheat is forty piastres the kilo of 150 okes. Wood is plentiful, and costs only thirty parás the ass-load, or one-fourth of the price which it bears at this season in Ioánnina: but Ioánnina is an expensive place; and my tatár Mustafá, who has a large family in that city, says that he cannot make both ends meet, unless he gains five purses a year by his profession, now equivalent to 160*l.*

The Turkish population of this town and district has diminished considerably during the last four years. Their own imprudence and indolence, the diminished produce of the land, arising chiefly from a scarcity of labourers, added to the vexations of the Porte and of Alý Pashá, have induced many of them to sell their tjiftlíks to Alý or his sons, and to retire to Lárissa or other great towns beyond the reach of the *Epirote* tyrant. A few beys at Lárissa, 'Egripo, and Thebes, are now the

Digitized by Google

only Turkish proprietors in Eastern Greece, whose incomes from their lands are sufficient to support them.

The heat at Férsala is said to be sometimes excessive, in great measure caused by reflection from the rocky heights which rise above the town on two sides, but particularly from those to the eastward. The prevailing winds in the summer months, when rain very seldom falls, are called Voréas, Líva, and Trikkalinós [1]. The first, instead of being from the north, as the name imports, is nearer north-east, and the Líva, instead of being the same as the Libs, or south-west, is nearly west. The former is the Etesian wind so violent and constant in the middle of summer. It is cool until towards August, when all the Thracian plains over which it blows become a parched desert, and the mountains themselves reflect heat. For the same reason the Liva, which in every part of Greece is warm, even when it blows from the sea, becomes intolerably oppressive at Férsala in the summer, and if it occurs in harvest-time, which not unfrequently happens, is sometimes fatal to the labourers. The Trikkalinós, or wind of Tríkkala, though having only a few degrees of northing in it, is refreshing compared to the Líva, notwithstanding that it blows equally over the plain. It is in fact the regular maestrale of the western coast, cooled again in passing over the *Pindus*. In winter there is a greater variety of winds, and all of them bring rain

[1] Βορέας, Λίβας, Τρικκαλινός.

Digitized by Google

occasionally; with the north-east the fine weather is most permanent. Snow comes chiefly with the Voréas, which is then a true north, or between N. N. W. and N. N. E. On the western side of Mount *Pindus* the rains constantly come from the points between the south-east and west. During the present winter southerly winds have been more than usually prevalent in *Thessaly*, notwithstanding which I have scarcely ever been prevented from travelling by the rain, which at this season seldom falls in torrents, as occurs in the spring and early summer, but generally in a mist.

Jan. 4.—Quitting the north-western extremity of Férsala at 4.20 Turkish, I follow the direct road to Tríkkala for an hour, when at the farther of two makhalás named Kutjúk Ahmét we diverge to the left towards the mountains of 'Agrafa, leaving at a distance of two miles on the left Hadjéverli, situated not far from the foot of the projecting point of the insulated height at the north-western extremity of the *Pharsalian* ridge, around which I suppose the camp of Cæsar to have been placed. The land around these villages is chiefly in tillage, but as we advance the cultivation diminishes, and the villages become less numerous; the plough is drawn by a pair of oxen, and sometimes by a pair of buffalos.

At 6.12 we pass along the skirts of Demirlí, two miles beyond which to the right, in the direction of Hadjóbashi, is seen Simiklí, in the direct road from Férsala to Tríkkala. These are both considerable places. To the left are seen Ghynekókastro, Dhomokó, and a few villages in

Digitized by Google

the plain towards the mountain of 'Agrafa, upon the foot of which stand some small tjiftlíks. At 6.40, Yusuflí being four miles on the right in the Tríkkala road, we cross a considerable stream by a bridge of four arches built upon ancient piers. The chief sources of this river are at Vrysiá, but it receives other waters from the heights around Dhomokó, as well as from the foot of the rocky point above Hadjéverli. At the bridge a small height rises from the right bank of the stream, on which, as well as in the surrounding fields, are some vestiges of an ancient town. There are two other similar heights in the direction of Mataránga forming a right line with the preceding. One of them situated to the north of Pazaráki is very stony. Some others are seen towards Orfaná, which I had observed on the road from Vlokhó to Férsala. Several of these hills have been found convenient sites for modern villages, for the same reason which made them eligible to the ancients in the midst of these alternately hot and marshy plains. The greater part of those which retain remains of antiquity were probably the sites of comæ only, but among them may have been some of the seventy-five cities which Pliny states to have been included within the magnificent amphitheatre formed by Circetium, Pierus, Olympus, Ossa, Pindus, Othrys, Pelion, and seventeen other mountains of minor note[1]. Among the insulated heights to the northward of our route, that on the left bank of the *Enipeus*, which I passed on the road from Petrinó

[1] Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 8.

Digitized by Google

to Férsala, is particularly conspicuous. It is the site perhaps of *Euhydrium*, mentioned by Livy in his narrative of the transactions which followed the defeat of the Macedonians at the Fauces Antigonenses, when Philip, followed at no great distance by the victorious consul, retired rapidly through Thessaly, and desolated the cities which had been in alliance with him, that the enemy might be deprived of their resources. According to the historian, Philip inflicted these marks of his friendship upon four cities between Phacium and Pheræ, namely, Iresiæ, Euhydrium, Eretria, and Palæpharus. Supposing *Phacium* to have stood at Alífaka, and correcting *Iresiæ* to *Piresiæ*, which I have already shown to have been the ancient city at Vlokhó, we have a very natural route for Philip: first, along the *Peneius* and *Apidanus* to Vlokhó, and from thence along the Fersalíti, or *Enipeus*, to *Eretria* at Inelí, leaving *Pharsalus* a little on the right, probably because that city was too powerful to submit quietly to spoliation like the smaller towns, and gave Philip the same reception which he met at Pheræ, from whence, when he found the gates shut against him, and that a siege would consume more time than he could afford, he retired into Macedonia. The site near Hadjóbashi is exactly in the road from *Piresiæ* to *Eretria*, and about midway between them. *Palæpharus* would seem to have been near Ondoklári, or Kránovo, for these places lie in the line just mentioned, and the ancient name, implying old Pheræ or Pharæ, suggests a situation not far from Pheræ.

We cross by a bridge of a single arch a brook

Digitized by Google

which, originating near Dhomokó, joins the river of Vrysiá, not far from Mataránga. The plain for a great distance around us is now quite uncultivated, but affords pasture to a great number of cattle and sheep which are brought hither in winter from the neighbouring mountains. At 7.45 we arrive at Pazaráki, a large village chiefly Turkish, situated five or six miles from the foot of the mountains, and nearly opposite to the stenúra, or strait where the river of Sofádhes issues into the plain between Dhránista and Smókovo; it rises in the mountain near Rendhína called Zygiastá Neá. I find in Pazaráki a cubical block of stone which has been hollowed at one end to serve as a mortar: it was covered on two sides with letters, but as they are reversed by the position of the stone, and almost defaced, I can only decypher in two places the names of some Ταγοὶ, but of what city there is no intimation. The characters seem earlier than the Roman empire. Another fragment of a later period recorded the manumission of slaves, and their payment to the city of 22 denaria[1]; the same sum which is found in similar documents at *Cyretiæ* and *Oloosson*.

In 40 minutes from Pazaráki we arrive at Sofádhes, having crossed the river just before entering the village. Sofádhes, which lies in a right line from Pazaráki to the hill of Mataránga, the most central and conspicuous of the landmarks afforded by the insulated heights of this great plain, is a kefalokhóri of 150 houses in the district of Lárissa. The mukatá is in the hands of Abdím

[1] V. Inscriptions, Nos. 214. 215.

Digitized by Google

Bey, but a yearly avayéti is paid to Alý Pashá. In one of the houses I find a marble inscribed with characters which are exactly of the same kind as those on the more ancient of the two monuments noticed at Pazaráki. The inscription was in thirty-six lines, but I can only decypher a portion of it in two places, from which it appears to have recorded some honours conferred upon a native or foreigner. The letters ΠΟΛΕΩΣΘΑ in the twenty-third line seem to shew that the name of Thaumaci was mentioned, this city having concurred perhaps with that in which the monument was erected in some choragic exhibition, as indicated by the words ἐχορήγησεν and τῆς τῶν νέων συναγωγῆς. The tagi, or local magistrates of the city, appear to have been five. The act took place in the second assembly of the month Itonius, in the strategia of Agasimachus of Larissa[1]. The characters are hardly later than the time of Alexander.

The plain around Pazaráki and Sofádhes bears

[1] V. Inscription, No. 216.

We learn from the Armenian version of a part of Eusebius, which is deficient in the Greek, that when Thessaly was liberated from the Macedonian yoke by Flamininus, it was governed for eighteen years by annual magistrates. In the Latin translation of Mai and Zohrab (Mediol. 1818, l. 1. c. 39) these magistrates are styled principes, in that of Aucher (Venet. 1818, p. 340) duces. The Greek title undoubtedly was στρατηγὸς, the same as that of the supreme magistrates of the Achæans and Ætolians about the same time. If the magistrate whose name is inscribed on the obverse of the money of the Κοινὸν Θεσσάλων was the στρατηγὸς, the Thessalians preserved their form of government under the Romans, for some of those coins are as late as the time of the empire.

Digitized by Google

corn and sesámi, the oil of which is in common use by the people of *Thessaly*, who live too far from the land of olives to afford that kind of oil. The plough does not differ from that of Prévyza, or of most of the other parts of Greece, except in the form of the ὑννὶ or share, which in the Thessalian plains is like the head of a spear, as I before stated [1]. Travelling with menzíl geldings over the plain, our pace to-day is about six miles an hour. These horses have the shuffling pace called Shapkeun by the Turks, which is taught them by a particular process when young, and is esteemed also in America and the West Indies as easy to the rider.

Jan. 5.—Sending my baggage direct to Kardhítza I follow the left bank of the river to Maskolúri and Mataránga. The banks are high, the stream not rapid, the depth at present about two feet, the bed in general sandy. Maskolúri is one third of the distance to Mataránga, which is about four miles by the road from Sofádhes. At Maskolúri the river is crossed by a bridge of two arches, built of stone, and constructed like that of Lárissa. The village contains between forty and fifty houses, and is noted for a great fair which takes place in May, and lasts several days. A little beyond it are some artificial elevations upon which are erected the tents of those who frequent the fair. Proceeding from thence we pass a barrow on the bank of the river, not far from Mataránga, which village is divided into

[1] See Vol. I. p. 425.

Digitized by Google

four or five makhaládhes, now chiefly inhabited by Greeks, and showing by numerous Turkish sepulchres near all the hamlets how much the Turkish population has diminished here as well as in other parts of the Thessalian plains. During a halt of two or three hours at the southernmost hamlet, upwards of 100 ancient coins are brought to me for purchase, together with a few other relics of antiquity, which have been found in the corn or cotton fields adjacent to the height which I have before mentioned as so conspicuous an object throughout the surrounding plains. This hill, though rocky, rises very gradually on all sides, and throws out to the west and south some lower eminences extending to no great distance into the plain.

On the round summit of the hill are the foundations of a circular Hellenic fortification, 100 yards in diameter, with vestiges of a few of the towers which flanked the walls. In some parts the masonry is formed of large irregular masses as in the earliest times; in others the stones have been prepared and fitted with greater care. On a small peak rising from the centre are some ruins of a keep or tower. This point commands a beautiful view of the extensive plains surrounded by *Pindus* and its branches of 'Agrafa, and Khassiá, with *Olympus*, *Ossa*, *Pelium*, and *Othrys*, along the eastern horizon. The mountains of 'Agrafa in particular, and beyond them to the eastward those of the district of Férsala, are displayed in their full extent from the rocks of the Metéora to the pass of Ondoklári, near Velestíno.

Digitized by Google

A small stream which rises at Magúla, a tjiftlík on the edge of the plain at the foot of an Agrafiote mountain called Katákhloro, joins the Sofadhítiko a little below the heights of Mataránga.

Although little exists above ground of the ancient city which occupied this site, the centrality of its position in the great plains of *Upper Thessaly*, the remains of antiquity found in its fields, and the fertility of the surrounding country, are sufficient to lead to the persuasion that it was not an obscure place. An incomplete inscription in the wall of a church in the southern makhalá of Mataránga gives me reason to believe that it was the city either of the Κιερικῖς or Μητροπολῖται, these two names occurring, and the inscription relating to that very common subject of discussion between two neighbouring people, the adjustment of their boundaries[1]. That Metropolis was in this part of Thessaly is evident from Livy, who mentions it on several occasions[2], but still more from Cæsar, who occupied it on his way from Gomphi to Pharsalus[3]. On the other hand, though the name of the Cierienses does not occur in history, I have already had occasion to form a presumption as to the importance of this people, from having met with some varied specimens of their coinage in Thessaly or Epirus, bearing the legend Κιεριέων[4]. Of

[1] V. Inscription, No. 217.

[2] Liv. l. 32, cc. 13. 15; l. 36, c. 14.

[3] Cæsar de B. Civ. l. 3, c. 81.

[4] For engravings of these coins, and some remarks upon them, see Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, vol. i. p. 151.

Κιεριείων for Κιεριέων, from Κιεριεὺς, seems to have been a Thessalic form, like Μοψείων

Digitized by Google

these coins I find no less than four among those brought to me for sale by the peasants of Matarânga, a fact which, coupled with the evidence of the inscription relative to the boundaries between the Cierienses and the Metropolitæ, seems to leave no doubt as to their origin. We may conclude therefore that the hill of Matarânga is the site of a city called Cieria, or Cierium. In the wall of the same church containing the inscription just referred to, is a second which, though complete, contains only four words :—

Ποσειδῶνι Κουερίῳ Κεφάλων Βυκίνου,

Cephalo, son of Bycinus, to Neptune Cuerius[1].

The worship of Neptune at Cierium is recorded on three of its coins by the head of that deity, which on one of them is indicated by the trident. The epithet Cuerius is not so obvious; but as the dominion of Neptune extended over rivers as well as seas, Cuerius was very possibly the name of the river which flowed by the city, being the same called by Strabo Curalius, a name which existed also in Phthiotis and Bœotia, and which seems to have been indifferently Curalius (in Æolic Coralius) or Cuarius, of which latter form Cuerius may have been a local variation. It is true, that in the text of Strabo, the Curalius of Histiæotis seems to be described as flowing to the Peneius through the territory of Pharcadon, which would make it a tributary of that river on the left side; but this

for Μοψέων. I have since seen a coin of Cierium with the ordinary genitive Κιεριέων.

[1] V. Inscription, No. 218.

Digitized by Google

passage of the geographer is obviously corrupt or defective[1], and Stephanus furnishes us with a strong argument for believing that the *Curalius* was the Sofadhítiko, or river which flows along the eastern side of Mataránga into the *Apidanus*. From the ethnographer we learn the important fact, that Cierium was the same place as Arne[2], the capital of the Bœoti, who were expelled from hence sixty years after the Trojan war by the

[1] Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Φαρκαδὼν ἐν τῇ Ἱσπαιώτιδι, καὶ ῥεῖ δι' αὐτῶν ὁ Πηνειὸς καὶ ὁ Κουράλιος· ὃν ὁ Κουράλιος ῥυεὶς παρὰ τὸ τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν εἰς τὸν Πηνειὸν ἐξίησιν. — Strabo, p. 438.

The word αὐτῶν has no distinct reference, and Pharcadon having been to the left of the Peneius, the Curalius could not have flowed through its territory.

[2] Ἄρνη, πόλις Βοιωτίας· Ὅμηρος, Οἵ τε πολυστάφυλόν τ' Ἄρνην ἔχον . . . . . δευτέρα, πόλις Θεσσαλίας, ἄποικος τῆς Βοιωτίας, περὶ ἧς ὁ χρησμὸς, Ἄρνη χηρεύουσα μένει Βοιώτιον ἄνδρα,—ἡ Κίεριον καλεῖται.— Stephan. in Ἄρνη.

Arne was said to have been the daughter of Æolus, and the mother of Bœotus, by Neptune, (Diodor. l. 4, c. 67.— Nicocrates et Euphorion ap. Stephan. in Βοιωτία, Etym. M. in eâd. v.), or, according to other authorities, (Theseus ap. Schol. Lycophr. v. 644, et ap. Etym. M. in Ἄρνη) the nurse of Neptune, who denied to Cronus that she had received the child from Rhea. Either mythus accounts for the worship of Neptune at Cierium; but neither of them perfectly explains its coins. A female head is found on the obverse of one of these coins, and on all the others a female figure kneeling on the right knee, and supported by the right arm. The same figure on the obverse of a coin of Cierium in brass, bearing the head of Apollo, is of a diminutive size, at the feet of Jupiter, who is launching his thunderbolt, holding an eagle on his left hand. In another the same figure is seen below a horse at full speed. All these are doubtless intended to represent Arne.

Digitized by Google

Thessali of Epirus, who then attached their name to the country, before called Æolis. The Bœoti retreated into Bœotia, from whence originally their ancestors, when expelled by the Epigoni, seem to have carried the name Arne into Æolis. On their return into Bœotia they occupied the districts of Orchomenus and Coroneia, in the latter of which they gave the name Curalius or Cuarius to a river, and founded a temple of Minerva Itonia in memory of their former abode in Thessaly [1]. It is natural to believe that the name Arne may have been disused by the Thessalian conquerors because it was of Bœotian origin, and that the new appellation may have been taken, with a slight change to satisfy the ear, from the neighbouring river, for it was not an uncommon custom among the Greeks to derive the name of a town from a river or fountain on the site: of which an example very much resembling that of Cierium occurred at Thurium, where the renewed Sybaris was so named from its fountain [2].

[1] Herodot. l. 7, c. 176.—Thucyd. l. 1, c. 12.—Diodor. l. 4, c. 67.—Charax ap. Stephan. in Δώριον.—Strabo, pp. 411, 412. 435. 438.

There were three temples of Minerva Itonia in Thessaly: one in the Arnæa, one at Itonus in Phthiotis, and a third between Pheræ and Larissa. It was in the last that Pyrrhus dedicated the spoils of the Gauls, in the service of Antigonus, when in the year B. C. 273, he overthrew that monarch, and for the moment became master of Upper Macedonia and Thessaly. The spoils taken from the Macedonians on that occasion he offered to Jupiter of Dodona.—(Pausan. Attic. c. 13.—Plutarch. in Pyrrh.)—Both these authors have preserved the four verses inscribed upon the dedication to Minerva Itonia, and Pausanias those also at Dodona.

[2] Diodor. l. 12, c. 10.

Digitized by Google

The position of *Arne* thus determined, confirms the opinion already given as to that of *Peiresiæ*, or *Asterium*, at Vlokhó, for Strabo observes, that Asterium was near Arne[1], which is true of Vlokhó with regard to Mataránga, both these places being situated on the bank of the same river with an interval of five or six miles between them. Hence also it is evident, that in the time of Strabo the ancient and more celebrated appellation Arne was still often preferred to that of Cierium. Still it seems unaccountable, that neither Arne nor Cierium should be named in authentic history, considering the important situation of this city, and its actual remains giving proof of its existence at the time of the events which have been described by the Greek historians, or by Livy, following Polybius, who in particular mentions occasionally almost every Thessalian town of note, and of many of which the names occur in no other extant authority. But the omission is perhaps more apparent than real. Livy relates, that when the consul Quinctius, after his victory over Philip on the Aous, entered Thessaly through Mount Cercetium, he first took Phaloria, and then received the submission of Metropolis and Piera. Again, seven years afterwards, when the Romans and Philip were in alliance against Antiochus and the Ætolians, the consul Acilius in marching from Pelinnæum to Larissa was met by deputies from Metropolis and Piera

[1] Τίτανος δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ὠνομάσθη· λευκόγεων γάρ ἐστι τὸ χωρίον. Ἄρνης πλησίον, καὶ . . . . . των· καὶ τὸ Ἀστέριον δ' οὐκ ἄπωθεν τούτων ἐστί.—Strabo, p. 439.

Digitized by Google

with offers of submission [1]. As in both instances *Piera* occurs in conjunction with *Metropolis*, which the inscription of Mataránga shows to have been conterminous with *Cierium*, the latter was probably the place intended by the historian, from whom Livy derived his information [2].

[1] Liv. l. 32, c. 15; l. 36, c. 14.

[2] In the paper of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, referred to in page 498, note 4, I supposed the text of Livy to require correction in these places, but I am now inclined to the opinion of Professor Müller (Dorians, vol. ii. p. 476, Eng. transl.), namely, that Pierium and Cierium were the same place, Pierium having probably been the general, and Cierium the local form. We have an exactly parallel instance in the Macedonian Pydna, of which Stephanus says, Κύδνα πόλις Μακεδονίας· Θεαγένης ἐν Μακεδονικοῖς· ἡ κατὰ παραφθορὰν Πύδνα λέγεται. Pomponius Mela (l. 2, c. 3) in alluding to it has preferred the form Cydna. Several authorities of different dates prove the existence of a Pierium in Thessaly; one to which a reference has been made in page 495, note 1, shows that the city was flourishing at the time of the Roman wars. Among the names of the strategi who governed Thessaly from the battle of Cynoscephalæ to the death of Philip, as given by Eusebius, the ethnics attached to the names in the Latin translation of Mai and Zohreb, are Pheræus, Scotussæus, Larissæus, Atracius, Gyrtonius, Metropolitanus, and Pierius, which last in the translation of Auber is Pierensis, corresponding to the Greek Πιεριεύς. Thucydides, describing the march of Rhamphias into Thessaly, in the tenth year of the Peloponnesian war, states that his forces advanced as far as Pierium of Thessaly (μέχρι Πιερίου τῆς Θεσσαλίας διῆλθον, l. 5, c. 13), when hearing of the death of Brasidas, and knowing the inclination of his own government towards peace, he advanced no farther, but returned home. It has been supposed that Rhamphias, who was proceeding from Heracleia of Œta to reinforce Brasidas at Amphipolis, had reached the borders of Pieria of Macedonia, that country being exactly in

Digitized by Google

Having quitted the height of Mataránga at 10 Turkish, we pass two more barrows near the base of it, and two or three miles farther four more standing near to each other. At 10.55 we pass through Kaputjí, a small village where in the wall of the church-yard is a stone with three figures in mezzo-relievo wanting the heads. The middle figure is a woman covered with long drapery, the other two are men clothed in a loose chlamys above a shirt reaching to the knees. Each of the men has an arm over the

his route; but if Pierium was the same place as Cierium, it is necessary to infer, that for some reason unexplained by the historian, Rhamphias intended to make a widely circuitous course through Perrhæbia and Elimeia. Ælian (l. 3, c. 37) remarks, that in Pierus of Thessaly there was a hybernal inundation, which made frogs silent when they were thrown into it. (Ἐν Πιερῷ τῆς Θεσσαλίας, λίμνη ἐστὶν, οὐκ ἀένναος, ἀλλὰ χειμῶνος εἰς αὐτὴν ὑδάτων ῥίπτεται, &c.) and Pliny, who alludes (l. 8, c. 58) to the same story, without mentioning Pierium, names the lake Sicandrum, or according to other manuscripts Sicendum, or Licendrum. Possibly the country for a considerable distance around Mataránga may have been commonly called the *Pierian plain*, and the inundation intended by Ælian may have been that now named Kolokýthia, which is very extensive in winter, but is dry or nearly so in summer. Theophrastus in his dissertation on winds, wherein he states that the Ζέφυρος, when it blew over the land, was pernicious to the fruits of the earth, but the contrary when proceeding from the sea, instances Pierium of Thessaly and the Maliac plain as examples of the former: κεῖνται γὰρ ἄμφω πρὸς ἀνατολὴν, περιέχονται δ' ὄρεσιν ὑψηλοῖς. The eastern aspect of Mataránga is not very intelligible; but it is entirely surrounded at a distance by high mountains; and the west wind passes farther over the land than the east.

Digitized by Google

woman's shoulder[1]. The sculpture is excellent, and the preservation not bad. From hence we cross a small stream by a bridge, and then ford two more considerable rivers, the first at 11.30, the second ten minutes farther. The eastern enters the plain from the 'Agrafa mountain at Kalifóni, passes by Velési, which stands on its right bank in the road from Fanári to Dhomokó, and not far below Kardhítza joins the western stream. The latter issues from the mountains at Shékliza, a village on its right bank a little to the right of the road from Fanári to Dhomokó, where are vestiges of Hellenic fortifications, and a church containing ancient marbles and other fragments. Both these rivers retain water all the summer: the united stream is that which I crossed proceeding on the 6th December from Tzighióti to Vlokhó, between the Salamvría and the river of Vlokhó.

At 12 Turkish I arrive at Kardhítza, and lodge in the house of the son of Suleymán Bey, lately dead, and who as principal ayán was for many years governor of the town, which contains between five and six hundred houses, dispersed over a large space of ground; of these a very small proportion are Greek. Though the situation is low, as appears by the muddy roads and marshy state of the country around, the air is reputed not to be unhealthy, which is ascribed to the prevalence in summer of the westerly breezes blowing over the *Pindus*, and to the coolness emanating

[1] Hereabouts may have stood Phemiæ, or Onthyrium, which were towns of Thessaly, near Arne.—Rhianus ap. Stephan. in *Ὀνθύριον*.—Hellanicus ap. Stephan. in *Φημίαι*.

Digitized by Google

from the neighbouring mountains of 'Agrafa. The town is even said to be tolerably free from gnats, a great inconvenience of the *Thessalian* plains in that season. Kardhítza is dependent upon Tríkkala, and consequently pays all its contributions to Alý Pashá. These do not fall very heavy upon the Turks, who in such a fertile territory, if they had the smallest industry, might live in comfort, instead of which their houses exhibit ruin and misery.

Jan. 6.—About five miles from Kardhítza to the south-west, very near an advanced root of the mountain, upon which stands the Agrafiote town of Blazdhu, is the small village of Paleókastro. A rivulet, which is dry in summer, issues from the mountains between the slopes of Blazdhu and the advanced height just mentioned, and flows through Paleókastro into the plain, where it enters the marshy and now inundated track between Kardhítza and Paraprastín, called Kolokýthia[1]. Paleókastro derives its name from standing on the site of a Hellenic city which resembled *Mantineia*, as having been of a circular form, and situated entirely on a level not far from a commanding height. In the centre of the circle are the vestiges of a circular citadel, part of the wall of which still exists in the yard of the village church of Paleókastro, where has been collected every thing sculptured or inscribed which has been found of late years upon the ancient site. Among squared blocks, slabs of white marble, and fragments of columns, I observe some fluted Doric shafts, 1 foot 9 in. in diameter, with some

[1] τὰ Κολοκύθια.

Digitized by Google

others much smaller; and two inscriptions, one on a large cubical block, the other on a headless Hermes, both so much obliterated that I did not attempt to copy them. On another marble is a female figure, wanting the head, in high relief but very much worn; and on a fourth, in low relief, a sculpture representing a sitting figure seated on a rock in long drapery, and leaning on a sceptre in the posture in which Jupiter is frequently represented on coins and gems. In face of this figure rises a rugged mountain, at the foot of which appears a man in a posture of adoration; on the top of the mountain are other men, one of whom holds a hog in his hands. This part is more defaced than the rest. The design is beautiful, and the execution where it is preserved equally so. I have little doubt that the seated figure represents the Venus of Metropolis, to whom Strabo has told us that hogs were offered in sacrifice[1]; for the situation of Paleókastro accords

[1] Τῆς δε Μητροπολιτῶν ἐστι χώρας ἡ Ἰθώμη. Ἡ δὲ Μητρόπολις πρότερον μὲν ἐκ τριῶν συνῴκιστο πολιχνίων ἀσήμων, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ πλείσους προσελήφθησαν, ὧν ἦν καὶ ἡ Ἰθώμη. Καλλίμαχος μὲν οὖν φησιν ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις,

Τῆς Ἀφροδίτας (ἡ θεὸς γὰρ οὐ μία)
Τὴν Καστνιῆτιν ὑπερβαλέσθαι τῷ φρονεῖν
Πάσας,

ὅτι μόνον παραδέχεται τὴν τῶν ὑῶν θυσίαν . . . . . οἱ δ' ὕστερον ἤλεγξαν οὐ μίαν Ἀφροδίτην μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείους ἀποδεδεγμένας τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο, ὧν εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ Μητροπόλει· ταύτῃ δὲ μίαν τῶν συνοικισθεισῶν εἰς αὐτὴν πόλεων παραδοῦναι τὸ ἔθος Ὁμίριον (Ὀνθύριον?)—Strabo, pp. 437, 438.

Venus Castnia is mentioned by Lycophron (v. 403). According to Stephanus (in Κάσταξ) Castnium was a mountain near Aspendus, in Pamphylia, and Καστνιήτης was the gentile

Digitized by Google

perfectly with that of *Metropolis*, whether with reference to the march of Cæsar from Gomphi to Pharsalus, which was exactly in the direction of this site, or to the inscription of Mataránga, which shows that the districts of *Cierium* and *Metropolis* were conterminous, and probably divided all this part of the *Thessalian* plain between them.

There are many remains of Hellenic foundations in the village, but the squared blocks of the town-wall have probably been all removed for the use of modern buildings at Kardhítza, or the neighbouring villages, for little now remains to mark

of that place, which not only explains the epithet used by Callimachus, but leads also to the conjecture that the mountain and the hog represented in the sculpture at Paleókastro alluded to some *mythus* which was common to Aspendus and Metropolis. The Aspendii having been an Argive colony (Strabo, p. 667) probably derived the custom of sacrificing a hog to Venus from Argos, where it was observed at a festival of Venus, thence called the Hysteria (Callimachus aut Zenodotus ap. Athen. l. 3, c. 15). It is curious to remark, with regard to the name Καστνία, which seems to be nothing more than a local form of Καστανία, that immediately above the site of *Metropolis*, near the summit of the great mountain of 'Agrafa, stands a modern town called Kastanía, more vulgarly Kastaniá. This indeed is not an uncommon name in the mountains of Greece, and is derived generally from an abundance of chestnut trees near the place; but in the present instance, the occurrence of the name, in combination with the passage in Strabo, and the representation on the monument at Paleókastro, gives reason to suspect that *Castnium* may have been a town and mountain in *Dolopia*, as well as in the *Aspendia*. There are said to be some Hellenic remains indicating an ancient site below the modern Kastaniá. I have seen a coin of Metropolis in copper representing on one side Venus with a winged Cupid at her feet.

Digitized by Google

the circuit, except the trench from which the stones were taken, and heaps of earth and broken stones on either side of it. In the wall of a private house in the village, a long plain stele of marble has its narrow dimension covered with a list of names of men with those of their fathers, the latter expressed in the Thessalian fashion by the patronymic adjective; the letters are of the best times, but small and much defaced[1]. Towards Kardhítza, beyond the line of the walls, are three or four barrows. The westernmost, now called Magulítza, is planted with Turkish tomb-stones, which have all been formed from the spoils of the ancient city.

From Paleókastro to Fanári is a walk of two hours; the road leads along the plain parallel to the foot of the mountain. We pass a circular flat topped height, partly artificial, upon which are many Turkish tomb-stones, and at the foot of the hill of Fanári pass through a large village named Loxádha, from whence we reach the summit of the hill of Fanári by a steep ascent. Fanári contains 100 Turkish houses, and as many Greek, but many of the former are empty. It stands on an abrupt height, very remarkable from every part of the surrounding country, as forming the extreme point of a ridge of hills which here advance from the line of the mountains of 'Agrafa northward into the plain. The part of the hill upon which the village stands is composed for the most part of a cemented aggregate of pebbles: the soil is gravelly, the face of the hill rugged

[1] V. Inscription, No. 219.

Digitized by Google

and torn into gullies by torrents, and several small streams of water issue from its foot.

Jan. 7.—On the summit above the village stands a small square castle containing a mosque, and two or three houses. Around it the ground is covered with relics of other fortresses of various ages, for which this commanding position was an eligible site. Among them, near the north-western face of the modern castle, are remains of a wall of a very early period of ancient Greece; a few large masses roughly hewn on the outside, but accurately joined to one another without cement, still remain in their places; others are seen dispersed on the ground near them. These are the only vestiges I can find of the Ἰθώμη κλωμακόεσσα[1], if this be its situation, as there is the strongest reason to believe from Strabo, who describes it as steep and rugged, and as situated within a quadrangle formed by the four cities, Tricca, Metropolis, Pelinnæum, and Gomphi[2]. Of these sites the three first have been described, and the fourth was probably at Episkopí, a remarkable insulated height near Rapsísta, about four miles to the westward of Fanári, not far from the passes leading to *Ambracia*, as we know *Gomphi* to have been, and where some remains of

[1] Οἳ ὃ' εἶχον Τρίκκην καὶ Ἰθώμην κλωμακόεσσαν.
Il. B. v. 729.

[2] Ἰθώμην .... χωρίον ἐρυμνὸν καὶ τῷ ὄντι κλωμακόεν, ἱδρυμένον μεταξὺ τεττάρων φρουρίων, ὥσπερ ἐν τετραπλεύρῳ κειμένων, Τρίκκης καὶ Μητροπόλεως καὶ Πελιννaίου καὶ Γόμφων. Τῆς δὲ Μητροπολιτῶν ἐστι χώρας ἡ Ἰθώμη.—Strabo, p. 437.

Digitized by Google

antiquity sufficient to prove it a Hellenic site are reported to exist. Episkopí is nearly opposite to Tríkkala, as the site of *Metropolis* at Paleókastro is to that of *Pelinnæum* at Paleó-Gardhíki, thus completing the quadrilateral figure which Strabo has described. Three sides of the quadrangle are nearly equal, but the fourth is longer than the others; nor is Fanári in the centre of the quadrangle, being much nearer to the southern side, though nearly equidistant from the two ends of that side *Gomphi* and *Metropolis*. Such accuracy however is not required by the words of Strabo, who only says that the four towns formed a quadrangle. Ithome having been in his time in the Metropolitis, it is natural to presume that it was nearer to the site of *Metropolis* than to that of any of the other towns; and this also we find to be true. In this instance, therefore, Strabo has been a correct observer, or at least has been fortunate in the choice of the authority which he followed, having in a few words given us the means of confirming the position of four Hellenic sites (excluding Tricca), more than one of which might otherwise have been doubtful, and of thus placing the ancient geography of Upper Thessaly on the surest basis: O si sic omnia!

The castle of Fanári by means of its advanced position commands a most comprehensive view of the extensive plains of *Thessaliotis* and *Histiæotis*, from Férsala and Dhomokó to Stagús and Portes. Besides the four ancient sites just alluded to, and the still more remarkable one of *Æginium* at Stagús, the heights of Vlokhó, Kolokotó, and Kortíkhi, arrest the spectator's attention as having evidently

Digitized by Google

been the positions also of ancient fortresses or towns. Enough has already been stated as to the two first; Kortíkhi I believe to have been a town named *Limnæa*, for Livy shows Limnæa to have been in this part of Thessaly, and the ancient name accords with the situation of Kortíkhi in the lowest part of the plain amidst streams and marshes, not far from the confluence of all the principal branches of the *Peneius*.

In the year B. C. 191 Limnæa was besieged by Philip, son of Demetrius, when in alliance with the Romans against Antiochus; the Roman commander Bæbius was occupied at the same time in besieging Pelinnæum. While they were thus employed, Acilius the consul arrived with a large reinforcement from Italy, and sending his infantry to Larissa, marched with his cavalry to Limnæa, which immediately surrendered. The consul then proceeded to Pelinnæum, and received the capitulation of the garrison of that place, which consisted as at Limnæa of a joint force of Antiochians and Athamanes [1].

Of the rivers which water the plains of *Thessaly*, some of the ancient names cannot but remain unknown or uncertain, so imperfect is our information on the geography of this country. Reasons have already been given for identifying the Fersalíti, Vrysiá, and Sofadhítiko, with the *Enipeus*, *Apidanus*, and *Cuarius*. The other names, occurring in ancient authors, besides Peneius and Titaresius, are Onochonus, Pamisus, Asopus, Melas, and Phœnix. The Onochonus and Pamisus

[1] Liv. l. 36, c. 13, 14.

Digitized by Google

are noticed by Herodotus. "Thessaly," he remarks, "is surrounded on every side by very high mountains; to the east by Pelium and Ossa, the extremities of which are united together, to the north by Olympus, to the west by Pindus, to the south by Othrys[1]. In the midst is the hollow Thessaly watered by many rivers, of which the five principal are the Peneius, Apidanus, Onochonus, Enipeus, and Pamisus; these after having joined their waters into one channel are discharged into the sea through a narrow strait. Below their union the name Peneius alone remains, the other names being lost[2]. It is reported, that anciently the valley which gives passage to the river did not exist; that neither the rivers nor the lake Bœbeïs had names, though the waters flowed as at present,

[1] Lucan has thus versified Herodotus:—

Thessaliam, qua parte diem brumalibus horis
Attollit Titan, rupes Ossæa coercet.
Cum per summa poli Phœbum trahit altior æstas,
Pelion opponit radiis nascentibus umbras.
At medios ignes cœli rabidique Leonis
Solstitiale caput nemorosus submovet Othrys,
Excipit adversos Zephyros, et Iapyga Pindus,
Et maturato præcidit vespere lucem;
Nec metuens imi Borean habitator Olympi,
Lucentem totis ignorat noctibus Arcton.

Lucan, l. 6, v. 333.

[2] οἱ μέν νυν ἐς τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο συλλεγόμενοι ἐκ τῶν οὐρέων τῶν περικληϊόντων τὴν Θεσσαλίην οὐνομαζόμενοι, δι' ἑνὸς αὐλῶνος καὶ τούτου στεινοῦ, ἔκροον ἔχουσι ἐς θάλασσαν, προσυμμίσγοντες τὸ ὕδωρ πάντες ἐς τὠυτό· ἐπεὰν δὲ συμμιχθέωσι τάχιστα, ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ὁ Πηνειὸς τῷ οὐνόματι κατακρατέων, ἀνωνύμους τοὺς ἄλλους εἶναι ποιέει.—Herodotus. l. 7, c. 129.

Digitized by Google

and that they thus made Thessaly a sea[1]. The Thessalians say that Neptune opened the passage at Tempe, through which the Peneius flows, and this will appear probable to those who believe that Neptune shakes the earth, for the separation of the mountains Olympus and Ossa seems to me to have been caused by an earthquake." The words of Herodotus, descriptive of the junction of all the rivers, as well as his distinct mention of the lake Bœbeïs, seem to indicate that he had a better knowledge of the geography of Thessaly than any other author whose works have reached us. The historian remarks, that the Onochonus was the only Thessalian river exhausted by the host of Xerxes, and that in Achaia Phthiotis the Apidanus, which was the largest river of that country, scarcely sufficed[2]. The Onochonus therefore was in the line of march of the Persians in proceeding from Gonnus, and the Pelasgic plain through Phthiotis to the plain of the Spercheius, near Thermopylæ. The only intermediate streams between the *Peneius* and the *Enipeus* or *Apidanus* being those which flow from the *Scotussæan* hills, the largest of these, which descends from the heights of Suplí by Kusbasán to the Asmáki, was probably the *Onochonus*, though Herodotus in that case has not been perfectly accurate in including it among the rivers flowing into the Peneius, its discharge being into the lake *Bœbeïs*. There remains for the *Pamisus* that considerable tributary of the *Peneius*, now called the Bliúri or Piliúri[3], which issuing from

[1] πέλαγος.

[2] Herodot. l. 7, c. 196.

[3] Μπλιούρι, Πηλιούρι.

Digitized by Google

the mountains of 'Agrafa at Musáki, flows in front of Fanári, and through the Kolokýthia to the Salamvría, which it joins not far from the bridge of Keramídhi, and nearly opposite to Kolokotó. As to the *Asopus*, *Phœnix*, and *Melas*[1], as all these were rivers of the *Maliac* plain[2], it might have been suspected that they had been improperly attributed to Thessaly, had the question depended only upon a poet, who has enumerated also the Achelous and Æas among the Thessalian streams, who has confounded Thessaly with Thrace, and Pharsalus with Philippi; but Pliny also mentions the Phœnix of Thessaly, and Vibius Sequester describes the Asopus, Phœnix, and Melas, as all affluents of the Apidanus[3]. The Phœnix being the only one of the three mentioned by Pliny, would seem to have been the largest of these tributaries, and may therefore be that

[1] Et quisquis pelago per se non cognitus amnis
Peneo donavit aquas: it gurgite rapto
Apidanus, nunquamque celer nisi mistus Enipeus.
Accipit Asopos cursus, Phœnixque Melasque.
Solus in alterius nomen cum venerit undæ,
Defendit Titaresus aquas, lapsusque superne
Gurgite Penei pro siccis utitur arvis.
Lucan. l. 6, v. 371.

[2] Herodot. l. 7, c. 198.

[3] Flumina Thessaliæ, Apidanus, Phœnix, Enipeus, Onochonus, Pamisus.—Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 8.

Apidanos Thessaliæ, in quo Enipeus, Melas et Phœnix miscentur, ipse in Peneon decurrit. —Enipeus, e monte Othry Thessaliæ — Melas Thessaliæ in Apidanum fluens—Phœnix Thessaliæ in Apidanum fluit. —Vib. Sequest. de fluminibus.

Digitized by Google

which I crossed between the *Peneius* and *Apidanus*, a little above its junction with the latter, on the way from the bridge of Tzighióti to Vlokhó. Its origin in the middle of *Dolopia* suggests the idea, that its name may have been cognate with that of the leader of the Dolopes at Troy. The *Asopus* and *Melas* were perhaps two of the rivers which rise at the foot of the hills of *Phthia* between Férsala and Velissiótes.

Deficiency of evidence renders it impossible to determine the ancient positions at the foot of the mountains of 'Agrafa, or in the plain adjacent to those mountains, between the sites of *Metropolis* and *Thaumaci*. The largest, or at least the most preserved ruin in this direction is near Smókovo, where according to several concurrent testimonies, there are Hellenic walls and an entire gate. I have already observed, that Siékliza on the foot of the mountain between Smókovo and *Metropolis* was also an ancient site, and the inscriptions which I found at Pazaráki and Sofádhes lead to the belief, that there was another city at or near one of those villages. Some of these were among the places taken by the Ætolians when they broke into Thessaly, upon hearing of the defeat of Philip at the Fauces Antigonenses, about the same time that the Athamanes occupied Gomphi and several small places in that neighbourhood [1]. After taking Spercheiæ and Macra Come, which were probably in the valley of the Spercheius, the Ætolians passed into Thessaly, possessed themselves of Cy-

[1] Liv. l. 32, c. 13.

Digitized by Google

mine and Augeæ, were repulsed at Metropolis and Callithera, took and plundered the villages[1] Theuma and Calathana, entered Acharræ by capitulation, occupied Xyniæ, which had been deserted by its inhabitants, and captured Cyphara, a castle in a position which commanded the Dolopia.

Of these places *Xyniæ* alone is determined, by its lake, now called that of Tauklí, which I have before described[2]. As this lake was nearly in the route of the Ætolians from the valley of the Spercheius into the plains around Metropolis, and as Ctemene was a town on the borders of Dolopia and Phthia, not far from the lake[3], it seems very probable that Cymine is an error of the text for Ctemene. The exact site of Ctemene however is still to be ascertained. Some inscription at Smókovo, Siékliza, or in the neighbourhood of Sofádhes, may possibly hereafter lead to the determination

[1] vicos.

[2] See Vol. I. p. 460.

[3] Ἠδὲ καὶ Εὐρυδάμας Κτιμένου παῖς, ἄγχι δὲ λίμνης
Ξυνιάδος Κτιμένην Δολοπηΐδα ναιετάασκε.
Apollon. l. 1, v. 67.

From a tradition mentioned by Stephanus without naming any authority, it appears that Peleus gave Ctemene to Phœnix.—Stephan. in Κτημένη.

The author of the Orphica in his Argonautica (v 167), has confounded the lake Xynias with the Bœbeïs.

Εὐρυδάμας δ' ἐπέρησε λιπὼν Βοιβηΐδα λίμνην,
Ἀγχόθι Πηνειοῖο καὶ εὐπελαγέος Μελιβοίας.

The Scholiasts of Apollodorus also, regardless of the epithet Dolopeis, have supposed the two lakes to have been one and the same.

Digitized by Google

of some of the other places named in this passage of Livy.

The chief produce of the district of Fanári is vines and maize. All the land which does not belong to the few Turks residing here, is the personal property of Alý Pashá, and the Greeks are all labourers. They had quite abandoned the place a few years ago, and have only returned since it became the Vezír's tjiftlík. His Subashí receives from the farmers a tenth of the crop for dhekatía, and a third of the remainder as proprietor, without contributing any thing for seed or stock. The Subashí is now employed in selling his master's share of the wine to the vintners of Kardhítza and other neighbouring towns.

In the afternoon I descend the rugged face of the hill of Fanári on the western side, and then cross the opening of a small valley which, branching to our left, separates the heights of Fanári from the mountain, on the adjacent slope of which stands the Agrafiote village of Grálista. Immediately below Grálista is a hamlet called in Turkish Gule, in Greek Pyrgo, a little beyond which the valley terminates in a narrow passage between the extremity of the hill of Fanári and the slope below Grálista. This passage has anciently been fortified, or occupied by a small town of the middle ages. A rocky peak just above the Bogház on the Fanári side, is called τὸ σκαμνὶ βασιλικὸ, or the royal chair.

Having crossed the entrance of the valley and left the village of Kapá a little on the right, our road leads along the foot of the mountain south-

Digitized by Google

westward; a forest of considerable extent called Kiúrka occupies the plain on the right. It was not long since burnt by Velý Pashá to prevent its serving as a shelter to the thieves. Many of the trees were destroyed, and all those remaining bear more or less the marks of fire. Mavromáti is at the foot of the mountain on our left, beyond which we cross a part of the plain along the edge of the wood to Gheláuthi, a village of thirty houses on the right bank of the Bliúri. Having crossed the river and advanced half a mile, we arrive at Episkopí, in 1 hour 45 minutes, with the menzíl, from Fanári.

Episkopí is now only a τόπος, or the name of an uncultivated height, with some ploughed fields at its foot, lying along the left bank of the Bliúri, at a distance of two or three miles from the mountains. But enough exists here to show that it was the site of a large Greek city, though, as we generally find in sites surrounded by plains and not founded upon rocks, the remains of antiquity are few. The hill is the extremity of a range of heights advancing to the eastward from a mountain, the last of the 'Agrafa range, which extends from the ravine of the Bliúri at Musáki in a northerly direction to the Klisúra of Portes or the Gates of Tríkkala. In approaching from Fanári the height presents a triangular face, which, on arriving at it assumes the shape of a theatre, rising in the centre to a peak, from whence a ridge slopes regularly on either side into the plain. The walls of the city followed the crests of these lateral ridges, and thus included all the theatre-

Digitized by Google

shaped space, together with a narrow level lying between the foot of the hill and the river. On the summit is a level space retaining some vestiges of a small citadel. The circuit was between two and three miles. The plain on the river side is covered with broken pottery and stones, and the Musakiótes who plough it often find coins here, with other remains of antiquity.

Some of the ancient materials were not long since carried away from hence to build a serái for Mukhtár Pashá in his tjiftlík of Rapsísta; all the adjacent villages contain squared blocks of stone, or columns, plain or fluted, brought from hence, so that the only remarkable remains now existing here are some foundations of the town walls, and some vestiges of a gate at the foot of the hill on the southern side towards Musáki.

The modern name Episkopí accords with the fact of *Gomphi* having been one of the ancient towns of *Thessaly*, still existing after the time of Arcadius [1], and when it was a bishopric under the Metropolitan of Larissa. A bishop of Gomphi sat in the council of Pope Boniface the Second, in the year 531. On the other hand, as Gomphi is not found in any catalogue of bishoprics of a later date, it is not surprising that after a lapse of eight or ten centuries the name Episkopí should alone remain to attest the former ecclesiastical dignity of the place, and that not even a solitary chapel should now be found upon the site.

Through the plain which lies between the hill

[1] Hierocl. Synecd. p. 642. Wess.

Digitized by Google

of Episkopí and the mountain of Kótziaka flows a branch of the Salamvría, which is named Portéiko[1], as entering the plain through the pass of Portes. It rises in the great mountain of Aspropótamo, and after emerging from the Portes, flows with great rapidity towards the *Peneius*, the intermediate plain forming a considerable slope. It spreads over a wide gravelly bed and divides itself into many torrents. The Bliúri is clearer, deeper, and flows more quietly, but both of them in rainy seasons are swollen and impetuous. The Portéiko joins the Salamvría opposite to Tríkkala; the Bliúri turns to the right after passing Episkopí, and traverses the plain in front of Fanári in an easterly direction. At a distance of three or four miles from Fanári to the north it passes through Magúla, a name which gives reason to surmise that one of the seventy-five cities of Thessaly may once have occupied this position, perhaps *Callithera*.

The situation of *Gomphi*, in a fertile plain on the bank of a pure perennial stream in the vicinity of the mountains, was one of the most agreeable in Upper Thessaly, and its frontier position rendered it one of the most important members of the Thessalian community. It guarded two of the entrances into the Thessalian plains: that of Musáki, distant two miles, which was the exit from the *Dolopia*, and the pass of Portes, at a distance of four miles, which led into *Athamania*, and through that province to *Ambracia*. The latter pass is described by Livy as the "narrow defile

[1] Πορταΐκος.

Digitized by Google

which separates Thessaly from Athamania[1]." Amynander, king of the Athamanes, who descended from it on hearing of the victory of Quinctius over Philip on the Aous, first took Pheca, which stood midway between the pass and Gomphi, and then Gomphi itself, an acquisition important to the Roman consul, as it secured a communication with his ships in the Ambracic gulf, and by enabling him to obtain an opportune supply, gave him the means of carrying on his operations in Thessaly with vigour. The historian (following as usual Polybius) describes the route from Gomphi to Ambracia to have been short but extremely difficult[2], as Philip found it nine years afterwards, when he attempted to reduce Athamania, and twice was under the necessity of retreating to Gomphi[3]. The consul Q. Marcius Philippus entered Thessaly from Ambracia by the same route in the third year of the Persic war, B.C. 169[4].

A small village called Bletzi belonging to Velý Pashá, midway between the hill of Episkopí and the Portes, at the foot of a projecting point of the heights which end at Episkopí, agrees exactly with the position of *Pheca*. As to the other places taken by the Athamanes on the same occasion, namely, Argenta, Pherinum, Thimarum, Lisinæ, Stimon, and Lampsus, not a single conjecture can

[1] fauces angustas, quæ ab Athamaniâ Thessaliam dirimunt.—Liv. l. 32, c. 14.

[2] est iter a Gomphis Ambraciam, sicut impeditum et difficile ita spatio perbrevi.—Liv. l. 32, c. 15.

[3] Liv. l. 38, c. 2.—See p. 212, of this volume.

[4] Liv. l. 44, c. 1.

Digitized by Google

be offered, as their names occur in no other author.

From Episkopí I proceed for the night to Rapsísta, containing thirty or forty houses and distant two miles to the northward. At the church, among other ancient fragments, are two inscribed marbles, both of which are testimonies of the liberation of slaves: the former contains the name of a priest of Bacchus Carpius[1], together with that of the strategus of Thessaly, under whom the record was engraved; in the other, which seems from its siglæ or combined letters to be of less ancient date, is the name of the tamias, but in neither of them does that of the city occur. The latter document, in which the fee paid to the city was of the usual amount of 22 denaria[2], was on a quadrangular stele of unequal dimensions, inscribed on all the four sides, quite illegible on one and much defaced on the others. It now serves, having been turned upside down, for the *ἁγία τράπεζα*, or altar of the church, and is supported by a portion of an Ionic shaft $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot in diameter, with twenty-four semicircular flutings. Another piece of the same size and order I find in the middle of the village, and a third at a church near Musáki, to which village I ride this morning (Jan. 8) in one hour, passing through Episkopí. Among several relics of ancient art in this church, is a plain quadrangular altar inscribed to Jupiter, the Avenger of homicide, in large letters deeply

[1] *Διονύσου τοῦ Καρπίου.*— V. Inscription, No. 220.

[2] V. Inscription, No. 221.

Digitized by Google

engraved and perfectly preserved[1]. Jupiter Palamnius and Bacchus Carpius were no doubt deities worshipped by the Gomphenses[2], and the Ionic columns probably belonged to one of their temples.

Musáki, which, like Rapsísta, is a tjiftlík of Mukhtár Pashá, contains forty or fifty families, and is situated exactly at the foot of a last steep termination of the range of 'Agrafa, less than a mile below the opening through which the river Bliúri issues into the plains: it is much exposed to the kleftes, with whom the inhabitants find themselves under the necessity of being on good terms, and have therefore a difficult course to steer between the thieves and their landlord. They have an appearance of health seldom seen among the inhabitants in the middle of the plains. The heights above the village, like most of those between Stagús and Fanári, are clothed with oaks and underwood, and are now covered at the summits with snow.

The two villages called *αἱ πόρται τῶν Τρικκάλων*, or the Gates of Trikkala, stand on opposite sides of the river *in ipsis faucibus:* the one on the right bank named Porta Nikóla, or Kato Porta, is in a low situation: Apáno Porta, or Porta Panaghía,

[1] Ζῆνι Παλαμνίῳ.—V. Inscription, No. 222.

Παλαμναῖοι λέγονται οἱ διὰ χεῖρος ἀνδροφονοῦντες, παρὰ τὴν παλάμην· καὶ Ζεὺς παλαμναῖος, ὁ τοὺς τοιούτους τιμωρούμενος.—Photii Lex. in voce.

ὁ τοὺς φονεῖς καταῤῥίπτων.—Eustath. in Il. E. v. 597.—V. et Etymol. Mag. in Παλαμναῖος.

[2] The coins are inscribed, Γομφέων, Γομφίτουν, Γομφίτων.

Digitized by Google

which is now abandoned, is in a lofty position on the opposite bank. The latter name of this village is derived from an ancient church dedicated to the Virgin. On a summit above it is the ruin of a small fortress said to be Hellenic, and which seems to answer exactly to that *Athenæum* which was the only position retained by the Macedonians when their garrisons were expelled from Athamania by Amynander, in the year B.C. 189; for Livy, in describing that place as "finibus Macedoniæ subjectum," thereby evidently meant the places in the adjacent part of Thessaly possessed at that time by the Macedonians, particularly Gomphi[1]. Philip, as soon as he heard of the revolt of Athamania, marched with 6000 men to Gomphi; and leaving 4000 there, proceeded with the remainder to Athenæum; but finding all the country beyond it hostile, returned to Gomphi, and then entered Athamania with all his forces. Sending forward Zeno with 1000 men to occupy Ethopia, he followed, as soon as that service had been performed, and took up a position at the temple of Jupiter Acræus, from whence, after a day's delay, in consequence of the tempestuous weather, he advanced towards Argithea. But the sight of the Athamanes on the heights overhanging the valley through which the Macedonians were to advance, so terrified them, that the king resolved upon a retreat. He was followed by the Athamanes, but without receiving much annoyance from them, until they had been joined by the Ætolians, when leaving the latter to act against the rear of the

[1] Liv. l. 38, c. 1.

Digitized by Google

retreating enemy, they advanced by some short paths known to them, upon his flank, and threw the Macedonians into such confusion, that they sustained a great loss of men and arms, until they had crossed a river not named by the historian, when the pursuit ceased, and Philip effected his retreat to Gomphi. Zeno and his followers, who remained at Ethopia, exposed to the whole force of the enemy, retreated to a precipitous summit, but were soon driven from it by the Athamanes, when a few only had the good fortune with Zeno to rejoin the king; the rest, dispersed among the rocks and mountains in a country unknown to them, were either slain or made prisoners. I have already offered a conjecture, that *Argithea* was in the *Parachelois*, above the bridge of Koráku, to the left of the main stream of the *Achelous*. The retreat of Philip seems to have been by the line of the Portéiko, which was probably the river alluded to by Livy.

From Portes to the Salamvría, at its exit into the plain near Kalabáka, extends the woody mountain Kótziaka, vulgarly pronounced Kódjaka. It has long been a noted haunt of the kleftes. At its foot are several villages, and on the slope two large monasteries: one above the village of Dusikí[1], near Porta; the other, called Vitomá[2], towards the other extremity.

Having returned to Rapsísta, I quit that place at 9, Turkish, for Tríkkala; but instead of taking the direct road across the plain, approach the river of Portes, in order to visit a place which a "patuli

[1] Ντουσικοί. [2] Βητομᾶς.

Digitized by Google

sulcator Thessalus agri," whom we meet, calls στὸν Ἀλέξανδρον; but where I find only an old Turkish cemetery, in which one of the tombstones contains a fragment of a Hellenic sepulchral inscription, which declared the violator of the tomb liable to pay a fine of 2500 denaria to the fiscus [1]. These solitary burying-grounds, which never fail to strike the traveller in Asiatic as well as in European Turkey, are in some measure an effect of the Mahometan custom of offering prayers for the souls of the deceased in passing their sepulchres; whence the Turks prefer burying their dead near a public road. But in numberless instances both in Greece and Asia, the villages to which the cemeteries belonged have totally disappeared—the latter only remaining to furnish the strongest evidence of the immense diminution of the Ottoman population.

Not far from the opposite bank of the Portéiko rises an insulated height, the pointed summit of which is crowned with the vestiges of an ancient Castle. It was probably the site of one of the towns mentioned by Livy as having been taken by the Athamanes in the Antiochian war, and recovered by the joint forces of Philip and Bæbius; for Tricca, Gomphi, and Æginium, are three of the places named on this occasion, and Athamania, from whence the invaders issued, immediately overhung Gomphi, as Livy has described it [2]. The following were the places taken by the Athamanes: Æginium, Ericinium, Gomphi, Silana, Tricca,

[1] V. Inscription, No. 223.

[2] Gomphos—imminet Athamania huic urbi.—Liv. l. 31. c. 41.

Digitized by Google

Melibœa, Phaloria. Of these, *Phaloria* would seem to have been between *Tricca* and the *Macedonian* frontier; for Livy relates, that when Philip, after his defeat at the Aoi Stena, fled into Thessaly by the way of Mount Lingon and Tricca, the consul Quinctius followed him into Epirus, where he showed great clemency towards the people, though the greater number of them had sided against him. Having sent orders from thence for his store-ships at Corcyra to enter the Ambracic Gulf, he made four easy marches to Mount Cercetium, and from thence proceeded to attack the Thessalian city Phaloria; where the Macedonian garrison, having made an obstinate resistance, the town when taken was given up to plunder, and burnt. He then received offers of submission from Metropolis and Pieria (Cieria), attempted Æginium without success, and marching forward to Gomphi, opened a communication from thence with his ships in the Ambracic Gulf. Here it is obvious that the consul did not follow the same route from Epirus into Thessaly as Philip: having no chance of overtaking his enemy, he would naturally prefer a route less exhausted of all supplies than that which the Macedonians had followed. I have before shown that the latter entered *Thessaly* by the pass of Métzovo and the vale of the Salamvría[1]. The consul, therefore, probably crossed the *Pindus* through Zagóri to the district of Grevená, and from thence across Khassiá to *Phaloria*. As Æginium was the place which he

[1] See Vol. I. p. 388, 399.

Digitized by Google

attempted after having taken Phaloria, and received the submission of Cierium and Metropolis, the main ridge of Khassiá would seem to have been *Cercetium;* and *Phaloria*, therefore, was probably in one of the valleys which intersect the mountains to the northward of Tríkkala, either at Sklátina or at Ardhám; both of which seem, from the description I have received of them, to be Hellenic sites. The other was probably *Pialia*, which according to Stephanus was another town on the Thessalian side of Mount Cercetium [1]. Pliny includes Cercetium among the most renowned of the Thessalian mountains [2]; and probably the same mountain was intended by Ptolemy in naming a Βερκετήσιος, or Κερκετήσιος, together with Bermium and Olympus, among the Thessalo-Macedonian mountains [3]. The ethnic termination of the name in Ptolemy indicates perhaps that there was a town of Cercetium.

At 10.25 we join the direct road from Portes to Tríkkala at Poliána, the chief village of the plain, and of one of the subdivisions of the district of Tríkkala. On the road not far from the village are several squared blocks of ancient workmanship. These and some sources of water at the village give reason for believing that it was the site of an ancient town, probably one of those taken by the Athamanes in the year 191 B. C., perhaps *Silana*.

[1] Πιαλία, πόλις Θεσσαλική ὑπὸ τὸ Κερκέτιον ὄρος—Stephan. in voce.

[2] Plin. H. N. l. 4, c. 8.

[3] Ptolem. l. 3, c. 13.

Digitized by Google

The soil of this angle of the Upper Thessalian plain is very good; and in consequence of its proximity to the mountains scarcely ever fails to be plentifully watered by rain in the spring and early summer.

From Poliána to the Salamvría we follow a kalderím or paved causeway, rendered necessary by the marshy state of the plain in winter. The river often does injury to these lower lands by taking a new course, sometimes in a single body, sometimes by dividing itself into two or three branches. After crossing the main stream at 11 by the bridge of Karavóporo—a name showing the former existence of a ferry-boat in this spot—we arrive, a quarter of an hour farther, at a tributary of the river called Komérki, from a bridge and toll-house established at the passage. Here I find the inhabitants of all the neighbouring country collected to perform an angári, or forced labour, for the purpose of preventing the river from injuring some of the cultivated fields belonging to a Turkish tjiftlík, by a new course which it had begun to take. At 12 I arrive at the house of a Greek priest, at the foot of the castle wall of Tríkkala, having crossed two streams besides the Komérki: the first, which we passed at the entrance of the suburbs, rises in the hills of Khassiá, and enters the plain near Mertzi; the second we crossed in the middle of the town. Its principal sources are near Sotíra, at the foot of the hills of Tríkkala, and not more than half an hour distant.

Jan. 10.—Tricca, Ithome, and Œchalia, having

Digitized by Google

been the three cities which sent ships to Troy under Podaleirius and Machaon [1], Œchalia was in all probability one of the strong positions on the borders of the *Upper Thessalian* plain, which were afterwards known by a different name, either *Pelinnæum*, *Gomphi*, *Æginium*, or perhaps the ancient site at Niklítzi. All that Strabo remarks of Œchalia is, that it was near Tricca [2], which indeed may be inferred from the poet's words.

In regard to the Homeric geography of Thessaly in general, no great difficulty presents itself, if we admit that the Thaumacia, Ormenium, and fountain Hypereia of the Catalogue were different from the places which bore those names in the time of the Roman Empire. The districts of the several chieftains may then be consistently distributed, and even the positions of their towns nearly conjectured, making allowance for some of them having fallen into obscurity in later times, and for others having undergone a change of name. Some critics have supposed that by Pelasgic Argos, Phthia, and Hellas, Homer alluded to cities; and it is not an uncommon opinion even now among the few Greeks who have read Homer, that the first of these was Larissa, and the second, as I have before observed, Pharsalus. There are seve-

[1] Οἳ δ' εἶχον Τρίκκην καὶ Ἰθώμην κλωμακόεσσαν,
Οἵ τ' ἔχον Οἰχαλίην πόλιν Εὐρύτου Οἰχαλιῆος·
Τῶν αὖθ' ἡγείσθην Ἀσκληπιοῦ δύο παῖδε
Ἰητῆρ' ἀγαθὼ Ποδαλείριος ἠδὲ Μαχάων.
Il. B. v. 729.

[2] περὶ Τρίκκην.—Strabo, p. 448.

Digitized by Google

ral passages, however, in the Iliad and Odyssey which concur in showing that by all the three names the poet intended not cities, but large tracts of country, and there can be no doubt that the Greek dramatists and some subsequent writers understood the words in the same sense. It seems equally clear, that the line of the Catalogue in which Pelasgic Argos is named [1] marks a separation of the poet's topography of Southern Greece and the Islands from that of Northern Greece; and that by Pelasgic Argos he meant Pelasgic Greece, or the country included within the mountains Cnemis, Œta, Pindus, and Olympus, and stretching eastward to the sea; in short, Thessaly in its most extended sense. The kingdom of Achilles, or rather of Peleus, comprehended at its southern extremity not only Trachinia, but also a portion of what was afterwards Locris. To this was added all the fertile valley of the *Spercheius*, which river still bears the name Elládha [2], or that applied by Homer to the country itself, together with the hilly country northward of that river, as far as the plains of *Thessaliotis*. This part of the kingdom of Peleus was called Phthia, Achaia, and the land of the Myrmidones; it bordered westward upon the Dolopes governed by Phœnix, and eastward upon the territory of Protesilaus, which contained the modern districts of Armyró, Ftelió, and Kokús, as far as the *Euboic* channel.

[1] Νῦν δ' αὖ τοὺς, ὅσσοι τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἔναιον.
Il. B. v. 681.

[2] Ἑλλάδα.

Digitized by Google

At the head of the Pagasetic gulf began the country of Eumelus, bordering eastward upon that of Prothous, who commanded all the Magnetes, except those of Melibœa and the three other maritime towns, which sent seven ships under Philoctetes. Homer has described the Magnetes as dwelling around the Peneius and Pelium, by which he seems to have meant exactly the country which composed Magnesia as late as the Roman Empire, namely, all Pelium and Ossa[1]. On the other sides the district of Eumelus was surrounded by those of Polypœtes, Eurypylus, Peleus and Protesilaus. Polypœtes led the ships furnished by the cities of the Larissæan plain, together with those of a part of Perrhæbia, as far as Oloosson on the farthest verge of Pelasgia. Guneus commanded those of the remainder of Perrhæbia. Beyond the states of Eurypylus were the cities of the Asclepiadæ, occupying the western extremity of Pelasgic Argos, and forming a district which, as well as that of Eurypylus, bordered southward on the Dolopes, who seem in all later ages to have continued to occupy the same range of mountains in the northern part of 'Agrafa. I have before alluded to the remarkable circumstance that none of the cities of Thessaly which afterwards became the leading states are named by Homer, except Pheræ and Tricca. Phthia, Hellas, and Magnesia, contained perhaps no large towns, for which reason Homer may have been contented with the chorographical names. I should be dis-

[1] Οἳ περὶ Πηνειὸν καὶ Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον
Ναίεσκον. Il. B. v. 757.

Digitized by Google

posed to infer also that Gyrton, Crannon, Scotussa, Pharcadon, Pelinnæum, and several other Thessalian cities, which were afterwards of importance, either did not yet exist, or were only subordinate places, or were known by other names, as in the instance of the Ephyri and Phlegyæ, who were generally supposed to be the people of Crannon and Gyrton. Larissa was probably not then founded, or at least was an inconsiderable place, the principal town on that part of the *Peneius* having been *Argissa*, the site of which is well indicated by Strabo, and by the tumuli midway between the modern Lárissa and Gúnitza; the distance of this place from Lárissa is so small that it may serve to explain a remark of the Scholiast of Apollonius, namely, that the Argissa of Homer was the same as Larissa[1]. There was one great city, however, not named by Homer, which then existed and was even in the height of its importance, if Diodorus is correct in saying that Arne was founded by Bœotus three generations before the Trojan war[2]. From the silence of Homer we may imagine either that the Arnæi were unwilling to contribute to the armament, and were

[1] Schol. in Apoll. l. 1, v. 40. He says the most ancient Larissa was the Λάρισσα Ἀργειῶτις, or Acropolis of Argos:— δευτέρα δὲ ἡ ἐν Πελασγικῷ τῆς Θεσσαλίας, ἣν Ὅμηρος Ἀργισσάν φησι, πλησίον οὖσα τῆς Γυρτώνης. The last words may be adduced as a farther argument in favour of placing Gyrton in the plain of Lárissa. See Vol. III. p. 383.

Lucan seems to have intended Argissa in his words—

Nunc super Argos arant.—l. 6, v. 656.

[2] Diodor. l. 4, c. 67.

Digitized by Google

sufficiently powerful to be able to refuse, or that they joined that part of it which was led by their kinsmen of Bœotia.

In historical times Thessaly was divided into four ἔθνη, a division which is said to have originated under Aleuas, son of Neoptolemus; these divisions were Pelasgiotis, Thessaliotis, Phthiotis, and Histiæotis, or Estiæotis. Hence Thessaly was sometimes known by the name of the Tetrarchy[1]. Demosthenes accused Philip of having placed an agent to maintain his influence over each of these divisions[2]. It is not very easy to determine their boundaries: that of Phthiotis proper has already been alluded to. As the whole country in a general sense, derived its name from the Thessali of Thesprotia, who established themselves in it by their victory over the Bœoti of Arne, we may presume that Arne was towards the middle of the division named Thessaliotis, which probably contained also the districts of Phacium, Phyllus, Peiresiæ, Metropolis, and the plains to the south-eastward of the Arnæa and Metropolitis, as far as the limits of Phthiotis. Consequently Histiæotis, which where it bordered on Perrhæbia comprehended Pharcadon[3], contained all that was included between the left bank of the Peneius and Upper Macędonia, together with the plain to the right of the same river around Tricca, Ithome, and Gomphi. All

[1] Strabo, p. 430, 437, 438. 441. — Aristot. et Phot. ap. Lex. in Τετραρχία.

[2] τετραδαρχίας καθέστακε παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἵνα μὴ μόνον κατὰ πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἔθνη δουλεύωσιν.—Demosth. Philip. 3, p. 117. Reiske.

[3] Strabo, pp. 438. 441.

Digitized by Google

the eastern part of Thessaly within Magnesia, seems to have been divided between Phthiotis and Pelasgiotis.

Jan. 11.—The weather has been clear and cold, with a northerly wind and a sharp frost at night, which the heat of the sun dissolves in the afternoon. The plain is consequently dry; and in returning this morning to Kalabáka I cross it to Voivóda instead of skirting the heights. We pass through one of the villages named Mertzi, leaving the other half an hour to the right, and not far from it a large barrow, the only one I can perceive near the site of *Tricca*. Behind the heights of Voivóda and Bala, hid in great measure from the plain of Tríkkala, is a large valley, extending for several miles to Sklátina, which is situated at the foot of a rocky brow surrounded by torrents descending from the hills of Khassiá. Voivóda, which as well as Sklátina seems to be a Hellenic site, may perhaps be that of *Melibœa*. We arrive in 3 hours and 20 minutes at Kalabáka, where I dine with the bishop of Stagi, and purchase a small bronze Hercules of him, after which we proceed together to Kastráki and the Metéora. The village of Kastráki is on the north-western or opposite side of the great perpendicular rock at the foot of which Kalabáka is situated, and stands upon ground which is more than 200 feet higher than the level of the town; so that the rocks, although as perpendicular on this side as towards Kalabáka, are not above half the height. There is a footpath from Kalabáka to Kastráki, through a narrow opening in the middle of the great precipice.

Digitized by Google

Just where the ascent from Kalabáka terminates are some remains of buildings, and at the foot of the pass in the village of Kastráki, a few stones which formed part of a Hellenic wall of the third order. Both these belonged probably to works for the defence of this remarkable opening, which was the only point in half the circumference of *Æginium* requiring any artificial protection.

The upper part of Kastráki never sees the sun in winter, being surrounded on three sides by rocks. To the north-west the village commands a prospect of the great valley of the *Peneius*, with the mountains of Malakássi and Miliés rising from its left bank, and those of the koli of Klínovo from the right. In the opposite direction the view is of a singular description, and very beautiful. Tríkkala and the whole length of the *Thessalian* plain as far as the heights of *Pharsalus*, with Mount *Othrys* in the horizon, are seen like a picture through the frame formed by the narrow opening of the two towering precipices. The composition of these rocks, and of all the peaks of the Metéora, is very extraordinary, being an aggregate of pebbles and broken stones of all sizes and descriptions, combined by an earthy or gravelly cement. At Kalabáka, however, the town is built of a granitic stone, of which detached masses are observable also in the beds of the torrents. Half an hour distant from Kastráki is the monastery specifically named the Metéora; the road to it passes at the foot of the rock on which stands the monastery of Varláam, and then

Digitized by Google

by a steep zig-zag path through a narrow opening between the rock of Metéora and another to the northward. At the highest point of this pass a ladder, fifty feet in length, fixed to the perpendicular rock, reaches to an opening in the foundations of the lowest buildings of the monastery. By this ladder persons generally pass to and from the monastery with such things as they can easily carry; for larger commodities there is a net hooked to a rope, which is attached to a windlass in a high tower adjoining the church, and standing on the edge of the rock. Another lighter rope in the same place, moving on a pulley and having a hook at the end, serves to raise smaller articles. The perpendicular height by the net is reckoned forty orghiés, or 200 Greek feet, but appears to me not so much. On our arrival the net was let down, with a small carpet at the bottom, and we ascended in it separately. The net, when suspended to the hook at the end of the rope, and raised from the ground with a weight in it, forms of course a bag which revolves rapidly on being first raised from the ground; this is the only disagreeable part of the operation; the net becomes more steady as the rope becomes shorter, and the inconvenience might easily be prevented by another rope held by a person below; but this is a luxury which has not yet occurred to the holy fathers. Their only rule is to draw up quick and let down slow. The best advice to those who are subject to giddiness is to shut their eyes.

The monasteries of Metéora are seven in num-

Digitized by Google

ber. The largest and most ancient is: 1. The Metéora, properly so called. The church, dedicated to the Μεταμόρφωσις or Transfiguration, was built, as an inscribed marble on the outside informs us, by the monk Ioásaf, in the year 1388[1]. The tradition is, that this singular situation was first chosen at a much earlier period by a hermit named Athanasius; and that Ioásaf, who was despot of Tríkkala and a member of one of the imperial families of Constantinople, built the present monastery. This is all the information I could obtain from the bishop of Stagi or any of the inmates of the monasteries. Within the church is the following inscription:—

"This most sacred temple was built from the foundation by the labour and at the expence of our pious fathers Athanasius and Ioásaf, present holy founders. It was painted with figures by the aid of the most humble fathers, in the year 6990 (A. D. 1482), the second of the month of November[2]."

[1] The Swedish traveller Biornstahl states the monastery to have been built in 1371, which, according to the Greek computation, is the year of the world 6379; the letters Are not very clear, but appear to me to indicate 6396. —V. Inscription, No. 224. And this date seems to agree better with the time of Ioásaf, who was son of Simeon, and nephew of Stephen Kral of Servia, who took Ioánnina in the year 1350. See an Additional Note to Chapter XXXVII. at the end of this volume.

[2] Τοῦτος ὁ πάνσεπτος ναὸς οἰκοδομήθη ἐκ βάθρων πόνῳ καὶ δαπάναις τῶν ὁσίων πατέρων ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου καὶ Ἰωάσαφ ἐνεστώτων ἁγιοκτητόρων· ἀνιστορήθη διὰ συνδρομῆς τῶν ἐλαχίστων πατέρων ἔτει ϛϡϟ β'Νβ μηνός.

Digitized by Google

The church is one of the largest and handsomest in Greece; the pronaos or gynecæum is supported by four large columns, and the interior is entirely covered with paintings, of which, those of the skreen are richly adorned with silver. The inscription within the church was intended to commemorate the date and authors of these decorations. The cells of the monks and the apartments destined for strangers are spacious and convenient, but the furniture indicates the decay into which all these establishments are falling. The monastery has been twice deserted; once for sixty years after it had been plundered by a Pashá of Tríkkala. It now pays 750 piastres a year to the Vezír, besides contributions of butter, cheese, and other produce of its farms; and nearly an equal amount to Velý Pashá, who has taken upon himself the particular charge and protection of all the Metéora. When Velý resided at Ioánnina, this protection, although expensive, was of some benefit to the monasteries, by preventing the Albanian soldiers from quartering upon them—an important exemption so near a road more frequented by Albanian soldiers than any other in Greece. Now that Velý is in the Moréa, the Albanians, who are never much disposed to respect such privileges, are quite regardless of them, and seldom pass without visiting the convents, sometimes remaining here several days, eating and drinking at the expence of the caloyers. The Metéora has a debt of fifty purses; some of the other monasteries owe as much as seventy, which bearing the usual interest of one per cent. per mensem, is severely felt

Digitized by Google

by them. But what the monks chiefly complain of is the general want of charity among the Greeks themselves, who no longer contribute to those collections made by their travelling brethren, which in former times constituted the greatest part of their revenue. The house is supplied with water by means of an excellent cistern; and wood is obtained for the trouble of cutting it in the adjacent hills. All the other necessaries of life consumed in this and the other monasteries are the produce of their farms, except a part of their bread, purchased at Trikkala. The rock of Metéora, unlike some of the others, which are mere peaks, has a small level on the summit, not only sufficient to afford ample room for the buildings, but leaving also a field of fine turf, which forms a delightful promenade, but might be much improved if it were planted and laid out as a garden. There are twenty monks in the convent, and as many κοσμικοὶ, or lay servants.

2. The second monastery in antiquity is St. Nicolas[1], which contains five or six monks.

3. The third in date, and second in magnitude and revenue, is Varláam[2], so called from a hermit who is enrolled among the saints of the Greek calendar, and who fixed his abode upon this rock, which has space only for the church and other buildings. The ascent by the net is three or four fathoms longer than at Metéora; and there is a ladder, as at the latter, reaching to the lowest

[1] Ἅγιος Νικόλαος. [2] Βαρλάαμ.

Digitized by Google

part of the buildings. Varláam contains at present only five or six resident caloyers [1].

4. Aía Moní [2] is now empty.

5. Orsámi, or Russámi [3], stands on the peak of a naked rock, and contains only two or three monks.

6. Saint Trinity [4] is occupied by five or six monks.

7. Saint Stephen [5] stands on the summit of the precipice, which I before described as overhanging the northern end of Kalabáka.

All these monasteries pay the kharátj and the tribute for their lands at Kalabáka. Their payments to the Vezír's private purse depend only upon his will. The Igúmenos of Metéora, and two of his caloyers, with one or two from each of the other convents, are now in prison at Ioánnina, for having supplied Evtímio, and probably will not be released without a payment from their respective monasteries.

Evtímio, commonly called Papá Evtímio, as having formerly been ordained for the secular priesthood, was a native of Ismólia in Khassiá, and the son of a celebrated captain commonly known by the name of Blakháva, who had the command of the armatolí of Khassiá and

[1] According to Biornstahl, Varláam was built by two Greeks named Theophanes and Nectarius of Ioánnina, in the year 1536.

[2] Ἁγία Μονή.

[3] Ὀρσάμη, Ῥουσσάμη.

[4] Ἁγία Τριάδα. Built, according to Biornstahl, in 1476.

[5] Ἅγιος Στέφανος.

Digitized by Google

the surrounding districts. Upon his death, Alý Pashá continued to protect his family — and Evtímio, with his brothers and followers, to the number of sixty, still continued to be paid by the vilayéti of Tríkkala, for the protection of the country against robbers. When the Vezír deposed the captains of armatolí in 'Agrafa and Kárlili, upon the breaking out of the war between Russia and the Porte, Evtímio was still entrusted with his command. The first symptom of his revolt was a journey to some of the islands of the *Ægæan* in the summer of 1807. On returning from thence to Khassiá in the ensuing winter, he became connected with robbers, fugitives, and outlaws, from every part of Greece, who soon afterwards began to plunder and murder Turks in the adjacent parts of Thessaly. Mukhtár Pashá, having been sent by his father against the robbers, found them in possession of all the rocks around Kalabáka. They had obliged the monasteries to supply them with bread, notwithstanding which they fired one day at the bishop of Stagi, who had concurred in furnishing the bread, at a spot which he pointed out to me between Kastráki and Metéora. In April or May last they fought with Mukhtár's troops in the same place, and were defeated and dispersed. Evtímio then fled to his former haunts in the Islands, where, having been betrayed by means of a pretended pardon from the Kapitán Pashá, he was conveyed from thence to Constantinople. Considerable interest was made for him; but Alý's influence having prevailed, Evtímio was sent by the Kapitán Pashá to

Digitized by Google

Ioánnina, to be disposed of as the Vezír should think fit. The great crime of the rebel Papás in the eyes of Alý was a correspondence said to have been detected between him and the Russians at Corfú, which might have led to a serious revolt, as many of the Greeks at that period, regardless of past experience, had founded new hopes of deliverance from the Ottoman yoke upon the Russian war, and the presence of the Russians in the Seven Islands. There was no mercy, therefore, for Evtímio. During a three months' imprisonment he was alternately tortured, and flattered with hopes of pardon, for the purpose of extracting a confession of his instigators and accomplices, but without any result: at length, in October last, on the day after the Vezír's departure for Tepeléni, he was put to death, and his four quarters hung upon the plane-trees at the entrance of Ioánnina.

The expected capture of Berát by Alý is viewed with approbation by the *Thessalians*, who hope that he will henceforth resort to the fertile plains of the Mizakía for a large portion of his supplies; that the extension of his power will render his wars less frequent, and that it will give him better means of curbing the lawless insolence and rapacity of the Albanians. Whether such an increase and concentration of the military power of Albania will ultimately be beneficial to the Greeks, it is impossible to foresee. On the one hand, it promotes Musulman ascendancy in that country, encourages apostasy, causes the emigration of those who remain faithful to the Church, separates the Albanians from the Greeks—their relatives in manners and

Digitized by Google

origin—and tends to render Albania a Musulman nation of considerable power at no distant period. To this result the Porte will have largely contributed, by having constantly, since the year 1740, or at least with the exception of one short interval only, appointed Albanians to the government of Ioánnina, the effect of which has been to annex all *Epirus* to Albania, and to give facility to their further conquests. As long as the supreme government can employ a large proportion of the Albanian infantry as mercenaries dispersed in various parts of Turkey, it may not feel any great inconvenience from the effects of its weakness in Western Greece; but in the event of a disastrous war, such is the national discordance between the Turks and Albanians, that the latter will assuredly think more of securing that independence which the geographical situation of their country always favours, than of saving the Ottoman Empire from the dissolution to which it inevitably tends. Should its decline still continue to be gradual, the Greeks, as a third party, may derive some benefit from the unfriendly feeling and balance of strength between the two others, and may obtain in consequence some consideration from them both, having always, moreover, this prospect, that if any unexpected political contingency should render a new change of religion conducive to the worldly interests of the Albanians, they will have no greater difficulty in returning to a profession of Christianity, than they had in converting their churches into mosques.

Jan. 12.—Having descended this morning in

Digitized by Google

the net, and mounted my horse at the foot of the rock, we proceed through an opening between two of these stupendous natural walls by a steep zig-zag, similar to that by which we approached from Kastráki, then traversing the fields by an unfrequented path to the Salamvría, ford that river not far below the junction of the *Ion*, or river of Krátzova, and at the end of an hour and a half from Metéora, arrive at the khan of Kriavrýsi, which stands opposite to the junction of the two rivers: from thence I follow the same route to the khan of Malakássi, by which I entered Thessaly in 1805. At the khan I overtake the metropolitan bishop of Elassóna proceeding from Constantinople to Ioánnina to offer his proskýnesis to the Vezír before he takes possession of his province. The Patriarch had named him for Arta on the flight of Bishop Ignatius, and the nomination had been confirmed by the Porte; but as Alý had not been consulted, and did not like the appointment, he contrived to obtain the union of the two sees of Arta and Ioánnina, and sent the bishop back to Constantinople to obtain another see.

Jan. 13.—To Métzovo.

Jan. 14.—A change of wind to the westward brought on rain, but its effects did not prevent me from following the bed of the *Arachthus*, which saved an hour in the way to Dhrysko. The descent, though almost imperceptible, may have contributed to the diminution; in like manner as on the 12th, the ascent may have caused an increase of time between the several stations, as I was travelling exactly in the

Digitized by Google

same manner as when I descended the Salamvría in 1805.

Ioánnina, Jan. 16.—It is now eight days since Alý entered the castle of Berát, by which he has acquired the most important position in central Albania; and though it gives him not more than a third of the country, it very much increases his influence over the remainder. He was in great measure indebted for his success to the Gheghe, a considerable body of whom he took into his service on this occasion for the first time, having hitherto been deterred probably by the high pay which they demand, but in return for which they fight rather more seriously than the other Albanians. In reducing Elbasán, which was his first step to Berát, he was assisted by the Bey of Dibra, who has married his niece.

As soon as the fall of Berát was known at Ioánnina, where Alý then was, the bishop of Lárissa went to congratulate His Highness upon his success, carrying with him a present of money. This was the signal for others to do the same, and all the surrounding villages will now be taxed by the Hodjá-bashis, to make up a present. Thus it is that some interested person often sets an example of making presents to the Turks, which they never fail to demand from all other persons under the like circumstances, as well as a repetition of them upon all similar occasions. This well-known custom of the Turks is imitated not only by the Albanians, who require no masters in the art of extortion, but also by the Greek armatolí, as I heard illustrated not long since by a Vlakhiote sheep-

Digitized by Google

feeder. A Koledjí of Arta applied once in the winter to the shepherds of his district for a kapa for his young son, who was perishing of cold for the want of one, humbly representing the utility of his men in protecting the shepherds and their flocks: the kapa was granted at the expence to the shepherds of about 100 parás. When the boy grew up and his cloak was worn out, its place was to be supplied with a new one of larger size. This demand soon grew into that of an annual cloak to the Koledjí, and to each of his family; and has increased until what was originally an act of charity, has become an annual payment of cloak-money from the shepherds to the Koledjí of the district.

On the Vezír's arrival at Berát, one of the first persons, as in duty bound, to make his proskýnesis was the metropolitan bishop of Velégrada, but he was so simple as to lay at the Pashá's feet a present of coffee and sugar. "Take these things," said the Vezír to a servant, "to my son Salíh;" a boy of eight or nine years of age: then turning his head to the window, left the bishop standing, without taking the smallest notice of him, until he retired. The next day the bishop re-appeared, and laid a roll of 200 sequins in the same place upon the divan. A glance of Alý's eye towards the money, was instantly followed by a smiling countenance, a few encouraging words of the usual kind[1] to the δεσπότης, as he then entitled him, with an inquiry how he liked his mansúp, and

[1] τί κάμνεις μώρε δεσπότη· καλὸς γερὸς εἶσαι.

Digitized by Google

whether his flock behaved well. The bishop replied, that he had nothing to complain of, except that the Greeks were somewhat irregular in their payments, when the Secretary was immediately directed to supply the bishop with a written order, enjoining all the Christians of his diocese to be punctual in their acquittance of the bishop's dues.

Jan. 29.—Mukhtár Pashá enters Ioánnina on his return from the Danube at the head of about 1000 men. The remainder of his forces he has left on his route through Albania, at the same places where they joined him in the spring. The inhabitants of Ioánnina knowing that he expected to be treated as a Gházi, or conqueror, advanced to meet him in great numbers on his approach. In fact his Albanians were the most effective corps in the Grand Vezír's army, and he gained great credit for his personal conduct in the action near Silístria. The old Serdár-Azém Kior Yusúf, who formerly commanded the Turkish army in Egypt, said to him publicly after this affair, "You have brought me to life, my son, you deserve that I should feed you with sugar and your horses with rice." This was followed by presents of horses, pelisses, swords, and a Tjelénk, with an offer of the post of Rúmeli Válesi; Mukhtár, however, who knew his father's opinions upon that subject, declined it, and asked for the Pashalík of Avlóna; but it suited the Porte just as little to bestow another Albanian Pashalík upon the house of Tepeléni.

Notwithstanding the glory which Mukhtár him-

Digitized by Google

self has gained, some of his Albanians are well inclined to treat their exploits with derision. Ποῦ ἐδούλευε τὸ μαῦρο τὸ τουφέκιμας; what could our poor musquets do? said one of them to me, alluding to the Russian artillery. Others relate how they took some of the Russian cannon three or four times, which by some untoward accident were always retaken; and how the Russians contrived a moving castle full of artillery (perhaps their horse artillery) which put all the Turkish army to flight. They allow the Cossacks to be a better cavalry than the Turkish. The Grand Vezír has been obliged by the scarcity of provisions and forage, to dismiss all the troops to their respective districts, and to remain at Shumla with a personal guard of three or four thousand men. And such is generally the termination of a Turkish campaign.

Prévyza, 18th Feb.—About 11 P.M. an earthquake occurred, the smartest I have ever felt in Greece, and which lasted so long, that after being waked by it, I had time partly to dress and make my way out of the house before it had ceased. At Ioánnina and Corfú it was not much noticed, but at Cefalonia it was almost as violent as at Prévyza, which agrees with a variety of testimony tending to show that the countries immediately round the entrance of the Corinthiac gulf, insular as well as continental, are the parts of Greece most subject to earthquakes, both as to frequency and intensity. To these *Laconia*, according to ancient evidence, is to be added; but in general Greece, although frequently troubled by slight shocks, could never

Digitized by Google

have been often visited by very destructive concussions. Had this been the case, its glorious buildings could not have remained so long uninjured, nor perhaps would ever have been raised, as the only safe mode of construction in a country subject to such visitations is a wooden frame-work, strongly combined and firmly fixed in the ground. A liability to slight shocks, on the contrary, might be obviated by strength of materials, first in wood and then in masonry, and may therefore have been one of the causes which led the Greeks to their massy Doric architecture, almost rivalling in solidity that which among the Egyptians had a very different origin, having been an imitation of those excavations in the rock, which were their earliest habitations, sepulchres, and temples.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

ADDITIONAL NOTE

TO

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Ioánnina in the Fourteenth Century.

The manuscript alluded to in page 204 having been published *in extenso*, by M. Pouqueville, (Voyage dans la Grèce, tome 5,) I shall subjoin an abstract of it, as it presents a curious picture of the condition of Epirus in the fourteenth century. It is a chronicle from 1350 to 1400, and was evidently written by an ecclesiastic:—

"Under the Emperor John Palæologus, when the Turks were in possession of Smyrna, Ephesus, and Prusa, and ravaged the coasts of Thrace, when the Genoese conquered Chios, and the Franks of Navarre all the Peloponnesus except Monembasia and Lacedæmonia[1], Ioánnina was taken A. D. 1350, by Stephen Kral of the Triballi or Servians, who had previously invaded the lands of the Empire and seized upon the Grecian Vlakhía[2], the government of which he bestowed with the title of Cæsar upon one of his officers named Prélubo (Πρέλουμπος). The despotate of Ætolia he gave to his own brother Simeon, who, on arriving at Ioánnina, married Thomais, daughter of the last despot Iohn, whose son Nicephorus was then a hostage (ὅμηρος) at Constantinople, where he espoused a daughter of John Cantacuzenus. Anna, widow of John, and late queen (βασίλις) of the despotate, soon after the union of her daughter with Simeon, was married to a brother of the Kral Stephen, named Comnenus,

[1] Mistrá.

[2] Thessaly.

Digitized by Google

who assumed the government of Kanína and Beligrád (Berát). On the death of the Kral and of the Cæsar Prélubo, Nicephorus was sent by the Byzantine government to recover the Despotate; upon which Simeon, with his wife Thomais, retired to Kastoría, where Simeon was proclaimed by his troops king of Servia, although Ureses (Οὐρέσης) son of Stephen was already reigning; and the widow of Prélubo, with her son Thomas, fled from Tríkkala into Servia, where Ureses caused her to espouse another Servian chieftain named Khlápeno (Χλάπενος), who had made himself master of Berrhœa, and some other places on the Greek frontiers. A year after his marriage, Khlápeno marched into Vlakhía and took Dhamási[1], which he gave up to Simeon on condition of receiving Simeon's daughter as a wife for his son-in-law Thomas. The nuptial ceremony was performed at Tríkkala by the metropolitan bishop of Lárissa, after which Thomas returned with his wife and mother to Khlápeno.

Nicephorus found Vlakhía occupied by Servians, and the Despotate ravaged by Albanians, and lost his life in a battle with the latter on the Achelous[2] in the year 1358, having reigned little more than three years. Simeon now re-occupied both Vlakhía and the Despotate, placed Thomais, by whom he had a son and daughter, in Tríkkala, as the chief town, went himself to occupy Arta and Ioánnina; but was soon recalled from thence by the affairs of Vlakhía, where he was obliged to oppose the designs of Khlápeno, who had established himself at Berrhœa. The southern part of the Despotate now fell into the hands of the Albanians, of whom Ghino Váïa (Γίνος Βαΐας) established himself at Angheló-kastro (in the *Ætolian* plain) and Petro Leósa (Πέτρος Λεώσας) at Arta and Rogús. Some Greek lords who occupied certain castles in the district of Vagenitía[3], in conjunction with the Ioánnites, sent to Simeon to request his pro-

[1] The fortress of Dhamási in the valley of the *Titaresius* has been noticed in page 299 of this volume.

[2] "περί τι χωρίον Ἀχελῷον προσαγορευόμενον," says Cantacuzenus (l. 4, c. 43), speaking of this event. In those ages there was a bishopric of Achelous under the metropolitan of Naupactus, and an inhabited place on the river of that name, through which Benjamin of Tudela passed in his way from Arta to Anatolikó.

[3] Βαγενητία was the name of a district near Ioánnina, as appears from Anna Comnena, l. 5, p. 133. Paris. Vagheneti is still the name of a small village to the N.W. of Ioánnina.

Digitized by Google

tection against the Albanians, and a governor. He recommended Thomas, his son-in-law, who received the Ioannite deputation at his residence at Vodhená *(Edessa)*, accepted the proffered honour, and in the year 1367 made his entrance into Ioánnina with his queen Angelica Palæologina.

One of the first acts of Thomas was to banish the bishop Sebastian, to give the villages belonging to the church to his Servians, to turn some of its buildings into magazines of hay and corn, and to rob the church of its plate, &c. (*θείων σκευῶν*). Some of the leading men of Ioánnina he imprisoned, tortured, and plundered, others he forced to fly. Vardhinó, governor of the castle of St. Donatus (Paramythía), and John Kapsokavádhi, who held the tower (*πύργος*) of Areokhovítza[1] revolted, and many of his own Servians quitted him. He encouraged traitors and informers, and made one of them named Michael Apsarás his chief minister with the title of Protovestiarius. The city having been desolated with a plague in 1368, he obliged the widows of the rich men who had died of it to marry his Servians, and deprived the orphans of their inheritance. He loaded the artisans with forced contributions, extorted money under the bastonnade, exacted gratuitous labour from the citizens, legalized places of public prostitution, and derived a profit from their monopoly, as well as from that of wine, corn, meat, cheese, fish, and fruits. For three years the lands of Thomas were ravaged, and the city blockaded by Leósa and his Albanians, until Thomas gave his daughter Irene in marriage to John the son of Leósa, after which Ioánnina was for five years at peace with the Albanians; though Thomas, who had received some children of Albanian chieftains as hostages, threw them into prison. He showed his talent for evil in the invention of dungeons and places of torture. In 1374, a plague breaking out at Arta carried off Peter Leósa, upon which John Spata came from the Achelous and took possession of that city, and then marching against Ioánnina, ravaged the lands and forced the despot to shut himself up in the city. Spata is described as active, handsome, accomplished both in word and action, and possessing theory as well as experience—(*θεωρία γὰρ καὶ πρᾶξις ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ*). In 1375 a second plague

[1] Probably the present Tzerkovítza, and apparently one of the *φρούρια τῆς Βαγενητίας* before mentioned.

Digitized by Google

at Ioánnina carried off Irene. Spata did not discontinue hostilities until Thomas had given him his sister Helene with presents in marriage. The despot next endeavoured to collect a body of troops, consisting of robbers and vagabonds, to oppose the Albanians. Listening to the false accusations of Apsarás, he ill-treated his wife Angelica, and soon afterwards fell into the most shameful debaucheries. In 1378, Ghino Frati, with the Albanians of Malakássi, marched against Ioánnina; but on the 14th of September was defeated, taken, and forced to walk into the city with a drum upon his shoulders: the prisoners were sold. The same year the grand master (*ὁ μέγας Μαΐστωρ*) blockaded Arta; but the Albanians, collecting their forces, defeated him, made him prisoner, and delivered him to Spata, who sold him a few days afterwards[1]. Thomas soon afterwards marched against the Albanians, and blockaded them in Arta. In 1379, the Malakasséi again marched against Ioánnina, and in February, by the treachery of a deaf ferryman named Nicephorus, transported a body of more than 200 chosen men into the town, who took the upper fortress[2] (*τὸν ἐπάνω γουλᾶν*) while the main body was landed in the island, from whence, having obtained a great number of canoes and boats (*μονόξυλα καὶ βάρκαις*), they advanced towards the city, but were opposed on the lake by the citizens with two boats and a few canoes. In the town the citizens fought for three days, both with those in the upper fortress, and against other Albanians who attacked the city on the land side, until by the assistance of St. Michael, to whom their prayers were addressed, they put the invaders to flight, which induced those in the fortress to surrender at discretion. Thomas then confined the chiefs of the Albanians in the citadel, gave up the soldiers to the people to be sold, cut off the noses of the Bulgarians and Vlakhi, and claimed the surname of Albanian-killer (*Ἀλβανιτοκτόνος*). In the month of May, Spata marched against Ioánnina, ruining the villages and vineyards, upon which Thomas hung his Albanian prisoners on the towers, or cut off their limbs and put out their eyes, which he sent to

[1] The grand master here mentioned seems evidently to have been J. F. D'Heredia, grand master of Rhodes, who was a prisoner in Albania three years, and ransomed by his family in 1380. But, according to Vertot, he was taken, not at Arta, but at Corinth.

[2] Perhaps at Litharítza.

Digitized by Google

Spata, continuing these cruelties until the latter retired. About this time having discovered a conspiracy he put the leaders to a cruel death, together with some who were innocent, and banished others whom he or his minister Apsarás had accused. He increased the imposts, the angária, and monopolies; and when many of the people betook themselves to flight to avoid his tyranny, he gave their property to strangers. Near upon Christmas of the same year (1379) Theophýlakto and Khondézi (Χοντέζης), two archons from near Kastoría, came to request him to take possession of the castle of Servia (τὸ κάστρον τῶν Σερβίων), but he put them in prison in order to extort money from them.

In the beginning of the year 1380, at the instigation of Khukhulítzas (τοῦ Χουχουλίτζα), he threw many of the magistrates (ἐγκρίτους) into prison. Manuel Filanthropinó, the chief secretary of the town (πρωτασηκρήτην), whom he liberated, and had pretended to restore to favour, he poisoned with a cup of wine; and the president (προκαθήμενον), Constantine, whom he had detained five years in prison, he banished to Vursína, (Βουρσίνα), after putting out his eyes. Some others he deprived also of their sight, and many he sold; so that every place was full of the people of Ioánnina while the town itself was depopulated. Having invited the Turks to his assistance, one of their chiefs named Isaím, on the 2d June, 1380, took possession of Velá and Opá, and obliged the Mazarakéi and Zenoviséi to shut themselves up in their towns (εἰς τὰς Πολίτζας). Thomas then occupied the castles (καστέλια) of Vursína, Kretzúnista, Dhragomí, Areokhovítza, and appointed their archons to be captains (κεφαλάδες) and judges (ζουπαναίοι), but continued to persecute the Albanians and Ioannites. He imprisoned Isaia, prior (καθηγούμενος) of the monastery of the Holy Providence (τῆς Προνοίας) at Métzovo, and after receiving 200 aspra from his friends as a redemption of his eyes, put them out, sold the prior, took possession of the monastery, and expelled its inmates and parishioners (παροικούς). About the same time he purchased St. Donatus (Paramythía) from Μυρσιροβέρτος. In 1382 he employed Kostí, with a body of Turks, to obtain the country of the Zulanéi (Ζουλανέοι), and on the 5th May Isaím took Revníko (Ρευνῆκον). Spata marched to

Digitized by Google

Arúli, when his son-in-law, Μυρσιμακαζιανὸς [1], having been received in Ioánnina with great honour, made peace by which Spata obtained the cession of Velá, Dhrynópoli, Vagenetía, and Malakássi, as far as Katúna, and his son-in-law the country of Zevemveséi (Ζεβεμβεσαῖοι). Nevertheless in September, 1383, Spata again came to demand the dowry of Helen, but Thomas induced him by some trifling gifts to return.

Thomas sent Gabriel, prior of the Ἀρχιμάνδριον [2], and the archon Mangafá to Constantinople, to obtain from Manuel Palæologus that emperor's confirmation of him in the government of the Despotate. On their return, Thomas was invested by them with the insignia of the office (τὰ δεσποτικὰ ἀξιώματα). On this occasion divine service was performed by Matthew, who had been recently made metropolitan bishop of Ioánnina, to which dignity the metropolitan throne of Naupactus was also attached (ἐπέχων καὶ τοῦ Ναυπάκτου θρόνον). Thomas not permitting Matthew to remain at Ioánnina, he resided at Arta. A.D. 1385, in the time of vintage, a large body of Turks under Demír Tash (Ταμουρτάσης) made an incursion towards Arta, and carried away many persons into slavery. Spata sent Bishop Matthew and Kalógnomo to the Despot to propose a joint expedition against the Turks, but Thomas detained Kalógnomo, banished the bishop, and gave his church to the Devil (τῷ Σενναχερίμ).

At length in the same year, on Wednesday the 23d December, in the fifth hour of the night, Thomas was slain by his own body-guards, Nikeforáki, Artavésto, Raináki, and António the Frank. The Ioannites then assembled in the Metropolitan church (ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει), demanded their lawful queen Angelica, and performed homage to her (προσκυνοῦσιν). She summoned Meliglávo and Theodore Apsarás, who buried the apos-

[1] Arta, which was then considered the capital of Acarnania, had been occupied not long before, with some other places in southern Epirus, by Charles Tocco I., Count of Cefalonia accompanied by several adventurers from Naples, (Chalcocond. l. 4, p. 111, Par.) among whom were probably two named Messire Roberto and Messire Macagiano, or some name not very different.

[2] The Arkhimándrio still exists, it is a convent established by some monks of Mount Sinai, who had removed from that place, and, like the convent on Mount Sinai, is dedicated to St. Catherine.

Digitized by Google

tate[1], and declared Ioásaf, the brother of Angelica, king (*βασιλέα εἰσφέρουσι*). The queen (*ἡ βασίλισσα*) was kind to all, and sent letters to recal those who were in banishment. Spata, as soon as he heard of the death of Thomas, marched to Ioánnina, and invested it with his Albanians, upon which Ioásaf, with the advice of his council, offered Angelica in marriage to Izaú (*Ἰζαοῦ*), a lord of Cefalonia (*εἰς τὴν Κεφαληνίαν αὐθέντην*). Michael Apsarás was then tried, deprived of his sight, and banished.

On the 30th Jan. 1386, Izaú arrived at Ioánnina and was declared Despot[2]. The Cæsar Stephen, and the *Καισάρισσα* (mother of Angelica) came to Ioánnina, the latter as *παράνυμφος* at the celebration of the marriage. The new despot being a good Christian (*φιλόχριστος ὢν*), re-established Matthew on the Metropolitan throne, and restored the church property. In concurrence with queen Angelica and king Ioásaf, he emptied the prisons, destroyed the dungeons, closed the places of debauchery, restored houses to their proper heirs, and abolished the forced servitude and the corporal punishments which had been esta-

[1] Though the author makes use of this word more than once, it does not appear that Thomas ever became a Musulman.

[2] From the description given of Izaú, as a lord (or *the* lord) of Cefalonia, we might suppose that the person intended was Charles Tocco, son and successor of Leonard Tocco, a Neapolitan, who about 1357 received a grant of Cefalonia, Zante, and Santa Maura, from the titular Greek emperor Robert II.; for according to Orbini, Charles obtained the dukedom of Ioánnina by his marriage with Angelica. (See Ducange, Hist. de Const. l. 8. c. 25.) But her union with *Ἰζάουλος* is confirmed by Chalcocondylas; from whom we learn also, that Izáulo was succeeded by a Charles, who married a daughter of Renier Acciajuoli, duke of Athens, and who was Charles II. grandson of Leonard. In the circumstances of the murder of Thomas, Chalcocondylas differs from the new authority; from the latter it would seem, that Izáulo was not then at Ioánnina, whereas the Athenian historian asserts, that Izáulo was the paramour of Angelica, and himself the murderer, having been introduced by her into the chamber of Thomas. Chalcocondylas farther remarks, that Izáulo was unfortunate in war, but that Ioánnina was never taken, having fallen into the hands of Duke Charles, (*ὁ ἡγεμὼν Κάρολος*), by invitation of the people. This also agrees with the MS. as far as it goes; whereas the authorities of Ducange represent Spata to have been lord of Ioánnina as well as of Arta.

Digitized by Google

blished by Thomas. He was then complimented by the Ioannítes with the titles of *πανυψηλότατος*, and *ἐκλαμπρότατος*. Spata having moved against Ioánnina, Izaú obliged him to retreat, and made peace with the other Albanians. Paleólogo Vrióni, brought the insignia of the despotate from Constantinople and crowned Izaú (*καὶ ἔστεψε τὸν Ἰζαοῦ*), the bishops of Velás and Dryinópolis and the Metropolitan of Ioánnina performing the holy offices. In the same year (1386) Bishop Matthew died, when the Servians endeavoured to obtain the property of the church, but Izaú prevented it, and appointed provisionally Gabriel prior of the Arkhimándrio who was recommended to Constantinople as a fit successor to Matthew, by the chief persons of the Despotate and of its church. In the year (1387) the Despot visited the Emír (Ἀμηρᾶ[1]). A thunderbolt fell on the belfry of the monastery and destroyed fourteen persons. In 1388 Gabriel proceeded to Constantinople to ask for the vacant throne of Ioánnina, and in March 1389 returned as Metropolitan bishop. In 1389 the Emír Murát (*ὁ Ἀμηρᾶς Ἀμουράτ*) and Lazarus (king of Servia) were both killed in battle[2]. In July Spata marched from Arta, and pitched his camp before Ioánnina, when the Malakasséi revolted and submitted to him (*τὸν προσκυνοῦσι*). He then ravaged the country, destroyed the vines, and took Veltzísta. The bishop of Velá, possessor, by the concession of Izaú, of Vrivía (*Βριβία*), submitted to Spata, and gave up the fortress to him. Izaú was not permitted by his friends to go forth to battle, but he sent the Zagorítes and his other troops against Spata, who defeated them, and launching two galleys (*κάτεργα*) on the lake, sunk one which the Despot sent against them. The Cæsar (Ioásaf) came to the assistance of Izaú from Vlakhía (Thessaly), and Melkúsi (*Μελκούσης*) from the Sultán at Thessalonica, upon which Spata retired. The Despot then proceeded with the Turkish chief and the Cæsar to Thessalonica, where he resided fourteen months; then returned by the Achelous to Arta and to Ioánnina, which he entered Dec. 1392. Ioánnina now enjoyed four years of peace. Izaú is praised by the author for frequently consulting the bishop.

[1] Sultán Murát I.

[2] At Kóssovo.

Digitized by Google

In December, 1395, Queen Angelica Ducæna Palæologina died. Who can describe (adds the author) the cries of the city, the hymns, the candles, the psalmodies, the condolences, the lamentations (*τοὺς κρότους τῆς πόλεως τοὺς τότε, τοὺς ὕμνους, τὰς λαμπάδας, τὰς ψαλμωδίας, τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συμπλοκὰς καὶ θρήνους*, &c.) After the proper period of mourning (*ἐντελέσας τὰς πενθίμους ἡμέρας ἀξίως*) Izaú was persuaded by the archons and bishop, for the sake of the public safety, to marry Irene, daughter of Spata. Not long after the marriage, Vranézi, who had returned with Izaú from Thessalonica, was routed by Spata at Dhrysko, and driven back as far as Fanaroméni, but while the Albanians were indulging in plunder they were attacked near Páktora (*τὰς Πάκτορας*), and suffered considerable loss.

April 5, 1399. Izaú marched against Zenevísi with all his forces, collected from Malakássi, Mazaráki, Pápingo, Zagoría, Dhrynópoli, Arghyrókastro and Great Zagóri. As he was advancing from Mesopótamo towards Dibra he was attacked in the midst of a fog and tempest by Ghióni, and having been defeated and taken prisoner, was put in chains at Arghyrókastro, together with his archons. But the noble families of Florence to whom he was related[1], having made interest for him, he was permitted, through the influence of Venice, and the mediation of its bailo at Corfú (*τὸν βάϊλον τῶν Κορυφῶν*), to purchase his liberty for 10,000 sequins (*φλωρία*). After remaining some days at Corfú he proceeded to Santa Maura, and from thence to Grovaléa (*Γροβαλαίας εἰς τὰ μέρη*), where he was received by Spata and his brother Sguro. He then proceeded to Arta, and on the 17th July, 1399, re-entered Ioánnina.

April 28, 1400, Spata died, and was succeeded at Arta by his brother Sguro, a few days after which the Servo-Albano-Bulgaro-Wallachian Vonkói (*Σερβαλβανοβουλγαρόβλαχος Βογκόης*) made his appearance, drove out Sguro, and plundered and banished the chief persons.

The MS. concludes with the author's lamentations for the fate

[1] According to Chalcocondylas, Ἰζδουλος, was from Naples (*εἰς τῶν ἀρίστων Παρθενόπης βασιλίως*. l. 4. c. 112.); but Ducange seems to have learnt, that he was of a Spanish family, and his real name Inico de Davalos. Fam. Dalmat. xv. 4.

Digitized by Google

of Arta, or Acarnania as he calls it, according to a common solecism of the learned of those times.

Another MS., which like the former has been published by M. Pouqueville, after briefly enumerating the European conquests of the Ottoman Emperors, states that when Sultan Murát II. had regained all those cities and provinces in Europe which had been lost to the Turks, when his grandfather Bayazíd was defeated and taken by Timúr Khan; the Ioannítes perceiving that the Sultan exercised great cruelties over those whom he conquered, collected an army for the defence of Mount Pindus, and the other passes of Epirus. Twice Murát sent his forces against them, and twice was defeated by the gallant conduct of the Greeks, aided by the strength of the places. The Sultan then wrote a letter to the Ioannítes, representing that God had set no bounds to his empire, that with the exception of their mountains, all Greece had submitted to him (ἔξω ἀπὸ τὰ βουνάσας ὅλοι μ' ἐπροσκύνησαν), and that he recommended them therefore to deliver up their city to him, if they wished to avoid the fate of those who had been cut off by the sword, or sold as captives. He swore not to eject them from their castle (ἀπὸ τὸ Κάστρον σας) if they were faithful to his government. The Ioannítes considering that many strong fortresses had submitted to the Ottomans, and that their own was small and feeble, sent the keys to Murát at Thessalonica. The treaty was sworn to on both sides, a khatisherif was received by the Ioannítes, and the keys were delivered to Murát, who sent eighteen Turks to take possession. As soon as these arrived, they required the cannon to be fired as a mark of rejoicing, and the church of St. Michael, situated on the towers of the castle (κειμένην εἰς τοὺς πύργους τοῦ Κάστρου), to be destroyed. They then built houses for themselves in the part of the city now called Turkopáluko, and on the refusal of the Greeks to give them wives, complained to Murát, who sent a firmáhn (γράμμα βασιλικὸν) authorizing the Turks to take such women for their wives as might please them. The envoy of the Sultan, who brought the paper, entered the castle in company with the Turks on a Greek festival, and waited at Pantokrátora outside the Metropolitan church, until the Greeks with their wives and families came out of the church, when each Turk as he saw a young woman that pleased

Digitized by Google

him, took off his outer garment (τὸ φόρεμα), threw it over her, took her by the hand, and led her away as his wife. Some days afterwards the Christians finding their lamentations useless, ceased to grieve, and some of them began to console themselves by saying, that perhaps (τάχα) those Turks were lords and archons, not inferior in honour to themselves; they sent dowries (προῖκα) therefore to the houses of their daughters, and to each a female slave and a nurse (μίαν δούλην καὶ μίαν βυζάστραν), to which were added arable lands, meadows, and other gifts (ζευγαλατεῖα καὶ λιβάδια καὶ ἄλλα χαρίσματα), and thus the impious race of Hagar prospered (τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν[1] γένος ἐπροχώρει). Next follows an account of an insurrection, called ἡ ἐπανάστασις τοῦ Σκυλοσόφου, or the insurrection of the Skylosoph or Dog-sophist, which gave the Turks a pretext, founded on the letter of Sultán Murát, for expelling the Greeks from the castle of Ioánnina, and depriving them of their lands and timária. In the year 1611 (says the MS.), Dionysius, bishop of Tricca, who had been deprived of his dignity because he had been guilty of astrology, fortune-telling, and other unworthy acts, and who had fled to Italy, returned from thence and took up his abode at the monastery of St. Demetrius, between Kerásovo and Radhovísti. After some time he came to Ioánnina, where, observing that the Turks were not numerous, and that they did not reside in the castle, he informed one Tagás and some other friends that he had ascertained by astrology that he was destined to give liberty to Ioánnina and other places, and that eventually the Sultán himself at Constantinople would rise from his seat at his approach. Then quitting the city he marched about the country with a wooden drinking vessel (πλόσκα) at his back, haranguing and giving wine to the peasants and shepherds, a large body of whom, after committing some drunken excesses in various places, at length attacked the Turkish villages of Turkográniza and Zaravúsa, distant two hours from the convent of St. Demetrius, murdered the inhabitants and destroyed the villages. In the night of the tenth of September they entered Ioánnina, set fire to the house of Osmán Pashá, who

[1] This word is much used by the Byzantines and modern Greeks. It supposes the descent of the Turks from Ismael and Hagar, the slave of Abraham, whence they are often called Ἰσμαηλῖται.

Digitized by Google

escaped with difficulty, and burnt in it several men, with the imperial treasure. They then cried Κύριε ἐλέησον[1] "and down with the kharátj and anazúli[2]." The Turks, mounting on horseback, fell upon the half-armed Christians, killed the innocent as well as guilty, and the next morning, being Sunday, slew many of the peasants as they were entering the town; had they not been prevented by some of their own chiefs, they would have put to death all the Christians in the castle. Dionysius, seeing his followers dispersed, fled to hide himself in a cavern at the church of St. John Prodromus, where now stands the mosque of Aslán Pashá. Here the Jews, having discovered him, brought him bound to the Turks, who, without any inquiry, flayed him alive, and filling the skin with straw, sent it from town to town, and at length carried it to Constantinople, where it is said the Sultán happened to rise from his seat out of curiosity to see it, and thus fulfilled the Skylosoph's prediction. His followers taken at Ioánnina were given over to the Jews, who, delighting in an opportunity of tormenting Christians, roasted some by a slow fire, suspended others by iron hooks, and invented other cruel modes of putting them to death. The Turks then destroyed the convent of St. Demetrius, except the church, dispersed the monks, and confiscated the property of the monastery, which possessed eighteen metókhia. By a khatisheríf of the Sultán, the Christians were driven out of the fortress, and deprived of the privileges which they had hitherto enjoyed by treaty.

To this MS. is appended a chronicle of events, of which the following are the heads.

1431. Oct. 9.—Ioánnina taken by the Turks[3].

1449. March 24.—Acarnania, otherwise called Arta, taken by the Turks.

1599. Naupactus taken by the Turks.

1683.—The Turks defeated with great loss by the Germans.

1684.—Aghía Mavra and Prévyza taken by the Venetians.

[1] The war-cry of the Greeks—like the Allah! Allah! of the Turks.

[2] A tax which had been recently imposed upon the Christians.

[3] Another date of this event is given, and a third, very erroneous, from Meletius; the above agrees with that of the contemporary historian Phrantza, from whom we learn also that Thessalonica was taken in April 1430.

Digitized by Google

1685.—Koróni, Kalamáta, Zarnaká, and Avaríko, taken by the Venetians.

1686.—Mothóni and Anápli taken by the Venetians.

1687.—Naupactus and all the Moréa taken by the Venetians, and Belgrade by the Germans.

1690.—Nissa and Belgrade taken by the Vezír Kiuprilí[1] (Κιοπριλῆς).

1691.—The Germans captured Nissa and Skópia (Uskiúp), and advanced to Kiuprilí (Velesá).

1691.—Avlóna taken from the Venetians by Khalíl Pashá.

1700.—Sultan Mustafá II. made peace with the Germans and Venetians.

1710.—A cloud of locusts descended from the north upon Arta. They began to pass on the evening of the 7th, and continued all the 8th of September, darkening the sun.

1714. Sunday, July 27.—A terrible earthquake at Patræ, which threw belfries, houses, and rent from top to bottom the towers of the castle.

——. Aug. 28.—Another more dreadful at Cefalonia, where the Venetian admiral was at anchor with his fleet: the earth opened, hot water flowed out; 280 houses were destroyed, water issued from the earth, and the inhabitants lived two months in the gardens.

1715.—The preceding signs were fulfilled (ἐπληρώθη τὸ ἄνωθεν σημεῖον). The Vezír marched with 60,000 men to Corinth, reduced all the Moréa in one month, and killed or enslaved more than 40,000 persons.

1716.—The Vézir marched against the Germans with 40,000 men, but was made prisoner with his army.

1716. March 1.—An envoy from Constantinople arrived in Greece, with orders to collect provisions, and assemble a

[1] This celebrated Turk was named Akhmét, and, as well as his father, son, and grandson, was distinguished by the name of the birth-place of the first of the race, namely, Kiuprili (or Velesá), in the ancient Pæonia. The Turks, having but a small choice of names, sometimes add that of the father for the sake of distinction; but when the individual's fame is great, this is better attained by a gentile not always derived from the place of nativity. Thus the Dramalí and the Kiutayí, so named from Drama in Thrace, and Kiutáya in Asia Minor, have been renowned in the Greek Revolution.

Digitized by Google

sufficient number of workmen to construct a road sixty feet in breadth from Lárissa to Saiádha, for the use of an army destined against Corfú[1]. At *Buthrotum* the Seraskier Karà Mustafà Pashá, at the head of 65,000 men, joined the Kapitán Pashá Djanúm Khodja, who occupied the strait of Cassopo with sixty Sultanas, forty Galoons, besides Galiots, and other vessels. The Venetians from the Adriatic attacked them with twenty-eight ships, and after disabling several of the Turkish vessels, forced their way to Corfú. The Seraskier crossed into the island and encamped at Potamó, ten miles from the town. After twenty-seven days' fighting, a heavy rain washed part of their stores and apparatus into the sea. It is said that the Turks saw an aged bishop[2] threatening them, and who was accompanied by many young men bearing lighted candles. Such was the terror of the Turks, that they abandoned tents, arms, horses, and the military chest. Many were drowned in endeavouring to regain their vessels. The fugitives returned to Ioánnina with 2000 wounded, the greater part of whom died.

1731. July 25. — An adventurer arrived at Ioánnina from Corfú, pretending to be the son of Sultán Akhmét by a Genoese lady. As soon as Sultán Mahmúd was informed of it, he ordered the adventurer's head to be brought to Constantinople, and his body was thrown into the lake.

1735. Dec. 22.—The bishop Hierotheus died, and was replaced by Gregory of Constantinople. Ioánnina was afflicted by a plague, which lasted from February to the festival of St. Demetrius (26th Oct. O. S.); from sixty to eighty dying each day.

1737.—An imposition of fifty-five purses on the town.

1737. May 9.—A thunderbolt fell on the house of Miso, and burnt the tower (an omen). Miso was soon afterwards

[1] This road is still partly in existence near Filiátes.

[2] According to the Corfiotes, this was St. Spiridion, the patron saint of Corfú. The real cause of the Turkish defeat was a sortie of the garrison under Schullemberg

Digitized by Google

murdered in the pass of Túrnavo, going to Constantinople to lodge a complaint against Hadjí Pashá.

1740. Jan. 4.—From the 5th to the 9th hour of the night the earth shook ten times (another omen). The Porte, forgetful of its salutary suspicion of the faithless Albanians, now, for the first time, appointed an Albanian to the Pashalík; namely, Sulimán of Arghyrókastro, a man of ability, but cruel, restless, and violent. He persecuted the Christian militia called the armatolí, put to death George, son of the aforesaid Miso, proestós of Zagóri, who had opposed his extortions, and several others who had power or riches. At length, on the complaint of the Christians, the Porte ordered him to be beheaded. Kaló, a native of Ioánnina, succeeded to the government. He was more moderate, but put to death the proestós of Zagóri, Nutza of Vradhéti (Νούτζαν τὸν Βραδετινὸν), and soon afterwards himself died. He was succeeded by Kurt of Berát, who was commander of the Thessalian passes (ἔπαρχος τῶν Θεσσαλικῶν Δερβενίων), as well as Pashá of Ioánnina. This Albanian showed from the beginning great enmity to the Christian armatolí, and persecuted them both secretly and in arms, so as to oblige many to fly to the mountains, from whence they descended, and plundered the places in Kurt's government. He ruled fifteen years, died, it is said, of poison, and was succeeded by Alý of Tepeléni.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

TO THE

FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

P. 90, l. 4.—The passage of Pliny referred to is as follows: "In Epiri orâ castellum in Acrocerauniis Chimæra; sub eo aquæ regiæ fons" (H. N. l. 4, c. 1). This seems to have been a fountain of mineral water, where some king of Epirus had built baths, but I was unable to identify it.

P. 103, line 25.—It is remarkable that the order here referred to differs in the Latin and Greek versions of Ptolemy (l. 3, c. 14.); in the former it is Thyamis ostia, Sybota, Torone, Acherontis ostia. In the latter Θυάμιος ποτ. ἐκβολαὶ, Τορώνη, Σύβοτα. I am disposed to follow the former, as there is great probability that Torone, the Toryne of Plutarch, was the modern Parga. See Vol. III. p. 8.

P. 290.—It has sometimes been supposed that the σύριγξ ἐννεάφωνος was that commonly called the Pan-pipe, and not the simple pipe here alluded to. Virgil, however, attributes seven and not nine pipes to that instrument. In reference to the pipes made of the thigh-bone of the eagle, it is remarkable that J. Pollux states that such a custom prevailed among the Scythians, particularly three tribes, one of which was named the μελάγχλαινοι, from their black cloaks (Σκῦθαι δὲ καὶ μάλιστα τούτων οἱ Ἀνδροφάγοι

Digitized by Google

καὶ Μελάγχλαινοι καὶ Ἀριμασποὶ ἀετῶν καὶ γυπῶν ὀστοῖς αὐλητικοῖς ἐμπνέουσιν.—J. Poll. l. 4, c. 10). Both the Karagúnia and the pipes of the Vlákhi may therefore have originated in Scythia, from which direction this people undoubtedly came. The Latin word tibia implies that the Italians were in the habit of using the thigh-bones of birds or quadrupeds.

P. 327, l. 19.—Γουλιανὸς, the modern name of the Silurus Glanis, is obviously a corruption of the Γλανὶς alluded to by Aristophanes, Eq. v. 999, 1030, 1093, and compared by Athenæus, l. 7, c. 17, to the Latus of the Nile, which sometimes weighed 200 pounds.

P. 444, l. 3.—As both the French and English translator of Benjamin of Tudela have treated his travels as for the most part fabulous, it is fair towards the Jew to show that his route through Greece will bear examination. From Corfú he sailed in two days to Labta (L'Arta), where he found 100 Jews; Achilon (Achelous) two days by land, 10 Jews; Natolikon (Anatolikó) half a day; Patras, coasting by sea, one day, 50 Jews; Lepanto, by sea half a day, 100 Jews; Cours, or Crissa, one day and a half by sea, 200 Jews. These (he adds) were the only inhabitants of Mount Parnassus. [Hence his Crissa seems to have been the modern Krissó.] Corinth, a metropolitan city, three days, 300 Jews; Thebes, a great city, three days, 2000 Jews, very learned, and skilful workers in silk and purple. 'Egripo, a great city, frequented by foreign merchants, one day, 200 Jews; Jabustererisa, on the sea side, one day, 100 Jews; Robinica, one day, 100 Jews; Sinonpotmo, one day, 50 Jews. Here began Wallachia, the inhabitants of which were not Christians, had Jewish names, and were in the habit of issuing from the mountains to plunder the Javanites (Greeks). [It appears from this mention of the Wallachians, that the route of Benjamin from 'Egripo was not through *Eubœa*, but by the coast of *Bœotia* and *Locris*, now almost depopulated. The three last names of stations are evidently Greek. The second seems to have been Reveníko, a name not uncommon; the last indicates a river, probably the *Spercheius*]. Gardegi (Gardhíki) a ruinous place, two days, a small number of Javanites and Jews. [The ruins alluded to are probably those of *Larissa Cremaste.*] Armilo, two days, a great city, frequented by Venetian, Pisan, and Genoese merchants, 400 Jews. [This name is evidently Armyró;

Digitized by Google

but as *one* of Benjamin's *days*, according to their usual rate of sixteen or eighteen G. M., would have sufficed to carry him from Gardhíki to Armyró, I greatly suspect the Turkish Volo, which is just double the distance, to have been the Armyró of those days, the name being common in Greece for a maritime site.] From Armyró he proceeded in one day to a place named Bissino, inhabited by 100 Jews, and from thence sailed in two days to Salonski, built by Seleucus,—a great city, inhabited by 500 Jews (Saloníki). From Saloníki he travelled in thirteen days by land to Constantinople.

Gerrans, the English translator of Benjamin's work, particularly insists upon the statement of his arrival in three days in Wallachia from Negropont, as proving that this part of his journey is a fiction; whereas, in fact, it proves his veracity: for we learn from the Byzantine history that, in the twelfth century, the Wallachians were in possession of Thessaly, which was known about that time to the Greeks by the name of Megáli Vlakhía. The object of Benjamin's travels seems to have been that of visiting his brethren, whose numbers he has stated at the several places which he passed through.

P. 445, l. 4.—Thessaliotis seems to have been ascribed by Strabo neither to upper nor to lower Thessaly.

VOL. II.

Pp. 10, 40. — The remarks of Herodotus (l. vii. c. 176, 198, et seq.) translated in these pages, constitute our data for the coast line at the head of the Maliac gulf. "The total distance from Trachis to the mouth of the Spercheius near Anticyra was forty-five stades, of which there were five stades from Trachis to the Melas, twenty stades from the Melas to the Dyras, and twenty stades from the Dyras to the Spercheius. The Asopus issued from a διασφαξ, or rocky gorge, near Trachis, from whence it flowed along the foot of the mountains (παρὰ τὴν ὑπωρέην τοῦ οὔρεος), and after having received the Phœnix, joined the sea near Anthela. Between the mountain of Trachis

Digitized by Google

and the sea (ἐκ τῶν οὐρέων ἐς θάλασσαν, κατ' ἃ Τρῆχις πεπόλισται) there was a plain, containing 22,000 plethra of land."

The "mountain" along the foot of which the Asopus flowed was the north-western side of Mount Callidromus, the northern point of which it encircled at a very small distance, and there received the Phœnix: from thence it flowed in an eastern direction more than a mile farther, through impassable marshes adjacent to the sea-shore, until it was discharged into the sea opposite to the point of Anthela. Thus the ancient was longer than the present course of this river, which now falls directly into the Spercheius; and thus it differs from the Spercheius, Dyras, and Melas, of all which the course has been prolonged through the new land at the head of the gulf, which the rivers themselves have formed. Not only towards the sea has the Asopus assumed a new direction, but as high up as its issue from the mountains, for those copious depositions from the north-western side of Mount Callidromus, which I noticed in p. 31, have evidently moved its whole course through the plain of Trachis farther from the foot of that mountain.

With regard to the plain of Trachis, as we cannot suppose Herodotus to have alluded to the whole plain between Callidromus and the part of Mount Œta now called Katavóthra, his remark is probably applicable to that portion of it which belonged to Trachis. The most natural boundary between the territory of Trachis and that of its next neighbour Anticyra was the river Dyras, which was twenty-five stades from Trachis. Now, the square of twenty-five stades is equivalent to 22,650 plethra, a number so nearly coinciding with that which Herodotus has assigned to the plain between Trachis and the sea, as to afford a strong confirmation that the meaning of Herodotus was that which I have suggested. In this case the distance from Trachis to the sea was about three miles, and consequently the shore, at the beginning of the fifth century before the Christian era, after having followed a general line, parallel to the northern foot of Mount Callidromus, at a very short distance from the points of Alpeni, Anthela, and the Phœnix, but forming a bay between the two former, continued in the same north-westerly direction for a considerable distance, before it turned north to form the head of the gulf at Anticyra and the mouth of the Spercheius.

With reference to the pass of Trachis, which was half a ple-

Digitized by Google

thrum in breadth, and one of the entrances into Greece (ἡ διὰ Τρηχῖνος ἔσοδος ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τῇ στεινοτάτῃ ἡμίπλεθρον), it could hardly have been any other than the διασφάξ itself, or that ravine of the Asopus near Trachis, through which Hydarnes began his march over Mount Callidromus.

P. 141, note 2.—If Zagorá be a word of imperial Greek origin, it would seem to have been employed as expressive of the retired situation of the place or people to which it was attached; and although applied by the Greeks to the kingdom of Bulgaria, it may not always have indicated a Sclavonic settlement, as this note supposes, as well as a remark in Vol. IV. p. 167, in reference to Zagóri of *Epirus*.

P. 201, note 1.—The situation of the second battle of Sylla against the forces of Mithridates, which is described by Plutarch as having occurred not far from Orchomenus, and near the marshes, seems to be indicated by a large tumulus in the plain to the south of *Orchomenus*, distant half a mile from the right bank of the *Cephissus*, and not far from the marshes. Here it was, therefore, that the great quantity of armour was found in the time of Plutarch, two centuries after the battle.

Pp. 233. 243.—The situation of the Heracleium on one side of Thebes, and that of the monument of Iolaus on the other, as indicated by Pausanias, illustrate the narrative which Arrian (Exp. Alex. l. 1. c. 7. et seq.) and Diodorus (l. 17. c. 8. et seq.) have left us of the capture of Thebes by Alexander the Great. I shall principally refer to that of Arrian, as it was derived from the memoirs of Ptolemy, son of Lagus. The temple, stadium, and gymnasium of Hercules, were in the south-western part of the lower city, to the left on entering it by the gate Electris. The gymnasium and stadium, named from Iolaus, in the latter of which was his monument, were on the outside of the gate Prœtis: and beyond the stadium was the Hippodrome. As Pausanias adds that there was a road leading from the Hippodrome to Acræphium, which lay to the north-west of Thebes, it follows that the Hippodrome was in the plain to the north-west of the gate Prœtis, nearly opposite perhaps to the gate of the Cadmeia, named Borreiæ, or the northern. Arrian relates that when Alexander advanced from Onchestus to Thebes, he pitched his camp near the sacred land of Iolaus (κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Ἰολάου τέμενος), making choice of this situation because it was near the

Digitized by Google

Cadmeia, where the Macedonian garrison was blockaded by the Thebans, who were in possession of the lower town, and had made a double line of circumvallation round the Cadmeia. Alexander, on the day following his arrival, marched with his whole army to the gate which led to Eleutheræ and Attica (the Electris), but made no attempt upon the walls of the city, and returned to his station near the Cadmeia, his object in this movement having apparently been that of demonstrating to the Thebans, who were in alliance with Demosthenes and the party opposed to Macedonia in Southern Greece, that he was aware of their expectation of succours from Athens as well as from the Isthmus, where troops from the Peloponnesus were already assembled, and that as he had an army of 30,000 infantry, and 3000 cavalry, he was fully enabled to prevent an enemy's force from entering the city. Though he received insults only in reply to his overtures tending to peace, he was still unwilling to proceed to extremities, as he knew there was a party well disposed to him in the city; Perdiccas, however, without orders, began hostilities by breaking through that part of the enemy's outer entrenchment which was near his own post; he was followed by Amyntas; but endeavouring to penetrate through the inner line of circumvallation, he was wounded, and carried off the field.

Thereupon Alexander sent to the support of Amyntas a reinforcement of bowmen and Agrianes, remaining himself on the outside of the enemy's lines, at the head of the main body (*τὸ ἄγημα τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπίστας τοὺς βασιλικούς*). This reinforcement, in conjunction with the troops who had entered the entrenchments with Perdiccas and Amyntas, inclosed the enemy in a hollow, which led to the Heracleium, (*ἐς τὴν κοίλην ὁδὸν τὴν κατὰ τὸ Ἡράκλειον φέρουσαν,*) and pursued them in that direction, until at length the Thebans having rallied, obtained in their turn the superiority, and followed the retreating Macedonians towards the position of Alexander, who then advanced with his phalanx, and entered the lines. The contest was soon decided. The Thebans were driven into the city with such precipitation that they neglected, or were unable, to shut the gates; and the Macedonians having followed them, some seized the walls, along which they proceeded into the Agora, while others, having effected a junction with the garrison of the Cadmeia, near the Ampheium, the united body advanced from thence into the

Digitized by Google

lower town (*παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν Καδμείαν οἱ μὲν ἐκεῖθεν κατὰ τὸ Ἀμφεῖον σὺν τοῖς κατέχουσιν τὴν Καδμείαν ἐξέβαινον ἐς τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν*. c. 8). The principal resistance was made at the Ampheium. If we may trust to the testimony of Polyænus (l. 4. c. 12.), the operations in front of the Cadmeia were assisted by a portion of the army under Antipater, who from a concealed place advanced against the weakest and most undefended part of the walls, and when he had gained possession of his object, made a signal, on perceiving which Alexander exclaimed, *ὡς ἤδη τὰς Θήβας ἔχω*. The slaughter, loss, and destruction (says Arrian), which Thebes sustained on this occasion, had no parallel in Grecian history. A garrison was placed in the Cadmeia, the lower town was totally destroyed, and according to Diodorus, more than 6000 Thebans were killed, and more than 30,000 enslaved.

The Cadmeia having been at the northern extremity of Thebes, and the lower city in the hands of the insurgents, it was in the plain to the northward only that their double circumvallation was required, and here alone perhaps it was constructed, its western extremity resting upon the walls of the lower town, at the gate Homolois, and its eastern end at the Prœtis. The hollow way, conducting to the temple of *Hercules*, could have been no other, as I conceive, than the ravine of the Platziótissa, or *Dirce*, which leads exactly to that part of the site of the lower town where the *Heracleium* was situated. It appears that Alexander's camp extended across the plain lying to the north of the Cadmeia, in front of the enemy's entrenchments, and that Perdiccas was stationed opposite to the opening of the vale of the *Dirce*, and to the north-western side of the *Cadmeia*.

The Macedonians probably entered the lower town at the gate Homolois. The junction of the garrison of the Cadmeia with Alexander's troops was evidently effected by means of a gate opening from the citadel into lower Thebes; and the Ampheium seems to have been a tower, or some building capable of resistance, not far from that gate; for this Ampheium is clearly not to be confounded with the barrow of Zethus and Amphion, on the outside of the northern gate of the Cadmeia; nor is the Agora the same as that described by Pausanias, when Thebes was confined to the Cadmeia.

The accompanying sketch, though showing only the general form of the ground, and not founded on any correct measure-

Digitized by Google

ments, or existing remains, may assist in explaining the preceding note.

P. 323. *The suburbs of Thebes.*—There were four suburbs or villages near Thebes, which no longer existed in the time of Pausanias, though some remains of the monuments for which they had been celebrated still marked their site. These were Potniæ, Cnopia, Oncæ, and Cynoscephalæ.

I. *Potniæ.*—It is probable that Pausanias, by the words in Bœot. c. 8. τῆς πόλεως δέκα μάλιστα ἀφεστηκότι σταδίους Ποτνιῶν ἐστιν ἐρείπια, intended the distance from the Cadmeia, or Thebes of his time, and not that from the περίβολος τοῦ ἀρχαίου τείχους, or walls of lower Thebes, though, as immediately after noticing the inclosure of Amphiaraus on the way from Potniæ to Thebes (ἐκ Ποτνιῶν ἰοῦσιν ἐς Θήβας), he proceeds to describe those walls and seven gates, it seems at first more natural to measure the ten stades from the gate Electræ, as I supposed in p. 323. But in this case we must place Potniæ on the crest of the ridge, or even on its southern slope, where no river exists; whereas, if we measure them from the southern wall of the modern town, which is nearly, if not exactly coincident with that of the time of the Antonines, Potniæ might have stood upon the river Dirce, towards its sources, at about 400 yards from the walls of lower Thebes. And this proximity accords with Strabo, (p. 408. 412,) who states, not only that Potniæ was near the city (Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ Δίρκη κρήνη καὶ Ποτνιαὶ . . . . . τῆς πόλεως πλησίον), but that some of the critics even identified it with the Hypothebæ of Homer (οἱ μὲν δέχονται πολίδιόν τι Ὑποθήβας καλούμενον, οἱ δὲ τὰς Ποτνιάς). This situation of Potniæ accords also perfectly with a movement of the Thebans when opposed to Agesilaus in the year B.C. 377 (See Vol. II. p. 475). The Δίρκη κρήνη seems to have stood at the gate Crenæa, for Statius, the only author who names the gate of Dirce, agrees in all the other gates with Pausanias, but omitting the Crenæa. Probably in the time of Strabo, and much more anciently perhaps, the Dirce was an artificial fountain, derived from the river, and which may have had the reputation of being the Aretia or fountain of Mars, at which Cadmus slew the dragon; for it is to be observed that Pindar and the Attic poets constantly allude to Dirce as a river, not a fountain, and so Pausanias also describes it.

2. *Cnopia.*—I have alluded (Vol. II. p. 238.) to the situation

Digitized by Google

of this suburb of Thebes, the existence of which in the time of Strabo, though no longer in that of Pausanias, may be deduced from p. 404 of that geographer, where, in reference to the temple of Amphiaraus in the Oropia, he remarks, that the worship had been brought thither from Cnopia of the Thebaice, where the original Amphiaraeium was situated. (Ἐκ Κνωπίας δὲ τῆς Θηβαϊκῆς μεθιδρυμένον δεῦρο τὸ Ἀμφιαράειον.) The exact position is shown by Pausanias, who in approaching Thebes from Platæa, describes between Potniæ and the ancient walls of the city, on the right of the road, a small inclosure (περίβολος οὐ μέγας), containing columns (the remains probably of a temple), within which it was asserted that no herb would grow, nor any animal enter, nor would birds alight upon the columns. Here, according to the local reports, Amphiaraus descended with his chariot into the earth, when he fled repulsed from the walls at the attack of Thebes by the seven chiefs. Strabo again alludes to this temple in the same page, in reference to an opinion maintained by the Tanagræi (Pausan. Bœot. c. 19.) to whom the deserted Harma then belonged, that this place situated on the road from Thebes to Chalcis, had received its name from the chariot of Amphiaraus; according to this legend, Strabo observes, the chariot arrived empty at Harma, Amphiaraus having been thrown out on the field of battle at the place where his temple then stood (ἐκπεσόντος ἐκ τοῦ ἅρματος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου κατὰ τὸν τόπον, οὗ νῦν ἐστι τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτοῦ)—while others, he adds, meaning evidently those who maintained the Theban locality of the whole fable, asserted, that it was the chariot not of Amphiaraus, but of Adrastus, that had given name to Harma. The words ἐν τῇ μάχῃ prove that Strabo here refers to a temple near Thebes, although, in speaking of the Amphiaraeium of the Oropia, he seems to have adopted a different version of the fable, and to have supposed that it was *there* the earth opened to receive the hero and his chariot, and this notwithstanding the words of Sophocles, which he cites, and which clearly show that the poet supposed the event to have happened not there, but in the Thebæa,

> Ἐδέξατο ῥαγεῖσα Θηβαία κόνις
> Αὐτοῖσιν ὅπλοις καὶ τετρωρίστῳ δίφρῳ.

It appears, indeed, from Pausanias, that the Oropii never

Digitized by Google

claimed the honour in question, but assented to the legend of the Tanagræi: λέγεται δὲ Ἀμφιαράῳ φεύγοντι ἐκ Θηβῶν διαστῆναι τὴν γῆν, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ ἅρμα ὑπεδέξατο· πλὴν οὐ ταύτῃ συμβῆναί φασιν, ἀλλὰ ᾗ ἐστιν ἐκ Θηβῶν ἰοῦσιν ἐς Χαλκίδα Ἅρμα καλούμενον. Attica. 34.

3. *Oncæ.*—Although at this place there remained only in the time of Pausanias a statue of Minerva Onga, and an altar in the open air, there had formerly been not only a temple (see Vol. II. p. 234), but a suburb, as appears from the scholiast of Pindar (Ol. 2. v. 39. 48.), from Tzetzes (in Lycoph. v. 1225), and from the Lexicon of Phavorinus (in v. ὄγκαι), in all which Oncæ is described as a κώμη τῆς Βοιωτίας, or a κώμη Θηβῶν, where Cadmus dedicated the statue of Minerva Onga. Here the ox given by Apollo as a guide to Cadmus lay down, thus signifying to him that he had arrived at the place where his colony was to be established. According to a scholiast of Euripides (in Phœn. v. 1069), this mythus was recorded in the temple by an inscription, but which is probably of a late date:

Ὄγκας νηὸς ὅδ' ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς, ὃν ποτε Κάδμος
Εἵσατο βοῦν θ' ἱέρευσεν, ὅτ' ἔκτισεν ἄστυ τὸ Θήβας.

Nothing unfortunately in this story fixes the exact position of Oncæ, or of the gate Oncais (otherwise named Ogygia), before which it stood. But if the suggestions which I have already ventured to make as to the other gates are not unfounded (see Vol. II. p. 241), the middle of the eastern wall of lower Thebes seems the most probable situation of the suburb and temple. We have seen that the Electris was at the southern, the Prœtis at the north-eastern, the Borreiæ or Hypsistæ at the northern, the Neitis at the north-western extremity of the city; and that of the remaining three gates, two, namely, the Homolois and Crensæa, are almost unavoidably placed in the western walls. On the eastern side, therefore, there would have been no gate between the Prœtis and Electris, or between the north-eastern and southern parts of the circuit, unless the Oncais had been in some part of that interval.

4. *Cynoscephalæ.*—I have already sufficiently adverted to the situation of this place in Vol. II. p. 474 et seq. It seems to have anciently occupied the projecting point of the low hills,

Digitized by Google

which advance into the plain to the northward of the *Cadmeia*, about 500 yards from it, where the river *Dirce* winds round the base in a northerly direction into the plain.

P. 431. *Mount Lycabettus.*—In the same manner as I suppose the Pentelicum of Pausanias to have been the highest peak of the mountain more anciently and comprehensively called the Brilessus or Brilettus,—the former name in the time of the Roman Empire having displaced, in a great measure, the latter, in consequence of the fame of the quarries of Pentele near that summit,—so I am now inclined to believe that Anchesmus, which has not a very ancient sound, was a specific name of posterior origin attached to the highest point of Lycabettus, a name evidently belonging to the earliest history of Attica. Lycabettus comprehended perhaps all those inconsiderable ridges which extend north-eastward from the site of Athens along the right bank of the Ilissus towards Pentelicum, the principal summit, now the hill of St. George, having possibly derived its name Anchesmus from its position ἄγχι, or near the city walls, and its adoption in common parlance in consequence of the increasing worship of Jupiter Anchesmius on that summit. Every author who enumerates the Attic mountains includes among them Brilessus and Lycabettus, except Pausanias, who substitutes for those names Pentelicum and Anchesmus, neither of which names is found in any other author except Vitruvius, who alludes to the Mons Pentelensis. There is great reason to believe, therefore, that Pentelicum and Anchesmus were names not prevalent in common use until near the time of the Roman Empire. I had already stated in the Topography of Athens, p. 70, some reasons in favour of the identity of *Lycabettus* with the hill of St. George, derived from a fable of Antigonus Carystius, and from the words " pingui melior Lycabettus olivâ" of Statius; but, upon the whole, I there gave a preference to the ridges near the Pnyx, following the supposed testimony of Plato. His words, however, will undoubtedly bear a different meaning from those which I deduced from them. Plato seems to be describing (for his meaning is not clear) the ancient or fabulous state of the site of Athens prior to a certain deluge and earthquake, which were said to have removed a great quantity of soil. The Acropolis was then so large as to extend to the Eridanus and Ilissus, and to comprehend within it the

Digitized by Google

Pnyx as well as the mountain Lycabettus, which is opposite to the Pnyx.—*τὸ δὲ πρὶν ἐν ἑτέρῳ χρόνῳ μέγεθος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Ἠριδανὸν καὶ τὸν Ἰλισσὸν ἀποβεβηκυῖα καὶ περιειληφυῖα ἐντὸς τὸν Πνύκα καὶ τὸν Λυκάβητον ὄρον* (*al.* ὄρος) *ἐκ τοῦ καταντικρὺ Πνυκὸς ἔχουσα.*—However the latter words may be construed, Plato evidently meant to say that Lycabettus was opposite to Pnyx. If therefore by "opposite" we may be allowed to understand diametrically opposite with reference to the general situation of the city and its circumference, it will follow, that as the Pnyx was near its south-western extremity, Lycabettus was to the north-east. And this interpretation is supported by the situation of Pallene;—from whence Minerva in the fable of Antigonus was said to have brought the mountain, which she had intended for an outwork to the Acropolis, but which she threw down upon hearing of the birth of Erichthonius, for Pallene was a demus of Attica to the north-eastward of Athens, where Minerva was particularly worshipped. (V. Tr. of the R. S. of Literature, Vol. I. p. 141.)—Nothing perhaps after all is of greater weight in this question than the general consideration, that there is no remarkable mountain worthy of the fame of Lycabettus near Athens, except that of St. George, including the ridge connected with it to the northward. In support of the identity of the peak of St. George with *Anchesmus*, there is not much to be alleged, this name occurring only, as I before remarked, in Pausanias, but his description of it as an *ὄρος οὐ μέγα*, after mentioning Pentelicum, Parnes, and Hymettus, is perfectly appropriate. There is no other mountain within the horizon to which these words can be so well applied, and the dedication of such a summit to Jupiter is exactly conformable to ancient customs.

P. 558.—An inscription found at Delphi shows that some of the records of the manumission of slaves were in the theatre, and that the theatre was a part of the Hierum.—See Boeckh. Corp. Inscr. Gr. Vol. I. p. 883.

P. 572.—It was worthy of notice here, that the three golden stars upon a brazen Ἰατὸς, or staff presented by the Æginetans, and which in the time of Herodotus (vid. l. 8. c. 122) stood close by the silver vase of Theodorus the Samian presented by Crœsus, seem to have followed the fate of the latter, as well as of other similar objects, which had been converted into money.

P. 585.—From a Latin inscription at Delphi (Boeckh. Vol. I.

Digitized by Google

p. 838.) we learn, that a promontory on the coast between Cirrha and Anticyra, which was the boundary between the districts of Delphi and Anticyra, was named Opus, or Opoenta. The latter form, which is the third case of Opoeis, shows that the use of that case in the names of places, now generally prevalent in Greece, was common as early as the second century.

VOL. III.

P. 26.—The gentile of Ἰθάκη was either Ἴθακος or Ἰθακός.—Etymol. M. in Ἴθακος.

P. 212.—*Mount Dysorum.*—I have to regret that the history of the Doric Race by Professor K. O. Müller of Gottingen, was unknown to me when the parts of this volume relating to the ancient geography of Macedonia, were printed. My conclusions, however, in general coincide with those which that author's extensive reading and acute criticism have deduced from local information, still more imperfect than my own. One of the most important points, in which I find myself at variance with him is the situation of mount *Dysorum*, which depends upon that of the lake *Prasias*, and upon the extent assignable to the Macedonia of Herodotus, in his description of the embassy of the seven Persians who were sent by Megabazus, when he had reduced the Pæones (about 507 B. C.), to demand earth and water, in the name of his master Dareius, from Amyntas I. king of Macedonia.

Ἔστι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Πρασιάδος λίμνης σύντομος κάρτα ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίην· πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ ἔχεται τῆς λίμνης τὸ μέταλλον, ἐξ οὗ ὕστερον τουτέων τάλαντον ἀργυρίου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἡμέρης ἑκάστης ἐφοίτα· μετὰ δὲ τὸ μέταλλον Δύσωρον καλεόμενον οὖρος ὑπερβάντα εἶναι ἐν Μακεδονίῃ. Herodot. l. 5, c. 17.

M. Müller considers the country called Macedonia in this passage of Herodotus, to be that to the westward of the Lydias, possessed by the Macedonic race when the Temenidæ first established themselves in this country, and which may be called Macedonia Proper.

The following are the passages of Herodotus, which seem to support this view of the question. The historian is describing

Digitized by Google

the arrival of the fleet of Xerxes in the bay of Saloníki. πλέων δὲ ἀπίκετο ἔς τε τὴν πρρειρημένην Θέρμην καὶ Σινδόν τε πόλιν καὶ Χαλέστρην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄξιον ποταμὸν, ὃς οὐρίζει χώρην τὴν Μυγδονίην τε καὶ Βοττιαΐδα, τῆς ἔχουσι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν στεινὸν χωρίον πόλις Ἴχναι τε καὶ Πέλλα. l. 7. c. 123.

Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Θέρμην ἀπίκετο ὁ Ξέρξης, ἵδρυσε αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατίην· ἐπέσχε δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδευόμενος τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν χώρην τοσήνδε· ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Θέρμης πόλιος καὶ τῆς Μυγδονίης μέχρι Λυδίεώ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ἀλιάκμονος, οἳ οὐρίζουσι γῆν τὴν Βοττιαΐδα τε καὶ Μακεδονίδα, ἐς τώυτὸ ῥέεθρον τὸ ὕδωρ συμμίσγοντες· ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μὲν δὴ ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι χωρίοισι οἱ βάρβαροι. l. 7. c. 127.

From which testimony we may infer that the Lydias formed a junction at that time with the Haliacmon, and not, as at present, with the Axius; that between the latter river and the joint course of the two former there was a narrow portion of sea-coast belonging to the Bottiæi [1], whose towns were Pella and Ichnæ [2] that the sea-coast beyond the united channel of the two western streams belonged to the Macedonis, and (if we identify the Μακεδονίη of Herodotus in l. 5. c. 17, with his Γῆ Μακέδνις in l. 7. c. 127), that *Dysorum* was the mountain which rises above *Pella* to the northward, and the lake *Prasias* that which lies between Doirán and the *Axius*. In no other way can we reconcile the assertion of Herodotus that the road was very short from the lake Prasias into Macedonia, nor even then would the agreement be very close, as the river Axius and its valley would still be interposed between the lake and Mount Dysorum.

It is evident, however, that the conquest of Megabazus did not extend beyond the valley of the Strymon, though Homer

[1] In later times the whole maritime plain at the head of the gulf of Saloníki, seems to have been divided between Mygdonia, or Amphaxitis, and Bottiæis, for which reason I have so marked the latter on the map.

[2] And, according to the Etymologist, a third named Bottea, or the city of the Botteatæ. See p. 455 of this volume. It is almost needless to remark, that this gentile was one of those local niceties of orthography often neglected in the other parts of Greece. Thus we find that although Thucydides makes the distinctions of Bottia and Bottice, or country of the Bottiæi, in the names attached respectively in his time, to the western and eastern Bottiæis, he also applies Βοττιαῖα to the western, which, by Herodotus, is named Βοττιαΐς, and the people Βοττιαῖοι. And these were doubtless the forms in ordinary use among the Greeks.

Digitized by Google

places the Pœones on the Axius, and the banks of that river above Mygdonia and Bottiæa were still considered a part of Pæonia in much later times[1], for it is expressly stated by Herodotus, that the Pæones subdued by Megabazus dwelt on the Strymon, (εἴη δὲ ἡ Παιονίη ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυμόνι ποταμῷ πεπολισμένη. l. 5. c. 13.) and that one of their tribes were the Siropœones, or people of *Sirrhæ*, now Serres. For this and other reasons (see page 210, et seq. of this volume) I have little doubt that the lake Prasias was the same as the Cercinitis or Strymonic lake, and consequently that *Dysorum* was a part of the mountainous range which separates the *Strymonic* plain from those which extend to *Thessalonica* and the *Axius*. By Μακεδονίη in l. 5. c. 17, Herodotus probably meant the Macedonian kingdom of his own time, or at least of that of Amyntas, who, augmenting the conquests of his ancestors, had already made great advances towards the Strymon, at which river the Macedonian kingdom had arrived in the reign of Alexander I., son and successor of Amyntas. "All this country," adds Thucydides, in describing the invasion of Sitalces and the Thracians in the reign of Perdiccas, son of Alexander, "is called Macedonia." (τὸ δὲ ξύμπαν Μακεδονία καλεῖται. l. 2. c. 99.) The extension of the name had probably kept pace with the conquest of the Temenidæ, and already, in the reign of Amyntas, comprehended a great part of the country between the Lydias and the Strymon.

P. 242.—Anna Comnena (l. 2, p. 60) notices the church of St. Demetrius at Thessalonica.

P. 258.—Tzetzes, a writer of the same age as Anna, mentions also the Βαρδάρη. Anna writes Βαρδάρος. Τὸ Βαρδάρι or Βαρδάριον is the modern form.

P. 272.—The royal sepulchres of Ægæ were plundered by a garrison of Gauls, who were placed there by Pyrrhus, when he defeated Antigonus, and for the second time obtained possession of Macedonia.—Plutarch in Pyrr.—Diodor. Exc. de Vert. et Vit. l. 22.

P. 291.—The river of Berrhœa may perhaps be the Olganus, which Stephanus (in Μίεζα) on the authority of Theagenes states to have been named after a son of Beres, whose daughter Berrhœa gave name to the city. Mieza, which received its name from a

[1] Thucyd. l. ii. c. 99, 100.

Digitized by Google

sister of Berrhœa, appears as well from this as from other circumstances to have been an important city of Macedonia, and it is one of those most difficult to place. The name would lead us to look for it in the same part of Macedonia as Berrhœa, which agrees with Ptolemy, who classes it among the cities of Emathia. Stephanus, on the other hand, still deriving apparently his information from Theagenes, alludes to it as a τόπος Στρυμόνος, and adds that it was sometimes called Strymonium. Alexander the Great established an Aristotelian school at Miesa, and it was famed for a stalactitic cavern.—Plin. H. N. l. 31, c. 11.

P. 324, line 27.—Of the conjecture here advanced, I find a confirmation in Diodorus; namely, that Alexander returned to Pella after the siege of Pellium in Dassaretia, and previously to his rapid marches through Eordæa and Elimeia to Pelinnæum in Thessaly, and from thence to Thebes, although Arrian has omitted to mention that return, and thereby has left the reader to suppose that Alexander marched directly from Pellium to Pelinnæum, and that in his route he traversed Eordæa, which is quite inconsistent with the situation of Eordæa, as deducible from other authorities. The words of Arrian are these: Πυθομένῳ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὰ τῶν Θηβαίων, οὐδαμῶς ἐδόκει ἀμελητέα εἶναι . . . . . Ἄγων δὴ παρὰ τὴν Ἐορδαίαν τε καὶ τὴν Ἐλυμιῶτιν, καὶ παρὰ τῆς Τυμφαίας καὶ Παραναίας ἄκρα, ἑβδομαῖος ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Πελλήνην (al. Πελίνναν) τῆς Θετταλίας. (De Exp. Alex. l. i. c. 7.) Concerning which I have made (in Vol. IV. p. 120.) another observation, having no reference to the situation of Eordæa, namely, that the places mentioned by Arrian are not in their proper order; since Paravæa ought to precede Tymphæa in proceeding from Elymeia, &c. to Pelinnæum, which was doubtless the Thessalian town intended by Arrian.

Diodorus, in reference to the march of Alexander to Thebes, states, that he received intelligence of the revolt of some of the cities of Greece, particularly of Thebes, while he was employed in reducing the Illyrians, and other barbarians in that quarter; and that he *returned thereupon into Macedonia*, with the intention of losing no time in taking measures for suppressing the troubles in Greece: περὶ ταῦτα δ' ὄντος αὐτοῦ, παρῆσάν τινες ἀπαγγέλλοντες πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων νεωτερίζειν καὶ πολλὰς τῆς Ἑλλάδος πόλεις πρὸς ἀπόστασιν ὡρμηκέναι, μάλιστα δὲ Θηβαίους· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς παροξυνθεὶς ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς

Digitized by Google

τὴν Μακεδονίαν, σπεύδων τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα παῦσαι ταραχάς. l. 17. c. 8.

Diodorus, therefore, confirms Arrian in that part of his statement, which shows that Alexander received intelligence of the revolt of Greece while employed against the Illyrians: and by adding, that he returned to Macedonia previously to the adoption of measures for suppressing the troubles in Greece, that historian removes at once the difficulty arising from the assertion of Arrian, that Alexander marched through Eordæa in his way to Pelinnæum, Eordæa having been exactly in the route from Pella, the capital of Alexander, to Pelinnæum. I have to correct, however, the supposition, in Vol. III. p. 325, l. 2. that Alexander received news of the revolt of Greece *after* his return to Pella; since Diodorus accords with Arrian in showing, that the intelligence reached him in Illyria. The reasons of his returning home before he marched into Greece, are not explained by Diodorus.

P. 340, note.—The importance of Alcomenæ on the Erigon may be inferred from Arrian (Ind. c. 18), who describes one of the Macedonian commanders of the triremes under Nearchus on the Hydaspes as *Πείθων Κρατεᾶ Ἀλκομενεύς*.

P. 464, note 2.—It is here suggested that the Ariston, who was deprived of his kingdom by Lysimachus, as related by Polyænus, was the same prince who, together with Aretas (Arrian. Exp. Al. l. 3. c. 12), commanded the Pæonians under Alexander in Asia; but this could not have been if Polyænus was correct in describing Ariston as a *πεῤῥάκιον*, near fifty years having then elapsed from the time of the departure of Alexander into Asia. As it is not likely, though possible, that the Audoleon, who is proved by the Athenian inscription to have reigned in the archonship of Diotimus, B.C. 354, was the same as the Audoleon who was assisted by Cassander against the Autariatæ in 310, but more probable that the former was the father of the latter; Ariston and Aretas, who commanded the Pæonians in Asia, may have been younger sons of the first, and brothers of the second Audoleon. It is natural that Audoleon should have sent his younger sons with his Pæonians into Asia, and the more so perhaps as Pæonia, which had been often opposed to Philip, had been recently subdued by Alexander. The Ariston who was forced to fly from his kingdom by Lysimachus was probably a son of Audoleon II. and brother of the

Digitized by Google

Pæonian princess whom Pyrrhus married. (Plutarch in Pyr.)—From a more correct copy of the Athenian inscription to which I have had access since chapter xxxi. was printed, it appears that the father of Audoleon I. was named Patraus, which not only fixes the hitherto doubtful origin of the coins inscribed ΠΑΤΡΑΟΥ, but renders it probable that Agis, who died B. C. 359, was the elder brother of Audoleon I., and that he died young, after a short reign. The words indeed of Diodorus seem to imply that he died unexpectedly:—*ὁ Φίλιππος . . . . ἀπολυθεὶς δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμου, καὶ πυνθανόμενος τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Παιόνων Ἄγιν τετελευτηκέναι, ὑπέλαβε καιρὸν ἔχειν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Παιόσι.*—Diodor. l. 16. c. 4.

P. 473.—The following was accidentally omitted after the word Thessaly in the 19th line, "where he left Perseus with 4000 men at the Fauces Thessaliæ to watch the Ætolians while he marched himself against the Mædi." This transaction occurred in the early spring of the year 211, B. C. and formed part of a succession of those rapid movements for which Philip was so remarkable. From Pella he moved to Oricus and Apollonia, from thence into Dardania, then to the Fauces Thessaliæ, or passes leading from the westward into upper Thessaly near Gomphi and Æginium, from thence into Mædica, then, in his way to assist the Acarnanes against the Ætolians, as far as Dium of Macedonia, when, having received advice of the retreat of the Ætolians, he returned from Dium to Pella. The distance was not less than 1500 miles by the road, besides the excursions which always accompany military operations, and to which the historian particularly adverts when Philip was in the country of the Mædi.

VOL. IV.

P. 328.—The ruins here mentioned are sometimes called Paleá Férsala; and I have omitted in the text to notice also a fine source of water on the northern side of the hill, which concurs, with the insulated nature of the hill, in the midst of the Thessalian plains, to fix it for an ancient site.

Digitized by Google

P. 448.—As *Lacereia* is a name connected only with early history, Petra may possibly have been the appellation of the same place at a subsequent date, and thus may have reached the present day; for Petra of Thessaly was celebrated for the worship of Neptune, as we learn from Pindar. Pyth. 4. v. 246. and from Apollonius. The former addresses Pelias as Παῖ Ποσειδᾶνος Πετραίου, and Apollonius (l. 3, v. 1240) mentions the Thessalian Petra as one of the places where Neptune was particularly worshipped:—

> Οἷος δ' Ἰσθμιον εἶσι Ποσειδάων ἐς ἀγῶνα
> Ἅρμασιν ἐμβεβαὼς, ἢ Ταίναρον, ἢ ὄγε Λέρνης
> Ὕδωρ, ἠὲ κατ' ἄλσος Ὑαντίου Ὀγχηστοῖο,
> Καί τε Καλαύρειαν μετὰ δὴ θαμὰ νίσσεται ἵπποις
> Πέτρην θ' Αἰμονίην, ἢ δενδρήεντα Γεραιστόν·
> Τοῖος ἄρ' Αἰήτης Κόλχων ἀγὸς ἦεν ἰδέσθαι.

P. 462.—The exact scene of the victory of the Romans over Philip at Cynoscephalæ, in the year B.C. 197, may possibly be ascertained by means of a passage in Livy, (l. 36. c. 8.) derived undoubtedly from Polybius; wherein he informs us, that when Antiochus was at Pheræ six years afterwards, preparing to act in alliance with the Ætolians against Rome, he employed 2000 men to collect the bones of the Greeks who had fallen at Cynoscephalæ, and that he formed them into a tumulus. Legati Larissam ad concilium Thessalorum sunt missi, et Ætolis Amynandroque dies ad conveniendum exercitui Pheras est dictus: eodem et rex cum suis copiis confestim venit. Ibi dum obperitur Amynandrum atque Ætolos, Philippum Megalopolitanum cum duobus millibus hominum ad legenda ossa Macedonum circa Cynoscephalas, ubi debellatum erat cum Philippo, misit; sive ab ipso, quærente sibi commendationem ad Macedonum gentem et invidiam regi, quod insepultos milites reliquisset, monitus; sive ab insitâ regibus vanitate, ad consilium specie amplum, re inane, animo adjecto. Tumulus est, in unum ossibus, quæ passim strata erant, coacervatis, factus; qui nullam gratiam ad Macedonas, odium ingens ad Philippum, movit.

P. 503.—The determination of the position of Cierium serves to restore the text of Scylax and Strabo, both of whom, it is now evident, noticed this place. It would seem from these two authors, that the name of the town was written Κίερος, or Κίερον,

Digitized by Google

as well as *Κιέριον*. In Scylax (*Θετταλία*) we find *Φάρσαλος, ἱερὸν* (*Κίερον*) *Πελλινναῖον*. In Strabo, p. 435, as follows: *Ταῦτα δ' ἐ[στὶ τῆς Θετταλι]ώτιδος, μιᾶς τῶν τεσσάρων μερίδων τῆς [σ . . . . . Θετ]ταλίας, ἧς ἦν καὶ τὰ ὑπ' Εὐρυπύλου καὶ ὁ Φύλλ[ος, ἔνθα Ἀπόλλω]νος τοῦ Φυλλαίου ἱερὸν, καὶ Ἴχναι ὅπου ἡ Θέμι[ς ἡ Ἰχναία τι]μᾶται· καὶ Κίερος δ' ἐς αὐτὴν συντελεῖται [καὶ τὰ μέχρι] τῆς Ἀθαμανίας.* The brackets show the letters deficient at the end of each line in the best MS. of Strabo, that of Paris, No. 1397. See the French translation, Vol. III. p. 345.

Digitized by Google

INDEX.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

INDEX.

ABBREVIATIONS.

c. city—t. town—r. river—vil. village—mn. mountain—fn. fountain—isl. island—prom. promontory—mon. monastery—Hel. Hellenic—pt. port—up. upper—peo. people—*Ep.* Epirus—*Th.* Thessaly—*Ill.* Illyria—*Æto.* Ætolia—*Mac.* Macedonia—*Att.* Attica—*Bœo.* Bœotia—*Thr.* Thrace—*Dass.* Dassaretia—*Atin.* Atintania—*Thess.* Thessaliotis—*Hist.* Histiæotis—*Phth.* Phthiotis—*Pelas.* Pelasgiotis—*Pho.* Phocis—*Acarn.* Acarnania—*Perr.* Perrhæbia—dist. district—or thus: Ioán. d. for Ioánnina district, &c.—Where two names occur combined, as *Mac.-Thr.* or *Bœo.-Pho.* &c. it implies that the place is on the borders of the two countries.

Ancient Provinces, Territories, or Islands.

ACARNANIA, chap. iii. iv. xxxii. xxxiii. xxxiv.
ÆNIANES, chap. x.
ÆTOLIA, chap. iii. xxi. xxxii. xxxiii.
AMPHILOCHIA, chap. xxxviii.
ATTICA, chap. xvii. xviii.

BŒOTIA, chap. xi. xii. xiii. xiv. xv. xvi. xvii. xviii. xix.

DORIS, chap. xi.

EPIRUS, chap. i. ii. iv. v. vi. viii. ix. xxii. xxxii. xxxv. xxxvi. xxxvii. xxxviii. xxxix. xliii.
EUBŒA, chap. xiv. *

ILLYRIA, chap. viii. xxviii.

ISLANDS of the ÆGÆAN, chap. xxiii.
——— of the IONIAN SEA, chap. xxii.

LOCRIS, *eastern*, chap. xi. xiii.; *western*, xxi.

MACEDONIA, chap. vi. vii. xxiv. xxv. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii. xxx. xxxi.
MAGNESIA, chap. xl. xli.
MEGARIS, chap. xvii.
MELIS, chap. x.

PERRHÆBIA, chap. xxviii. xxxix.
PHOCIS, chap. xi. xiii. xx. xxi.
PHTHIOTIS, chap. xl.
THESSALIA, chap. ix. xxix. xxxix. xli. xlii. xliii.

*** *In the following Index the ancient names are printed in Italics: the modern in Roman letters, supplied with accents on all words of three or more syllables, as well as on those of two in which the accent is on the last syllable.*

Abantes, peo. *Chaonia*, i. 375
Abæ, t. *Pho.* ii. 164, 549
Abdera, t. *Thrace*, iii. 215
Abdím Bey, of Lárissa, iii. 364; iv. 294
Abdullá Pashá, of Elbassán, i. 53
Abufaklár, vil. *Pelas.* iv. 419
Acanthus, t. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 147, 148. 160. 168

* The heading of the pages, vol. ii. from 252 to 265 inclusive ought to be EUBŒA, not BŒOTIA.

Digitized by Google

Achelous, r. *Æto.-Acarn.* i. 121. 137 287. 290; iii. 513. 527. 555; iv. 211. 274
Acheron, r. *Thesprotia*, i. 232. 234. 242; iii. 7; iv. 53. 188
Acherusia, lake *Thesprotia*, i. 242; iii. 7
Achilles, cave of, on Mount *Pelium*, iv. 385
Achris, c. Bulgaria, i. 339; iii. 273
Acichorius the Gaul, at *Delphi*, ii. 59
Acilius, the consul, ii. 27. 61. 624; iv. 512
Acontisma, station in *Thrace*, iii. 180
Acontium, mn. *Bœo.-Pho.* ii. 99. 143. 145. 163
Acræ, t. *Æto.* i. 148. 154
Acræphis, lake *Bœo.* ii. 308
Acræphium, t. *Bœo.* ii. 295—305. 308
Acroathos, t. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 149, *et seq.*
Acroceraunia, mn. *Chaonia*, i. 2—7. 79. 88. 374
Acte, peninsula *Mac.* iii. 114—142
——, isthmus of, *Mac.* iii. 142
Actia, games, i. 186. 193, 194
Actæon, ii. 147. 333.
Actium, temple, *Acarn.* i. 174. 194; iv. 28
———, battle of, iv. 33
Acyphas, or *Pindus*, t. and r. *Doris*, ii. 92
Adém Bey, of 'Epakto, ii. 611
Adhámi, vil. *Hist.* iii. 162
Æanteium, prom. *Magn.* iv. 397
Ædepsus, t. *Eubœa*, ii. 176
Ægaleos, mn. *Att.* ii. 382
Ægæ, t. *Eubœa*, ii. 275; c. *Mac.* iii. 263. 272
Ægeirusa, t. *Megaris*, ii. 410. 412
Ægilia, isl. *Eubœa*, ii. 422. 432
———, isl. *Crete*, iii. 75
Ægilips, t. *Ithaca*, iii. 49
Æginium, t. *Hist.* i. 421; iv. 511. 528. 531. 537
Ægitium, t. *Æto.* ii. 614. 617
Ægoneia, t. *Melis*, ii. 21
Ægosthena, t. *Megaris*, ii. 405. 504. 520
Æneia, prom. and t. *Mac.* iii. 451—454
Æneias, his voyage round Greece, iii. 454; iv. 182
Ænus, t. *Thrace*, iii. 215
Æolic dialect, ii. 130. 152. 447. 472; iii. 356. 365
Æolis, t. *Pho.* ii. 579
Æropus, mn. *Atint.* i. 385. 389
Æsculapius, temples of, at *Tricca*, i. 429; iv. 286; near *Tithorea*, *Pho.* ii. 80; at *Elateia*, *Pho.* ii. 83
Æsone, or *Æsonia*, t. *Magn.* iv. 399
Æsyme, t. *Thrace*, iii. 178. 224
Æthices, peo. *Ep. Th.* iv. 277
Aetó, Hel. ruins, iii. 33, 34; modern fort. iv. 12
Ætolia Epictetus, ii. 622
Ætolian plain, i. 138
Ætolians, i. 210; ii. 27. 30. 58. 61. 626; iii. 566
Aforismós, mn. *Att.* ii. 429
Aganippe, fn. *Bœot.* ii. 492
Agassæ, t. *Pieria*, iii. 423, 424
Agesilaus, ii. 331. 474; iii. 506; iv. 471
Aghiá, pt. *Pho.* ii. 524. 549; t. *Magn.* iii. 374; iv. 408
'Aghion 'Óros, *see Acte*
Agræi, peo. *Æto.* iv. 245. 252
'Agrafa, dist. iv. 266
———, vil. iv. 272
Agriapidhiá, pt. *Cassopæa*, i. 244. 253; iv. 47
Agriculture, ii. 108. 216; iii. 515. 545; iv. 54. 113. 280, 334
Agríli, pt. *Cephallenia*, iii. 55
Agrilió, mon. *Acarn.* i. 160; iii. 504
Agrinium, t. *Æto.* i. 152. 155, 156; ii. 623
Agron, king of *Illyria*, i. 67
Agurianí, vil. Mt. *Parnassus*, ii. 581
Aidinlí, vil. Mt. *Ossa*, iv. 413
Aidoneus, king of *Thesprotia*, i. 234
'Aio Vlasi, vil. *Pho.* ii. 106
'Aio Vasíli, vil. *Chaonia*, i. 17
Aistráti, isl. *Ægæan*, iii. 113
Ajax, shield of, ii. 314
——, son of *Oileus*, ii. 176. 188
——, dominions of, ii. 410
Akhália, vil. *Bœo.* ii. 267
Akhíli, pt. *Scyrus*, *Ægæan*, iii. 106
Akhinó, vil. *Phth.* (*Echinus*), ii. 20
'Akhrida, or Okhri, t. *Ill.* i. 342
Akri, prom. *Acarn.* (*Actium*), i. 175; iv. 25.
Aláklisi, vil. *Mac.* (*Pella*), iii. 260
Alalcomenæ, t. *Bœo.* ii. 135. 138
Alatá, isl. gulf of Volo, iv. 396
Alatjaushlúk, vil. near *Pella*, iii. 266
Albania, its chieftains, tribes, and political subdivisions, i. 45. 61. 234. 346; iii. 522; iv. 203, 294
Albanian character, i. 43. 279; iv. 544; dress, i. 39; iv. 89
Alcathoë, citadel of *Megara*, ii. 394—400
Alcetas, king of *Epirus*, i. 252
Alcomenæ, t. up. *Mac.* up. *Th.* iii. 341; iv. 575; or *Alalcomenæ*, t. *Ithaca*, iii. 48
Alcyonic sea, ii. 406. 515
Aléfkimo, vil. and prom. Corfú, i. 94
Alemána, vil. *Melis*, ii. 32
Alepukhóri, vil. Ioán. d. i. 263; iv. 79
Alexander the Great, ii. 293. 316; iii. 211. 434; iv. 120
———, of *Trichonium*, i. 147
———, son of *Neoptolemus*, iv. 180
———, of *Pheræ*, iv. 465
Alexópulo, ruined vil. *Bœo.* ii. 327
Alífaka, vil. *Pelas.* i. 434; iii. 366; iv. 293
Alikí, pt. *Bœo.* w. coast, ii. 503. 520
Alikúki, vil. *Oropia*, ii. 444
Alivéri, vil. and bay *Eubœa*, ii. 439
Almana, t. *Mac.* iii. 471, 472

Digitized by Google

Almopia, t. and dist. *Mac.* iii. 444
Alope, t. *E. Loc.* ii. 176
Alopecum, hill *Haliartia*, *Bœo.* ii. 210
Alorus, t. *Bottiæa*, iii. 435
Alpeni, or *Alponus*, t. *E. Loc.* ii. 14. 38. 41
Alpóspata, vil. *Melis*, ii. 8. 24
Alus, t. *Phth.* iv. 337. 356. 362
Alý Pashá, of Ioánnina, his court, actions, and government, i. 26. 29—50. 72. 89. 168. 203. 225. 283. 254. 277. 308. 356. 401. 405. 427. 441; iii. 488. 501. 549; iv. 45. 85. 149. 220. 268. 282. 410
———, life of, i. 463—496
Alybassá, or Alibassiátes, vil. *Edonis*, iii. 182
Alyzia, t. *Acarn.* iii. 24; iv. 14
Amantia, t. *Chaonia*, i. 34. 90. 375—377
Amárbea, mn. *Perr.* iii. 333. 344; iv. 302
Amári vil. *Pelas.* iii. 360
Amaxíkhi, t. *Leucas*, iii. 11
Ambelákia, t. mt. *Ossa*, iii. 384. 386
Ambélia, vil. *Eubœa*, ii. 266
Ambelókipo, vil. *Att.* ii. 427
Ambíghi, mon. *Att.* ii. 443
Ambracia, c. *Ep.* i. 162. 199. 208—217; iv. 183
Ambracic gulf, iv. 30
Ambracus, fort *Ambracia*, i. 213, 214
Ambrysus, t. *Phocis*, ii. 535
Ammon, temple of, at Thebes, ii. 234
Ampelus, prom. *Sithonia*, iii. 119
Amphanæ, t. *Phth.* ii. 91; iv. 371
Amphaxitis, dist. *Mygdonia*, iii. 449
Amphiaraus, temple of, *Oropia*, ii. 441. 442
Amphicleia, t. *Pho.* ii. 75. 86
Amphipagus, prom. *Corcyra*, i. 94; iii. 2
Amphipolis, c. *Edonis*, iii. 181, *et seq.* 483
———, the battle at, iii. 191, *et seq.*
Amphissa, t. *W.-Loc.* ii. 589
Amphitryon, house of, at *Thebes*, ii. 232
Amphrysus, r. *Phth.* iv. 337
Amúri, vil *Perr.* iii. 334; iv. 302
Amurianí, t. Krávari, *Æto.* i. 124
Amvrakía, vil. *Acarn.* i. 159—163
Amynander, king of *Athamania*, i. 142; iv. 522. 525
Amyrus, t. and plain *Pelas.* iv. 447—450
———, r. *Pelas.* iv. 449
Anacharsis, voyage d', translated into modern Greek, i. 354
Anactorium, t. *Acarn.* i. 173; iii. 493; iv. 28. 30
Anaselítza, dist. *Orestis*, i. 317. 321; iv. 121
Anastasia, St. mon. *Chalc.-Mac.* iii. 162
Anatolikó, t. and isl. *Æto.* i. 113; iii. 529
———, lagoon of, iii. 573
Anaurus, r. *Magn.* iv. 381
Anázi, vil. Arta d. i. 202
Anchiasmus, or *Onchesmus*, or port of *Anchises*, t. and pt. *Chaonia*, i. 13; iv. 183
Anchoë, lake *Bœo.* ii. 289
'Andera, vil. *E. Loc.* ii. 178
Andhro, isl. and t. *Ægæan*, iii. 105
Andíparo, isl. *Ægæan*, iii. 87
———, grotto of, iii. 88
Andónio, the bandit, iii. 551; iv. 206
Andrachne, shrub, i. 394; ii. 516
Andrew, St. pt. *Ithaca*, iii. 55
Andrítza, vil. *Tanagræa*, ii. 465, 466
Androcrates, monument of, *Platæis*, ii. 343. 485
Angeia, t. *Chal.-Mac.* iii. 456
Angheló-kastro. vil. and castle *Æto.* i. 125. 152
Anguitas, or 'Anghista, r. *Edonis*, iii. 183. 225
Angkístri, prom. *Phth.* iv. 360. 368. 371
Anias, name meaning river, ii. 22
Anílio, part of Métzovo, *Tymphæa*, i. 411; iv. 261
'Anino, mn. *Æto.* ii. 18; vil. *Acarn.* iii. 504
Anna, Aghía, mon. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 114
Anoí, vil. and mn. *Ithaca*, iii. 24. 38
Anopæa, road and mn. near *Thermopylæ*, ii. 42, 43. 53
Anthedon, t. *Bœo.* ii. 272, *et seq.*
Anthele, t. near *Thermopylæ*, ii. 34
———, its plain, ii. 7. 33. 51
Anticyra, t. *Melis*, ii. 10. 20
———, t. *W. Loc.* ii. 618
———, t. *Pho.* ii. 541
Anticyræ, three, ii 543, 544
Anthemus, t. *Mac.* iii. 450
Antigone, the *Syrma* of, place near Thebes, ii. 243
Antigoneia or *Alexandreia*, *Troas*, ii. 152
———, t. *Crusæa*, *Mac.* iii. 460
———, t. *Pæonia*, iii. 442. 460
———, t. *Chaonia*, i. 32. 70. 72
Antigonenses, *Fauces*, *Chaonia*, i. 69. 71. 383. 385
Antiope, cavern of, in *Eleutheris*, ii. 378
Antipatria, t. *Ill.* i. 361
Antirrhium, prom. *W. Loc.* i. 111
Antiochus, *King of Syria*, i. 153. ii. 61. 268. iii. 371. iv. 456
Antonius, *Marcus*, iii. 218, *et seq.* iv. 33, *et seq.*
Antron, t. *Phth.* iv. 349
Anville, D', his opinion on *Actium*, iv. 28. 32
Aous, r. *Ep.* i. 297. 383. 390. iv. 116. 240
———, valley of the, i. 377
———, bridges of, i. 74, 75
———, stena or straits of, i. 32. 385. iv. 109
Aperantia, t. and dist. *Æto.* i. 141, 142
Aphetæ, pt. *Magn.* iv. 397
Apanomí, prom. vil. and pt. *Crusæa*, *Mac.* iii. 452, 453
Aphytis, t. *Pallene*, *Mac.* iii. 155

Digitized by Google

Apidanus, r. *Thess.* iv. 320. 324. 337. 470
Apilas, r. *Pieria*, iii. 406
Apókuro, dist. and lake *Æto.* i. 119. 124. 126. 149
Apollo, named *Aplu*, in *Pelasgiotis*, iii. 356. 361; temples of *Apollo*—at *Abæ*, ii. 165; at *Actium*, i. 175. 194; iv. 28. 81; at *Calydon*, surnamed *Laphræus*, iii. 534; at *Delium*, *Bœo.* ii. 449—453; at *Delus*, iii. 97, *et seq.*; at *Delphi*, ii. 555—581; at *Eutresis*, *Bœo.* ii. 522; at Cape *Leucate*, iii. 41; at *Lilæa*, ii. 72; at *Megara*, several temples and statues, ii. 395, *et seq.*; at *Nicopolis*, *Ep.* i. 193; in *Megaris-Attica*, surnamed *Pythius*, ii. 392; in *Megaris-Corinthia*, surnamed *Latous*, ii. 415; at *Phæstus*, *Hist.* ii. 621; at *Phyllus*, *Hist.* iv. 323; on Mt. *Pæcilum*, *Att.* ii. 385; on Mt. *Ptoum*, *Bœo.* ii. 279. 307; at *Pythium*, *Perr.* iii. 341; at *Tegyra*, *Orchomenia*, ii. 153; in *Tempe*, iii. 361. 391; at *Thebes* surnamed *Ismenius*, ii. 231. 233, at *Thermus*, *Æto.* i. 146; on Mt. *Thurium*, *Chæroneia*, ii. 196; at *Tilphusa*, *Bœo.* ii. 142; near *Tithronium*, *Pho.* ii. 88
Apóllona, prom. *Naxus*, iii. 95
Apollonia, t. *Chal. Mac.* iii. 457
———, c. *Illyria*, i. 368—375
———, four towns of that name in *Macedonian Thrace*, iii. 457, 458
Apodoti, peo. *Æto.* ii. 619. 623
Apostoliá, r. *Doris*, ii. 72, 92
Apostólus, pt. *Oropia*, ii. 442
Appius Claudius, i. 72. 75
Apsus, r. *Ill.* i. 336. 342. 390; iv. 113. 123
Arachthus, r. *Epirus*, i. 208. 217. 298. 399. 422; iv. 217. 220. 546
———, vale of the, i. 220
Aracynthus, mn. *Æto.* i. 118. 121. 128. 154. iii. 528
Arákhova, vil. Mt. *Parnassus*, i. 131
Arápi, vil. *Amphilochia*, iv. 236. 251
Arassó, mon. *Molossis*, i. 243
Aratus accompanies Philip to Thermus, i. 144
Arbutus, the, i. 394; ii. 516
Archagetes, monument in *Dauleia*, *Pho.* ii. 104
Archelaus, place near *Chæroneia*, ii. 199
———, officer of Mithradates, ii. 196
Archidamus, prætor of *Ætolia*, i. 140
Arda, r. *Thrace*, iii. 216
Ardhám, vil. Trikkala d. i. 429. iv. 265. 529
Ardhenítza, mon. and vil. *Ill.* i. 379
Ardhomísta, vil. Ioánnina, d. i. 269. 291
Arethusa, fn. *Ithaca*, iii. 53, 54
———, fn. *Chalcis* of *Eubœa*, ii. 254
———, pass, *Mygdonia*, *Bisaltia*, iii. 170. 461
Argalastí, vil. *Magn.* iv. 381. 389
Argalíki, mn. *Att.* ii. 430
Arghyrókastro, t. *Chaonia*, i. 25. 41. 78. 499
———, plain of, i. 23. 76; iv. 191
Argilus, t. *Thrace*, iii. 171. 195
Argiopius, temple *Platææ*, ii. 348
Argissa, t. *Pelas.* iii. 367; iv. 534
Argithea, t. *Athamania*, iv. 212. 272. 525, 526
Argos Oresticum, iv. 121
——— *Amphilochicum*, iv. 238
——— *Pelasgicum*, iv. 531, 532
Argostóli, t. *Cephallenia*, iii. 60, *et seq.*
Argyna, t. *W. Loc.* ii. 622
Argyrini, peo. *Chaonia*, i. 78
Ariádha, vil. *Agrais*, iv. 239. 252
Aris, t. *Megaris*, ii. 412
Arkhúdhitza, vil. *Thebæa-Thespiæ*, ii. 478
Arkudhórema, torrent, *Delphi*, ii. 568
Armenians, i. 438
Armenium, t. *Pelas.* iv. 451
Armyrá, pt. *E. Loc.* ii. 185
Armyró, lagoon near *Buthrotum*, *Ep.* i. 101
———, pt. *Amphilochia*, i. 161; iv. 237. 245
———, t. *Phth.* iv. 333. 367
Arnautlí, t. *Pelas.* iv. 465
Arnæ, t. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 170
Arne, t. *Bœo.* ii. 305; iv. 500. 502
——, t. *Thess.* iv. 534
Arnissa, t. *Eordæa*, iii. 315
Arpítza, vil. *Cassopæa*, iii. 3. 5
Arsalí, Aghia, mon. *Mt. Parnassus*, ii. 105
Arsinoë, t. *Æto.* i. 125. 153
———, queen, ii. 495
Arta, c. *Ep.* (*Ambracia,*) i. 202; iv. 223. 228—234
——, river of, i. 201. 271. 292. 294
——, gulf of, i. 160; iv. 236, *et seq.*
Artabazus, commander under *Mardonius* at *Platæa*, ii. 336
———, retreat of, ii. 351
Artemita, isl. *Æto.* iii. 571
'Artissa, vil. *Cassopæa*, iv. 5
Artzísta, vil. Zagóri, Ioán. d. i. 398; iv. 126
Arza, vil. *Atin.* iii. 523
Ascordus, or *Acerdos*, place in *Pieria*, iii. 423
Ascra, t. Mt. *Helicon*, ii. 491
Ascuris, lake, mt. *Olympus*, iii. 349. 418
Askíti, vil. *Magn.* iv. 413. 416
Asmáki, r. *Pelas.* iii. 373; iv. 403
Asmaus, mn. *Atin.* i. 385. 389
Asopus, r. *Melis*, ii. 6. 11. 26. 31. 53; r. *Bœotia*, ii. 324. 326. 424. 442. 448. 455; r. *Thess.* iv. 515
Asphaltum, or bitumen, mine of, in *Illyria*, i. 365. 378
Aspledon, t. *Bœo.* ii. 162
Aspra Spítia, vil. *Pho.* ii. 521. 539—543

Digitized by Google

Aspri Ruga, torrent in *Chaonia*, i. 7
Aspro, r. *Æto.-Acarn.* (*Achelous*), i. 121; iii. 521. 544
Aspropotamítiko, mn. *Athamania*, i. 418
Aspropótamo, dist. *Athamania*, i. 124. 289
Assa, t. *Chal. Mac.* iii. 153
Assia, vil. *Chæroneia*, ii. 100. 199. 201
Asso, fort. *Cephallenia*, iii. 67
Assus, r. *Bœo.-Pho.* ii. 195. 201
Astacus, t. *Acarn.* iv. 4. 6
Asterium, t. *Thess.* iv. 323. 502
Astibon, t. *Pæonia*, iii. 475
Astræum, or *Æstræum*, t. *Mac.* iii. 466, 467
Astræus, r. *Mac.* iii. 293
Astycus, r. *Pæonia*, iii. 464. 475
Asyla, gold mines, *Philippi*, iii. 217
Aterra, pt. *Cephallenia*, iii. 67
Athamantium, plain, *Bœo.* ii. 306; iv. 337
Athamas, ii. 306. 308
Athenæ, on r. *Triton*, t. *Bœo.* ii. 136. 293
Athenæum, fort. *Athamania*, iv. 212. 525
Athens, arrival at, ii. 336. 388
———, excursions, ii. 426
———, aqueduct of, ii. 427
Atalanta, isl. *Bœo.* E. coast, ii. 172
Athos, Mount, iii. 114. 127. For the peninsula of Athos see *Acte*
Athymía, or Aghía Thymía, vil. *W. Loc.* ii. 592
'Athyto, vil. *Pallene*, *Mac.* iii. 164
Atintanes, *Atintania*, iv. 118
Atrax, t. *Perr.* iii. 369; iv. 292
Atticus Herodes, ii. 301
———, *Titus Pomponius*, i. 95
Audoleon, king of *Pæonia*, iii. 463; iv. 575
Auletic reed, in lake *Copais*, ii. 156
Augeiæ, t. *E. Loc.* ii. 179
Augustus, i. 185. 193. 371; iii. 8. 20. 218, *et seq.*; iv. 33, *et seq.* 443
Aulis, t. *Bœo.* ii. 249. 252. 263
Aulon, t. *Ill.* (Avlóna) i. 1
———, pass, *Mygdonia*, *Bisaltia*, iii. 170
Autariatæ, peo. *Illyria*, iii. 463
Avaríko, vil. Suli, i. 241
Avdhéla, t. Mt. *Pindus*, i. 304
Avlémona, pt. Tzerígo, iii. 69. 74
Axius, r. *Mac.* iii. 258. 289. 437. 469
Ayán, vil. *Pieria*, iii. 426
Azerbú, vil. *Pharsalia*, iv. 330
Azorus, t. *Perr.* iii. 319. 342

Babá Klúpresi, bridge of *Peneius*, iii. 409
Babatzikó, vil. *Cassopæa*, iv. 50
Babíni, or Bambíni, vil. *Acarn.* iii. 505; iv. 10.
Bacchus, temples of:—at *Anthedon*, ii. 275; at *Amphicleia*, ii. 75: at *Bulis*, ii. 520; near *Eleutheræ*, ii. 378; of *B. Carpius* at *Gomphi*, iv. 523; of *B. Nyctelius* at *Megara*, ii. 394; at *Orchomenus*, ii. 147; mountain of B near *Philippi*, iii. 190. 217; temple at *Tanagra*, iii. 459. 471; of *B. Lysius* at *Thebes*, ii. 234; coins and worship of B. at *Naxus*, iii. 95; worship of B. in *Thrace*, iii. 213
Baganiá, pt. *Chaonia*, i. 102
Bagotjús, vil. Ioan. d. iv. 78
Bairám, Turkish feast, i. 36
Bákrina, vil. *Pelas.* iii. 359
Balamút, vil. near *Tempe*, iii. 384
Balím Bey, vil. Gulf of Arta, i. 164
Bálitza, vil. *Platæis*, ii. 324
Bánitza, vil. *Lyncestis*, iii. 318
Bantia, t. *Chaonia*, iii. 328
Bantza, vil. castle, and r. near Tepeléni, i. 33
Baphyrus, r. *Dium*, *Mac.* iii. 412
Bardjóia, mn. *Magn.* iv. 396
Barkumádhi, vil. Ioán. d. i. 269. 291
Barnus, t. *Eordæa*, iii. 316
Bartzi, vil. Ioán. d. i. 222
Basileia, festival at *Lebadeia*, ii. 130
Batiæ, t. *Thesprotia*, iv. 74
Bazarlí, vil. *Perr.* iii. 344
Begorra, t. and lake *Eordæa*, iii. 289. 316
Bekír Agá, of Tepeleni, i. 38; iii. 550
Beldáni, Mr. of, Matzúki, i. 285
Bélissi, vil. *Pho.* ii. 95. 97. 190. 200
Bélitza, r. *Chaonia*, i. 29. 57. 64
Belovóda, vil. and r. Korytzá d. i. 341
Berát, t. *Dass.* i. 353—362. 380; iv. 224. 544. 547
Beratóri, or Imperatoria, ancient site near Métzovo, i. 296; iv. 278
Berya, t. *Sintice*, *Mac.* iii. 229
Bermium, or *Bermius*, mn. *Emathia*, i. 305; iii. 295
Berrhœa, c. *Emathia*, iii. 290—292
Besíkia, t. and lake *Mygdonia*, iii. 162. 170. 230, 231
———, pass of, iii. 461
Bessarítza, vil. *Perr.* iii. 344
Bessa, t. *E. Loc.* ii. 180
Bessi, peo. *Thr.* iii. 190. 474
Beve, t. and r. *Lyncestis*, iii. 310. 314
Bianco, cape, in Corfú, i. 94; iii. 2
Biklista, vil. *Orestis*, i. 334
Bira, or Trypa, hill near Suli, i. 228. 237. 239
Bisaltes, r. *Bisaltia*, iii. 228
Bisaltia, dist. *Mac.* iii. 171. 212
Bisdúni, vil. Ioán, d. iv. 89
Bisdunópulo, vil. Ioán. d. iv. 88
Bishoprics of Greece:—
'Agrafa and Lytzá, iv. 271
'Akhridha, iii. 273
Anchiasmus, i. 13
Ardhaméri, iii. 251
Arghyrókastro and Dhrynópoli, i. 48. 77
Arta and *Nauportus*, i. 205; iv. 255
Athenæ, ii. 66
Délvino and Khimára, i. 48. 65

Digitized by Google

Bishoprics of Greece, *continued*:—
Dheminíko and Elassóna, iii. 345; iv. 303
Deabolis, i. 340
Dhebrá and Prospá, iii. 273
Demetrias, iv. 380
Dodona, iv. 200
Eurhœa, iv. 64, *et seq.*
'Egripo, ii. 254
Fanári, iv. 271
Férsala, iv. 486
Gardhíki, or Kardhiki, i. 438; iv. 288
Glykỳ and *Buthrotum*, i. 48. 233; iv. 56
Gomphi, iv. 520
Grevená, i. 302; iv. 216
Hadrianopolis, i. 77
Ierissó and 'Aghion Oros, iii. 250
Ioánnina, i. 48; iv. 148. 200
Justiniana Prima, iii. 273
Kambanía, *i. e.* the *Campania* of Lower Mac. iii. 251. 259
Kastoría, i. 330
Kitro, iii. 250
Kónitza and Velá, iv. 109
Korá and Mokra, iii. 273
Korytzá and Selásforo, i. 336, *et seq.*
Lidhoríki, ii. 597
Lykostómi and Platamóna, iii. 250
Medhinítza, ii. 66
Moglená and Molcskhá, iii. 273
Neópatra, iv. 271
Nicopolis of *Epirus*, i. 189. 199
Paronaxía, iii. 93
Pelagonia (Bitolia) and Príllapo, iii. 319
Photice, or Velá, iv. 97
Pogoniani, iv. 101
Radhovízdhi. iv. 271
Réndina and *Lete*, iii. 461
Rogús, iv. 255
Serrés, iii. 204
Sérvia and Kózani, iii. 250. 299. 330
Sisáni and Siátista, i. 305. 321
Skiátho and Skópelo, iii. 111
Skyro, iii. 108
Staghí, i. 420
Talándi, ii. 171
Thaumacus, (Dhomokó), i. 457; iv. 271
Thessalonica, iii. 250
Tríkkala, i. 429; iv. 285
Velégrada and Kanína, i. 49. 364. 379; iii. 273
Vodhená, or *Edessa*, iii. 272
Vónitza, or Vónditza, i. 165
Zitúni, i. 457; ii. 1
Bissikéni, or Bishkén, vil. *Pho.* ii. 96
Bitólia, t. *Pelagonia*, iii. 319
Blazdhu, vil. 'Agrafa d. iv. 270
Bletzi, vil. *Hist.* iv. 522
Bliúri, r. *Hist.* iv. 514. 519. 521
Boagrius, r. *E. Loc.* ii. 67
Bobúshti, vil. *Orestis*, i. 322
Bocche di Cattaro, i. 5
Bœbe, t. and lake *Pelas.-Magn.* i. 445; iv. 403. 421—431. 445. 449. 514
Bœi, peo. *Ill.* iii. 328
Bœoti, peo. ii. 140; iv. 501. 535
Bœotia, geological structure and climate of, ii. 387
Bœotic dialect, ii. 113. 154. 300. 458
Boëthon, fort. *Bœo.* w. coast, ii. 520
Bœum, t. *Doris*, ii. 91. 94
Bófnia, mn. *Dass.* i. 348
Boghatzikó, vil. *Orestis*, i. 321
Bogoniá, vil. *Acarn.* iv. 14
Bokhóri, vil. *Æto.* i. 109. 112
——, lagoon of, iii. 541. 573
Bolbe, t. and lake *Mygdonia* (Besíkia), iii. 170. 231. 462
Boliána, vil. Mt. *Olympus*, iii. 350
Bolyca, marsh, *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 155. 457
Bomi, peo. *Æto.* ii. 623
Bordji, vil. and castle Khimára, *Ep.* i. 64. 79
Botargo, mode of making, i. 9
Bottiæa, dist. *Mac.* iii. 449
Bottiæi, peo. *Mac.* iii. 486
Bottiatæ, peo. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 455
Bótzari, Suliote family, i. 225. 238. 246
Box tree, frequent on Mt. *Pindus*, i. 411
Bózovo, vil. Trikkala d. iv. 266
Brachas, family of *Thisbe*, *Bœo.* ii. 511
Brasidas, the Lacedæmonian, ii. 403; iii. 168. 192. 315
Brálos, vil. *Doris*, ii. 72
Bratzi, vil. *Bœo.* ii. 465
Brélesis, vil. and bridge, Ioán. d. iv. 78
Brennus, the Gaul, ii. 56
Brilessus, mn. *Att.* ii. 430
Brutus and *Cassius*, in *Thrace*, iii. 215, *et seq.*
Bryanium, t. *Lyncestis*, iii. 307
Brychos, r. *Magn.* iv. 385
Bubúka, vil. *Bœo.* ii. 327
Buchætium, t. *Thesprotia*, iv. 73. 256
Budjá, dist. *Eordæa*, iii. 297
Búfalo, pt. *Eubœa*, ii. 435
Buïáti, vil. *Tanagrice*, ii. 462
Buffalos, i. 363; iii. 555
Bukka, Paleá, false mouth of the *Arachthus*, gulf of Arta, i. 201
Bulgarian conquest of Greece, i. 341
——— language, i. 342. 347
Bulis, t. *Bœo.-Pho.* ii. 518—520
Búmisto, mn. *Acarn.* i. 163; iii. 24. 499
Bunása, mn. *Elimeia-Perr.* iii. 333
Bunísa, vil. Ioán. d. i. 222, 223
Buragán, vil. *Pelas.* iv. 402
Burbutzikó, vil. *Orestis*, i. 322
Búrino, mn. *Elimeia*, iii. 303. 305
Bushigrád, vil. Korytzá d. i. 334. 342
Bustard, called Toïa, ii. 419
Buthrotum, bay, t., r. and lake *Chaonia*, i. 91—101; iv. 175
Bylazora, t. *Pæonia*, iii. 464. 470
Byllis, or *Bullis*, t. *Ill.* i. 35. 70

Cabeiri, temple of *Thebæa*, ii. 214. 244
———, sanctuary of, *Antheedon Bœo.* ii. 274

Digitized by Google

Cachales, r. *Tithorea*, *Bœo.* ii. 78. 81
Cadmeia, citadel of *Thebes*, ii. 222. 228
Cadmus, ii. 234
Cæsar, *C. Julius*, i. 5. 7. 99. 423; iv. 476—483
Calamissus, t. *W. Loc.* ii. 622
Calarna, t. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 170
Calliarus, t. *E. Loc.* ii. 180
Callidromus, mn. *Melis-Œtæa*, ii. 62, 63; road over it, ii. 5, *et seq.* 39. 42. 53. 59; described, ii. 68
Callidromum, fort, ii. 63
Callipeuce, forest, mt. *Olympus*, iii. 405
Callipolis, or *Callium*, t. *Æto.* ii. 58. 622, 624
Callithera, t. *Thess.* iv. 521
Calucci, Mr. of Cefalonia, iii. 69
Calydon, c. *Æto.* i. 109. 112; iii. 533, *et seq.*
Cambunii, mns. *Perr.-Elimeia*, iii. 303, 338
Camels, iv. 295
Campylus, r. *Æto.* i. 156
Cammania, dist. *Thesprotia*, iv. 74
Canal of *Acræphium*, *Bœo.* ii. 311—316; of Lárissa, iii. 359; iv. 296
——, or *dioryctus* of *Leucas*, iii. 19. 21
—— of Xerxes, at *Acanthus*, *Mac.* iii. 143—147
Canastræum, prom. *Pallene*, *Mac.* iii. 156
Candavia, mn. *Ill.* i. 343; iii. 280
Canethus, hill on the *Euripus*, *Bœo.* ii. 259, 270
Caphareus, prom. *Eubœa*, ii. 423
Capota, or Greek cloaks, see Kapa
Caprus, pt. isl. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 166
Caracalla, the emperor, i. 421; ii. 300
Caria, citadel of *Megara*, ii. 394
Carnus, isl. *Acarn.* iv. 16
Cars, rude agricultural, i. 304. 379. 425
Cassander, king of *Mac.* i. 156. 252; ii. 229; iii. 434; iv. 363
Cassandreia, t. *Pallene*, *Mac.* iii. 152
Cassiope, t. *Corcyra*, i. 92. 94
Cassius Longinus, *L.* iii. 392. 399
Cassope, c. *Ep.* i. 245. 247
——, dist. and peo. of, i. 252; iv. 75
Cassotis, fn. *Delphi*, ii. 554
Castalia, fn. *Delphi*, ii. 555—557
Casthanæa, t. *Magn.* iv. 383
Castra Pyrrhi, of *Melotis*, *Ep.* i. 387. 396
Castrum Herculis, station in *Ill.* iii. 476
Catherine, St. prom. Corfú, i. 7. 12
Cato, ii. 62
Celetrum, t. *Orestis*, i. 330; iii. 310; iv. 121
Celydnus, r. *Chaonia*, i. 3.
Cenæum, penins. *Eubœa*, ii. 67. 177
Cephallenia, isl. *Ionian* sea, iii. 55—68
Cephissis, lake *Bœo.* ii. 157. 308—310
Cephissus, r. of *Athens*, ii. 417. 426. 428; r. of *Eleusis*, ii. 374. 379, *et seq.*; r. *Bœo.* ii. 71. 83. 95. 99. 144. 154. 189, *et seq.*
Cephissus, r. *Bœo.* katavóthra of, ii. 281
——, subterraneous course of, ii. 283. 292
——, issue of, ii. 286, *et seq.*
——, source of, ii. 70. 84
Cerata, mn. *Att.* ii. 391
Cercetium, mn. *Hist.-Elimeia*, iv. 528, 529
Cercine, mn. *Mac.-Thr.* iii. 444
Cerdylium, mn. *Edonis*, iii. 172
Ceraunia, or *Acroceraunia*, mns. *Chaonia*, i. 2—7. 79. 88
Ceres, temples or sanctuaries of:—of *C.* and *Proserpine*, at *Anthedon*, *Bœo.* ii. 274; of *C. Thesmophorus* at *Drymæa*, *Pho.* ii. 73; *C. Europe* at *Lebadeia*, ii. 123; at *Megara*, ii. 394; of *C. Mycalessia*, near *Mycalessus*, ii. 249. 251. 267; near *Pyrrhasus*, *Phth.* iv. 366; at *Stiris*, *Pho.* ii. 532; *C. Thesmophorus*, at *Thebes*, ii. 234; *C. Cabeiria and Proserpine*, in the *Thebæa*, ii. 244
Cercinium, t. *Hist.* iv. 449
Ceressus, fort *Bœo.* ii. 490. 500
Cerigo, isl. *Ægæan* (*Cythera*), iii. 69—75
Cerycium, mn. *Tanagrice*, ii. 459
Cestria, t. *Chaonia*, iv. 73
——, dist. of, iv. 175
Chæroneia, t. *Bœo.* ii. 109. 112. 143
——, battle of, ii. 116. 192
Chalæum, t. *W. Loc.* ii. 594
Chalastra, t. *Mygdonia*, iii. 450
Chalcidice, dist. *Mac.* iii. 162. 454
Chalcis, t. at the sources of the *Achelous*, i. 287; iv. 211
——, c. *Eubœa*, ii. 254. 266. 268
——, t. and mn. *Æto.* i. 110; iii. 538
Chalcodonium, mn. *Pherœa*, *Th.* iv. 442. 452
Chalia, t. *Bœo.* ii. 473
Chaonia, dist. *Ep.* iv. 117. 120
Charadra, t. *Molossis*, i. 258; iv. 255; t. *Pho.* ii. 85, 86
Charadriæ, t. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 151
Charadrus, r. *Molossis*, i. 258
——, r. *Marathonia*, ii. 431
Charax, fort. in *Tempe*, iii. 397
Charope of *Megara*, i. 386
Chaumi, peo. *Thesprotia*, iv. 76
Chestnuts, forest of, i. 120; etymol. of, iv. 383
Chimæra, or *Chimerium*, t. *Chaonia*, i. 90
Chimerium, fort. *Thesprotia*, iii. 5
Chiron, the *Centaur*, iv. 385
Chryse, isl. *Ægæan*, iii. 113
Chytri, salt-springs *Thermopylæ*, ii. 156
Cicero, *M. T.* iv. 17. 31
Cichyrus, or *Ephyre*, t. *Thesprotia*, iii. 7, 8; iv. 53. 73
Cicynnethus, isl. gulf of *Pagasæ*, iv. 396
Cierium, t. *Thess.* iv. 499. 503
Cimolia, isl. *Ægæan*, ii. 413
Cirphis, mn. *Pho.* ii. 106. 535. 539. 551
Cirrha, t. *Pho.* ii. 583

Digitized by Google

Cissus, mn. and t. *Myydonia*, iii. 453
Cissusa, fn. *Haliartus*, *Bœo.* ii. 208
Cithæron, mn. *Bœo.* ii. 262. 325, *et seq.* 335. 407. 461
———, passes of, ii. 330. 381
Citium, a summit of *Pindus*, i. 298
———, t. *Emathia*, iii. 288. 447
Cleombrotus, king of Sparta, ii. 406. 486
Cleon, of Athens, iii. 192
Cleonæ, t. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 149, *et seq.*
Clevas, an officer of Perseus, i. 73. 75
Clientela, custom of, iv. 104
Climate, ii. 119. 202. 504; iv. 159. 227. 398. 427. 490
Clodiana, t. *Ill.* iii. 280
Cnemides, fort. *E. Loc.* ii. 176. 182
Cnemis, mn. *E. Loc.* ii. 66. 180
Cnopus, r. *Thelœa*, ii. 321
Cocytus, r. *Thesprotia*, i. 232; iii. 8; iv. 53
Codrion, t. *Dass.* iii. 328
Cœla, pass, at *Thaumaci*, *Thess.-Phthiotis*, i. 458
Coins, ancient, iii. 213. 226. 457. 463. 483. 486; iv. 405. 498
Colaceia, t. *Melis*, ii. 21
Comarus, pt. *Nicopolis*, *Ep.* i. 185. 194. 196
Commerce, i. 183. 275; iii. 387; iv. 103
Commodus, the emperor, ii. 299
Comnenus, *Michael Angelus*, despot of *Ætolia*, i. 204
Comneni, his descendants, i. 204; iv. 203
Cophus, pt. *Sithonia*, *Mac.* iii. 119
Condylon, fort. *Tempe*, iii. 397
Conope, or *Arsinoë*, t. *Æto.* i. 125. 148. 152, 153; iii. 510
Copaïs, lake *Bœo.* ii. 158. 310
Copæ, t. *Bœo.* ii. 292. 306
Coracœ, t. *Magn.* iv. 384
Corax, mn. *Æto.* ii. 91. 624; iii. 40. 53
Corcyræi, colonies of the, i. 371
Corfù (*Corcyra*), i. 7, 8. 92. 104; iii. 1
———, channel of, i. 16. 91; iii. 2
Corinna, of *Tanagra*, poetess, ii. 459
Coræbus, tomb of, in *Megara*, ii. 398. 411
Coroneia, t. *Bœo.* ii. 132. 140; iv. 471
———, vale of, ii. 205
Coronis, mythus of, iv. 446
Corpili stena, pass, *Thrace*, iii. 215
Corseia, t. *E. Bœo.* ii. 184
Corsiæ, t. *W. Bœo.* ii. 520
Corycium, cave, Mt. *Parnassus*, ii. 578
Corydallus, mn. *Att.* ii. 384
Cotylæum, mn. *Eubœa*, ii. 439
Craneia, mn. *Ambracia*, i. 214
Crania, or *Crani*, t. *Cephallenia*, iii. 61—63
Crannon, t. *Pelas.* i. 446; iii. 365
Crates of *Chalcis*, engineer, ii. 292. 316
Craugallium, t. *Pho.* ii. 587
Crausindon, r. *Magn.* iv. 385
Crenæ, *Amphilochia*, iv. 251
Crenides, t. *Thrace*, iii. 189. 216
Crestonia, dist. *Mac.* iii. 448
Crousis, or *Crousia*, t. and pt. *Bœo.* w. coast, ii. 406. 505. 521
Crissa, t. *Pho.* ii. 566. 585
———, gulf of, ii. 549
———, plain of, ii. 583
Crithote, t. *Acarn.* iv. 6
Crocium, plain, *Phth.* iv. 352
Crocyleia, t. *Ithaca*, iii. 49
Crocylium, t. *W. Loc.* ii. 613. 618
Crusæa, *Crossæa*, or *Crusis*, dist. *Mac.* iii. 451
Ctemene, t. *Thess.-Dolopia*, iv. 516, 517
Cuarius, or *Curalius*, r. *Bœo.* ii. 140; r. *Phthiotis*, iv. 356
———, or *Cuerius*, r. *Thess.* iv. 499
Cume, t. *Eubœa*, ii. 440
Curetes, peo. *Æto.* i. 119
Curium, mn. *Æto.* i. 119
Currant plantations at Mesolónghi, i. 114
Customs of the Greeks and Albanians, i. 49. 87. 183
Cyathus, r. *Æto.* i. 154; iii. 513
Cycneïa Tempe, pass, *Æto.* i. 154
Cynia, lake, *Æto.* i. 110; iii. 573
Cynoscephalæ, *Thebæa*, ii. 474
———, *Scotussæa*, battle of, iv. 459—462
Cynosura, prom. *Marathonia*, ii. 432
Cynthus, mn. *Delus*, iii. 100, *et seq.*
Cynus, t. *E. Loc.* ii. 174, 182
Cyparissus, t. *Pho.* ii. 579
Cyretiæ, t. *Perr.* iv. 304—310
Cyrtone, or *Cyrtones*, t. and mn. *Bœo.* ii. 184
Cytinium, t. *Doris*, ii. 91, 92
Cythera, isl. and t. *Ægæan*, iii. 69—75

Dædala, festival on Mt. *Cithæron*, ii. 335
Dâghawi, Albanian sub-district, *Thesprotia*, iv. 71
Daliâni, family of Konispoli, i. 98
Daphnephorus, office of, ii. 232
Daphnus, t. *E. Loc.* ii. 176. 182
Dardani, peo. *Ill.* iii. 470, *et seq.*; iv. 122
Date-trees, ii. 249; iii. 14
Datus, t. *Thrace*, iii. 189, 223
Daulis, t. *Pho.* ii. 98. 100. 105
Deabolis, town of the Greek Empire, in *Dassaretia*, i. 339
Deceleia, *Attic demus*, ii. 424
Dederiani, vil. *Pelas.* iv. 452. 473
Deer, of several kinds, in the forests of *Acarnania*, iii. 496. 516; on Mt. *Bermius*, iii. 296; on Mt. *Parnes*, ii. 421; on Mt. *Pelium*, iv. 433
Delikali, village (misprinted valley), *Pheræa*, *Th.* iv. 435
Delium, vil. and temple of *Apollo*, *Bœo.* ii. 445. 450. 452
Delphi, t. *Pho.* ii. 551—582
———, attacked by Brennus the Gaul, ii. 60
Delphi, inscriptions of, ii. 635

Digitized by Google

Delphinium, pt. *Oropia*, ii. 445
Delus, isl. *Ægæan*. iii. 96—102
Delviná̱ki, or Dhelviná̱ki, vil. *Molossis*, i. 398; iv. 100
Delvinakópulo, or Dhelvinakópulo, vil. *Molossis*, iv. 79
Délvino, or Dhélvino, t. *Chaonia*, i. 18—21. 65
Demaratus, king of *Sparta*, ii. 44
Demetrias, t. *Magn*. iv. 363. 375
Demetrius, son of *Philip*, iii. 466
——— *Poliorcetes*, ii. 384; iv. 363
Demír Dost, of Gardhíki, i. 59, 60. 62
——— Bey, of Kastoria, i. 325
Demíglara, vil. *Mygdonia*, iii. 233
Demírkapi (*Arii Stena*), pass, *Mac. Pæonia*, iii. 442
Demirissár, t. *Odomantice*, iii. 201
Demis, Ibrahím, of Filiátes, *Ep*. i. 104
Demosthenes, Athenian commander, ii. 92. 450. 612; iv. 247
———, Athenian orator, ii. 435
Dentheletæ, peo. *Ill*. iii. 474
Derelí, t. near *Tempe*, iii. 359. 381
Derenglí, vil. *Pharsalia*, iv. 472
Derópugl, or Derópoli, dist. *Chaonia-Atintania*, i. 25. 77
Derrhis, prom. *Sithonia*, iii. 119
Dervénia, description of the, i. 22
Derveno-khória, six villages of *Megaris*, ii. 374
Dervises, bektashlí, i. 36; iv. 284. 413
Dervish Agú, vil. *Att*. ii. 417
Derxias, epitaph of, in *Phthiotis*, i. 461
Despréaux, Cousin, his History of Greece translated into Romaic, i. 355
Desudaba, t. *Mædica*, iii. 471, 472
Deucalion and *Pyrrha*, rocks, in the gulf of Volo, iv. 359. 371
Devól, r. and t. *Orestis*, *Dass*. i. 334. 348
———, (*Deabolis*), i. 339
Dhadhí, t. *Pho*. ii. 69. 73. 107
Dhafni, mon. *Att*. ii. 384. 386
Dhafniés, pass, *Acarn*. iii. 498
Dhamási, vil. *Perr*. iii. 370; iv. 299
Dhamastá, vil. near *Thermopylæ*, ii. 6
Dhaskalió, isl. near *Ithaca*, iii. 46; isl. *Pho*. ii. 541
Dhavlía, vil. *Pho*. (*Daulis*), ii. 98
Dhémata, pt. *Acarn*. near *Leucas*, i. 170. 172
Dhematá, near Aghiá, *Magn*. iv. 414
Dheminíko, vil. *Perrh*. (*Cyretiæ*) iv. 301
Dhesfína, or Tjesfína, vil. *Pho*. ii. 546
Dhésiani, vil. *Pelas.-Magn*. iv. 407. 418. 450
Dhiles, isl. *Ægæan*, (*Delus* and *Rheneia*), iii. 95—104
Dhílissi, vil. *Bœo*. (*Delium*), ii. 453, 454
Dhimíko, mn. *Att*. ii. 433
Dhimítrios, Aios, vil. near Mt. *Olympus*, iii. 337
———, vil. *Thess*. iv. 324
Dhimítrios, Aios, khan and vil. Ioan. d. i. 222. 224
———, mn. *Att*. ii. 437
———, mon. *Pieria*, iii. 403
Dhionýsios, Aios, mon. Mt. *Olympus*, iii. 407
———, mon. *Acte*, *Mac*. iii. 116
Dhipótamo, (or two rivers), *Molossis*, i. 292
Dhissikáta, vil. *Perr.-Eltimeia*, iii. 344
Dhístomo, vil. *Pho*. (*Ambrysus*), ii. 535
Dhokiaríu, mon. *Acte*, *Mac*. iii. 120
Dhokími, a summit of *Pindus*, i. 413. 415
Dholianá, vil. *Molossis*, iv. 98
Dhomokó, vil. *Phth.-Thess*. (*Thaumaci*), i. 455
Dhonátos, Aios, peak near Suli, i. 228. 239
———, pt. *Acarn*. iii. 29
———, castle of Paramythía, *Ep*. iv. 76
———, miracles of, iv. 64
Dhoxá, mn. *Emathia*, (*Bermium*), iii. 297
Dhragománo, or Tragománo, vil. *Pho*. ii. 83
Dhragomí, vil. *Thesprotia*, iv. 58
Dhragonáres, ialands, *Acarn*. iii. 30; iv. 4
Dhrákia, t. *Magn*. iv. 384. 392
Dhrakonéria, salt lake, *Att*. ii. 433
Dhrakoplýmata, *Pho*. ii. 95
Dhrakospiliá, vil. near *Thermopylæ*, ii. 6. 14. 35. 37. 53
Dhráma, t. *Thrace*, (*Drabescus*), iii. 183
Dhramisiúa, vil. *Ioan*. d. i. 263; iv. 80
Dhrymádhes, vil. Khimára, *Ep*. iv. 101
Dhryno, or Drino, river, branch of *Aous*, *Chaonia-Atin*. i. 25. 29. 56. 77; iv. 191
Dhrynópoli, ruined town, *Chaonia-Atin*. i. 58. 77
Dhrysko, or Drysko, mn. near Ioánnina, i. 269. 291. 410; iv. 131. 164
Dhumbliáni, vil. *Chaonia*, i. 35
Dhyo-vuniá, vil. *Melis*, ii. 25
Dium, c. *Pieria*, i. 147; iii. 409. 419
———, t. *Acte*, *Mac*. iii. 149, *et seq*.
Djudíla, vil. near Ioan. iv. 89
Djumá, dist. and t. *Eordæa*, i. 312; iii. 298
Djúmérka, or Tzumérka, dist. and mn. *Athamania*, i. 271. 288; iv. 212. 229
Dindymene, temple of, near *Thebes*, ii. 244
Diogenes, Count, repaired Megara, ii. 390
Dirce, r. at *Thebes*, ii. 235
Diana, temples of:—of *D. Amarynsia* in *Eubœa*, ii. 265; at *Bulis*, ii. 520; of *D. Eilethuia* at *Charoneia*, ii. 113; of *D. Eucleia* at Thebes, ii. 234; of

Digitized by Google

Diana Laphræa at *Calydon*, iii. 535; on *Mt. Tiædum*, *Magn.* iv. 396; fountain of, *Platæis*, ii. 333; statue of *Diana Sotsira*, at *Pagæ*, ii. 408
Doánji Oglú, vil. *Mygdonia*, iii. 232
Doberes, peo. *Thrace*, iii. 212
Doberus, t. *Æstræa*, *Mac.* iii. 444. 467
Dobó, mon. *Bæo.* near w. coast, ii. 517
Dobrená, or Dobréni, vil. *Bæo.* near w. coast, ii. 505
Dodon, marsh at *Dodona*, iv. 189
Dodona, c. *Molossis*, ii. 20; iv. 168—200
Dodonæa, dist. *Molossis*, iv. 173—201
Doghirán, or Doïrán, t. *Crestonia*, *Æstræa*, *Mac.* iii. 440
Doliche, isl. *Acarn.* iii. 574
———, t. *Perr.* iii. 344
Dolopia, *Dolopes*, dist. peo. *Th.* ii. 21; iv. 274. 533
Dombréni, vil. *Dass.* i. 350
Domitius Calvinus, his camp on the *Haliacmon*, i. 314
———, his marches, i. 423; iv. 476
Donacon, vil. *Thespias*, ii. 501
Donafrós, vil. *Ill.* i. 366
Dorimachus, prætor of Ætolia, i. 144; iv. 185
Doriscus, t. *Thrace*, ii. 49
Dorium, or *Derium*, t. *Æto.* i. 156
Doro, Kavo, prom. *Eubœa.* (*Cuphareus*), ii. 423
Dotium, t. and plain, *Pelas.* iv. 420. 447. 451
Dovrá, vil. Zagóri, Ioán. d. iv. 126
Dovrádo, vil. *Elimeia*, i. 305
Drabescus, t. *Thrace*, (Drama), iii. 183
Dragóti, vil. near Tepeléni, *Ep.* i. 54
Dremtja, mt. *Æto.* ii. 599
Drépano, pt. *Leucas*, iii. 17
Drin, r. *Ill.* i. 77
Dronovítza, vil. *Ill.* i. 366
Drowning, a Turkish punishment for women, i. 401. 404
Drymæa, or *Drymus*, t. *Pho.* ii. 73. 87
Dryopes, *Dryopis*, ii. 21, 22. 94
Dugán, vil. *Pelas. Magn.* iv. 407
Dukádhes, or Dukai, vil. Khimára, *Ep.* i. 2. 88. 90. 375
———, vil. on the *Aous*, *Ep.* i. 34
Dultjúni, t. *Ill.* (*Olcinium*), i. 80
Dukáto, prom. *Leucas* (*Leucate*), iii. 10. 21
Dúklista, vil. *Perr.* iii. 344
Dulichium, of Homer, inquiries concerning it, iii. 50, *et seq.*
Dúrdjova, mn. *Æto.* ii. 603
Dúshari, vil. *Dass.* i. 348
Dusiki, vil. and mon. *Hist.* iv. 526
Duvlatán, vil. *Scotussæa*, iv. 465
Dymæi, of *Achaia*, iii. 556
Dyras, r. *Melis*, ii. 11. 26
Dyrrhachium, c. *Ill.* i. 6. 380
Dyscorum, mn. *Mygdonia-Bisaltia*, iii. 211, *et seq.*
Dystus, t. *Eubœa* (Dhysta), ii. 436. 439

Earthquakes, iv. 316. 550
Echidorus, r. *Mygdonia*, iii. 437. 439
Echinades, the islands, iii. 29, *et seq.* 51; iv. 4
Echinus, t. *Phth.* ii. 20; iv. 346. 358; t. *Acarn.* iv. 23
Edessa, or *Ægæ*, c. *Emathia*, iii. 272—279
Edoni, peo. *Thrace*, iii. 180
Education in Greece, i. 331; iv. 387
Edylium, mn. *Bæo.-Pho.* ii. 97. 99. 190. 200
Eels, i. 182; ii. 157. 281; iii. 184
Egnatia, *via*, a Roman road, i. 380; iii. 180. 311. 317
Égripo, t. *Eubœa* (*Chalcis*), ii. 247. 254
———, bridge of, ii. 257
———, sanják of, ii. 252
Eilesium, t. *Bæo.* ii. 469
Eion, t. *Bisaltia*, iii. 173
Ekáli, vil. *Ill.* i. 365
Elæa, or *Elea*, pt. t. or dist. *Thesprotia*, iii. 9
Elæus, t. and plain *Chaonia*, i. 73. 75. 393
Elasonítiko, r. *Perr.* iii. 334
Elassóna, t. *Perr.* (*Olooson*), iii. 345
Elateia, t. *Pho.* ii. 82; iii. 381
———, its plain, ii. 188
———, t. near *Tempe*, iii. 381; iv. 298
———, t. *Thesprotia*, iv. 74
Elatiá, mn. *Bæo.* (*Cithæron*), ii. 372
'Elato, mn. *W. Loc.* ii. 592
———, mn. *Cephallenia*, iii. 55. 59
Elbassán, t. *Ill.* i. 357; iii. 280; iv. 547
———, mn. of (*Candavia*), i. 343
Elefthero-khóri, vil. *Pieria-Bottiæa*, iii. 428. 433. 435
Eleftherokhóri, pass of, *Thesprotia*, iv. 77
Eleókali, mon. Ioán. d. i. 270
Eleon, t. *Bæo.* ii. 322. 468
Elerígova, vil. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 161
Eleúsa, vil. *Paravæa*, i. 393
Eleusis, on r. *Triton*, t. *Bæo.* ii. 136. 293
———, t. *Att.* its plain and bay, ii. 374
———, aqueduct of, ii. 382
Eleutheræ, t. *Att.* ii. 375. 378
———, pass of, ii. 334
Elía, pt. *Thesprotia*, iii. 8
Elías, Aios, hill at *Ambracia*, i. 213
———, vil. *Æto.* iii. 528
———, mon. *E. Loc.* ii. 170
———, mon. at Zitza, *Molossis*, iv. 92
——— of the almond-trees, vil. *Æto.* iii. 544. 552
Elimeia, dist. *Mac.* iii. 305. 324. 339
Elini, peo. *Thesprotia*, iv. 75

Digitized by Google

Elládha, r. *Melis-Æsianes*, ii. 8. 13. 15. 17; iv. 532
Ellomenus, t. *Leucas*, iii. 23
Elone, t. *Perr.* iii. 345
'Elymo, mn. and vil. *Att.* ii. 425
Emathia, dist. *Mac.* iii. 225. 442—447
Emporesium, prom. near *Chalcis*, *Eubœa*, ii. 263
Enipeus, r. *Thess.* i. 447; iii. 420; iv. 320. 330. 469
Eordæa, dist. *Mac.* i. 315; iii. 305. 316
Eordaicus, r. *Ill.* iii. 281
'Epakto, t. *W. Loc.* (*Naupactus*), ii. 607
Epaminondas, ii. 131. 487
Ephialtes, ii. 45
Ephyre, t. *Thesprotia*, iii. 7; iv. 53. 175
Ephyræi, or *Cramonii*, peo. *Pelas.* i. 446
Epicnemidii, peo. *E. Loc.* ii. 66. 68. 178. 181
Epidamnus, or *Dyrrhachium*, c. *Ill.* i. 372
Epirotes, defeated by the *Illyrians*, i. 68
———, defeated and enslaved by the Romans, i. 216; iv. 81. 181
———, their cities destroyed by the Romans, i. 216; iv. 73
Episkopí, site *Hist.* (*Gomphi*), iv. 510. 519
Eretria, t. *Eubœa*, ii. 266. 443. 445
——— *Phthiotis*, iv. 466
Ericinium, t. *Perr.* iv. 315
Erigon, branch of r. *Axius*, iii. 275. 441
Erikhó, t. *Chaonia*, (*Oricus*), i. 3
———, lagoon of, i. 88
Erimókastro, or Rimókastro, vil. *Bœo.* ii. 478
Erineia, t. *Megaris*, ii. 408
Erineium, t. *Phth.* iv. 471
Erineus, t. *Doris*, ii. 91
Erissó, or Ierissó, vil. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 147; its gulf, iii. 142
———, dist. *Cephallenia*, iii. 67
Eritium, t. *Perr.* iv. 310. 313
Ermítza, r. *Æto.* i. 126. 136
Erochus, t. *Pho.* ii 89
Erythræ, t. *Parasopia*, *Bœo.* ii. 329; t. *W. Loc.* ii. 618
Eteonus t. *Parasopia*, *Bœo.* ii. 332
Etesian winds, the, iv. 426
Ethopia, t. *Athamania*, iv. 212. 525, 526
Eubœa, the channel of, or *Euboic* strait, ii. 422; iv. 346
———, isl. ('Egripo) ii. 252, *et seq.* 423
Eudeielus, or *Aspledon*, t. *Bœo.* ii. 162
Eudierum, on mt. *Olympus*, iii. 351. 417, 418
Eukydrium, t. *Thess.* iv. 493
Eupalium, t. *W. Loc.* ii. 617. 620
Euporia, t. *Edonis*, iii. 228
Euripides, tomb of, at *Arethusa*, *Mac.* iii. 170
Euripus, strait of *Eubœa*, ii. 247—258. 264
Europus, t. on the *Axius*, iii. 444
Eurotas, r. *Perr.* iii. 345
Eurylochus, of *Sparta*, his expedition into *Æto.* ii. 93. 117. 612. 615; his death, iv. 247
Eurymenæ, t. *Molossis*, i. 253; t. *Magn.* iii. 402; iv. 415
Eurytanes, peo. *Æto.* ii. 623. 626
Evenus, r. *Æto.* i. 107. 109; ii. 599
Evghénia, Kyría, mn. *Æto.* i. 120. 126
Eutresis, t. *Bœo.* ii. 521. 522
Eutretus, pt. *Bœo.* w. coast, ii. 520
Evtímios, Papá, his rebellion, iv. 410; his death, iv. 542. 544
Examíli, pt. *Chaonia*, i. 92
Exarkhó, vil. *Pho.* ii. 163
Ezeró, vil. and lake near Mt. *Olympus*, iii. 349. 418

Fagá, mn. *Bœo.* (*Phicium*), ii. 213
Fanári, vil. *Hist.* i. 426; iv. 270. 509. 518
———, Porto, *Thesprotia*, i. 232; iii. 4; iv. 51
———, plain of, *Thesprotia*, iv. 50. 54. 192
Fanarítiko, r. *Thesprotia*, i. 232
Fanaroméni, mon. at Arta, i. 207. 213
Fano, site in *Phth.* iv. 348
Fares, or fária, or fratriés, Albanian, i. 27. 85; iv. 59
Fasídhero, vil. *Att.* ii. 429
Fasts, Greek, i. 10. 14; iv. 425
Ferát Agá, of Lidhoríki, ii. 605, 606
Ferekísi, vil. Ioán. d. i. 224
Férsala (Turk. Tjatáltje) t. *Thess.-Phth.* i. 448—454; iv. 329. 474. 486
Fersaliti, r. *Thess.* (*Enipeus*), i. 447; iv. 320
Fetá Bey, of Zikhna, iii. 184
Fever, the doppia terzana, i. 380
Fidhári, or Fídharo, r. *Æto.* i. 106; ii. 599. 625
Fidhókastro, fort. *Ambracia*, i. 201. 214
Filiátes, t. *Chaonia*, i. 104; iv. 73
Filothéu, mon. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 126
Filúrina, t. *Lyncestis*, i. 333; iii. 282
Finíki, vil. *Chaonia*, i. 20. 66
Fisheries, of *Amphipolis*, iii. 185; of Anatolikó and Mesolónghi, i. 114; iii. 530. 543; of Arta, i. 182; of lake *Bœbeis*, iv. 403. 421; of Kastoriá, i. 327; of Prévyza, i. 182. 197; of Vutzindró, i. 95
Fiva Paleá, site *Pho.* ii. 84. 89
Flamininus, *T. Quinctius*, i. 71. 385; ii. 542; iv. 305. 457. 528
Flembúko, peak at *Delphi*, ii. 568
Fondána, pass *E. Loc.-Pho.* ii. 67
Fortí, fort. *Leucas*, iii. 17
Fortósi, vil. Ioán. d. iv. 217
Fortune, temple of, at Thebes, ii. 234
Forty Saints, vil. church, and pt. *Chaonia*, i. 8—15. 78
Frango Limióna, pt. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 142
Franzí, vil. *Melis*, ii. 8. 13. 23
Fráshari, vil. *Dass.* i. 345

Digitized by Google

Frastaná, vil. *Atin.* iv. 106
Frikes, pt. *Ithaca*, iii. 52
Frosýni, of Ioán. her death, i. 401. 403
Fteliá, or Aftelliá, pt. *Chaonia*, i. 102
Ftelió, or Pteleó, vil. and pt. *Phth.* iv. 341
Fterá, vil. *Pieria*, iii. 335
Fterí, pt. *Magn.* iv. 415
Fulvius Nobilior, the consul, i. 209
Funeral, described, ii. 104
Furka, pass *Phth.* i. 461
Furná, vil. 'Agrafa d. iv. 270
Furna, plain *Phth.* iv. 369
Furniture, Greek, i. 448; iv. 145
Furnus, pt. Cerigo isl. iii. 76
Fýla, vil. *Eubœa*, ii. 439

Gaidharonísi, isl. gulf of Arta, i. 200
———, isl. *Bœo.* E. coast, ii. 270
Galadræ, t. *Eordæa*, iii. 316
Galatá, mn. *Æto.* i. 107, 108
Galátista, t. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 162
Galaxídhi, t. and pt. *W. Loc.* ii. 593
Galepsus, t. *Mac.-Thr.* iii. 155. 178
Gallicum, t. *Crestonia, Mac.* iii. 438
Gallikó, r. *Mygdonia*, iii. 258. 439
Gambo, Ston, vil. *Æto.* i. 121
Gangites, or *Gangas*, r. *Edonis*, iii. 217. 225
Gardhíki, or Kardhíki, t. *Chaonia*, i. 29. 59. 63
———, or Gardhikáki, vil. Ioán. d. iv. 89
———, Paleó, vil. and Hel. ruins *Hist.* i. 431; iv. 288
———, t. *Thesprotia*, iv. 58
Gargaphia, fn. *Platææ, Bœo.* ii. 333. 343
Gariani, or Kariani, vil. *Chaonia-Atin.* i. 27
Gauls, the, in Greece, ii. 55. 571
——, refuse the offers of Perseus, iii. 471
Gávala, or Kávala, vil. *Æto.* i. 128. 155
Gavrolímni, pt. *Æto.* i. 111
Gazorus, t. *Edonis*, iii. 229
Gelberíni, mn. *Ambracia*, i. 205
Geli, vil. *E. Loc.* ii. 170
Gell, Mr. ii. 132
Genusus, r. *Ill.* iii. 280
Geraneia, mn. and fort. *Megaris*, ii. 375. 409. 412
Gerastus, t. and prom. *Eubœa*, ii. 423
Gheládha, prom. *Acarn.* gulf of Arta, i. 165
Ghelánthi, vil. *Hist.* iv. 519
Ghenitzarokhóri, vil. *Phth.* iv. 468
Ghenokládha, vil *Æniaues*, ii. 16
Gherelí, vil. *Pheræa*, iv. 401. 451
Gheremí, vil. *Scotussæa*, iv. 453
Ghermanó, pt. *Megaris*, ii. 373. 405
Ghianotá, mon. *Perr.* iii. 344
Ghidháki, pt. *Ithaca*, iii. 53
Ghidék, vil. *Phth.* iv. 331
Ghiórghi, Ai, (George, St.) vil. and r. *Molossis*, i. 258. 261; iv. 80. 254
Ghiórghi, Ai, t. *Scyrus*, iii. 107
———, vil. *Magn.* iv. 392. 400
———, monasteries of, i. 102. 119. 143; ii. 37
———, church at Dheminíko, iv. 305
———, church and fortress at Prévyza, iv. 253
———, isl. *Saronic* gulf, ii. 371
———, isl. bay of *Crissa*, ii. 593
———, vil. r. and pass near *Coroneia, Bœo.* ii. 140. 141
———, hill of, at Ioánnina, iv. 136. 154, 162
Ghioztepé, mn. *Elimeia-Eordæa*, iii. 297
Ghiustendíl, t. *Agrianes*, iii. 475
Ghyftókastro, Hel. ruins near Mesolónghi, i. 118; iii. 539; on mt. *Cithæron*, ii. 375; in *Pelas.* iv. 292
Ghymnó, vil. *Eubœa*, ii. 439
Ghyneká-kastro, Hel. ruins, *Phth.-Thess.* i. 455
Gigantomachia, on the temple of *Delphi*, ii. 573
Gigonus, t. *Crusæa, Mac.* iii. 451
Gitanæ, t. *Thesprotia-Chaonia*, iv. 76
Glaphyræ, t. *Magn.-Pelas.* iv. 432
Glaucus, temple of, at *Anthedon, Bœo.* ii. 275
Gletjádhes, vil. *Tymphæa*, i. 417
Glisas, t. *Thebæa*, ii. 248. 250
Glossa, prom. of Mts. *Acroceraunia*, i. 4. 374
Glánista, vil. *Pho.* ii. 73. 87
Glycys Limen, pt. *Thesprotia*, i. 185. 232; iii. 4; iv. 51, *et seq.*
Glyfoneró, pool at *Larymna, Bœo.-Pho.* ii. 288
Glyký, dist. *Thesprotia*, i. 231
———, ruined vil. and church of, i. 233; iv. 51—58. 66. 192
Gold mines of *Crenides, Mac.-Thr.* iii. 190
Gómaro bay, near *Nicopolis, Ep.* i. 195
Gomenítza, vil. and bay *Thesprotia*, i. 103; iv 72
Gomphi, t. *Hist.* iv. 212. 263. 510. 520
Gonnus, t. *Pelas.* iii. 371. 379. 389. 397; iv. 312
Goránа, vil. near Suli, i. 242
Gorítza, suburb of Berát, i, 354. 360
———, Hel. site near Volo, iv. 375
Gortynia, t. on r. *Axius*, iii. 444
Grábitza, or Garbítzi, vil. and pass *Chaonia*, i. 23
Graces, temple of the, at *Orchomenus, Bœo.* ii. 148. 152
Grádista, vil. and Hel. ruins on the *Aous, Ill.* i. 35. 70. 365
Gráditza, or Gradish, Hel. fort. near Siátista, *Elimeia*, i. 313
Græa, or *Tanagra*, t. *Bœo.* ii. 455
Grænestheus, vil. *Thebæa*, ii. 474
Grálista, vil. 'Agrafa d. iv. 518
Grámista, or Grammos, t. and mn. *Orestis-Dass.* i. 334, 335. 425; iv. 122

Digitized by Google

Grammatikó, vil. *Att.* ii. 436
Gránitza, vil. near *Lebadeia*, *Bœo.* ii. 133
———, mn. of, ii. 140
Gratziáná, vil. *Molossis*, iv. 79
Graviá, vil. *Doris*, ii. 90. 92
Greeks, modern, character and manners of, i. 204. 241. 323
———, condition of their peasantry, ii. 108. 203; iii. 516. 545; iv. 339. 345.
———, of their women, iv. 146
———, their resemblance to the ancients, i. 279. 448; iv. 146
———, their language, i. 463; iv. 150
Gregorius and Daniel, of Miliés, Mt. *Pelium*, iv. 387. 391
Gregórios, 'Aios (St. Gregory), mon. *Acte*, *Mac.* iv. 116
Grevená, dist. *Elimeia*, i. 302—304
Grevendísta, vil. Mt. *Pindus*, i. 294
Grevenó, t. of Grevená, i. 302—304
———, river of, i. 303
Griko-khóri, vil. *Thesprotia*, iv. 72
Grimádha, or Grimála, site of *Tanagra*, *Bœo.* ii. 455
Gritziáno, or Grísano, vil. *Hist.* i. 432; iv. 290. 316
Griva, mn. *Chaonia*, i. 32.
——, Dhrako, iii. 500
Gróbate Pliákes, vale in mt. Griva, *Chaonia*, i. 34
Gulimídhes, Albanian tribe, *Chaonia*, i. 60
Gumenítza, or Gomenítza, vil. and bay *Thesprotia*, iv. 74
Gumerdjína, t. *Thr.* iii. 216
Gúnitza, vil. *Pelas.-Perr.* iii. 368
Gura, mn. *Phth.* (*Othrys*), i. 459, 460
——, vil. iv. 330
Gurgo-potamó, r. *Melis*, ii. 24. 26
Guri Prei, or Comméno Lithári, fort. *Dass.* i. 349. 350
Guriá, vil. *Æto.* on r. *Achelous*, iii. 521
Guriánista, vil. Ioán. d. iv. 83
Gurla, or r. of Suli (*Acheron*), iv. 52
Gylacia, or *Apollonia*, c. *Ill.* i. 372
Gyrton t. *Pelas*, iii. 382; iv. 534

Hadjí Barak, vil. *Pelas.* iv. 452
Hadjí Serét, his poem on Alý Pashá, i. 463—496
Hadjilár, vil. *Pelas.* (*Crannon.*) iii. 362—366
Hadjímes, vil. *Pheræa*, iv. 401
Hadjirán, vil. *Elimeia*, iii. 329
Hadjó-bashi, vil. *Thess.* iv. 328
———, vil. in *Amyric plain*, iv. 402
Hadrianopolis, t. *Chaonia*, i. 76
Hæmus, mn. *Thr.* iii. 474
Halæ, t. *Bœo.* ii. 184. 288
Haliacmon, r. *Mac.* i. 303. 314; iii. 292. 437
Haliartia, dist. *Bœo.* ii. 211
Haliartus, t. *Bœo.* ii. 137. 206
———, marsh of, ii. 310
Halonesus, isl. *Ægæus*, iii. 112
Hamilton, Mr. William, iii. 69
Hammeno, station near *Scupi*, *Ill.* iii. 477
Harma, t. *Bœo.* ii. 248
———, pass of, ii. 251
Harpessus, r. *Thr.* iii. 215
Hassán Agá, Tjapári, of Margarítí, i. 405; iv. 47. 220
Hassán Tatári, vil. *Pelas.* iii. 362
Hatera, t. *Pieria*, iii. 424
Hebrus, r. *Thr.* iii. 216
Hecatompedum, t. *Chaonia*, iv. 120; road in *Pelas.-Magn.* iv. 406
Helenus, son of Priam, iv. 175
Helicon, mn. *Bœo.* ii. 106. 205. 213. 489—500. 506. 513. 526
Helicranum, vil. *Chaonia*, i. 69, 70
Heræum, see *Juno*.
Hellas, site in *Phth.* iv. 470. 531
Hellebore, ii. 542
Hellenic remains :—
of *Abæ*, *Pho.* ii. 164
of *Acanthus*, *Mac.* iii. 147
of *Acræphium*, *Bœo.* ii. 295
of *Actium*, *Acarn.* i. 174; iv. 25
of *Ægitium*, *W. Loc.* ii. 617
of *Æginium*, *Hist.* i. 421; iv. 537
of *Ægosthena*, *Megaris*, ii. 405
at Aetó in *Ithaca*, iii. 35
of *Agræa*, *Æto.-Acarn.* iv. 252
at pt. Alikés, *Bœo.* W. coast, ii. 503
of *Alope*, *E. Loc.* ii. 176
of *Alus*, *Phth.* iv. 337
of *Alyzia*, *Acarn.* iv. 14
of *Amantia*, *Chaonia*, i. 89. 375
of *Ambracia*, *Ep.* i. 205
of *Ambracus*, *Ep.* i. 214
of *Ambrysus*, *Pho.* ii. 535
of *Amphanæ*, *Phth.* iv. 368. 371
of *Amphicleia*, *Pho.* ii. 75
of *Amphissa*, *W. Loc.* ii. 588
of *Anactorium*, *Acarn.* iii. 493
at Andrítza in *Tanagrice*, ii. 466
of *Anthedon*, *Bœo.* ii. 272
of *Anticyra*, *Pho.* ii. 540
of *Antron*, *Phth.* iv. 349
of *Aperantéia*, *Æto.* i. 141
of *Apollonia*, *Ill.* i. 369
of *Apollonia*, *Mygdonia*, iii. 458
at Ardhámi, *Hist.* iv. 529
of *Aryissa*, *Pelas.* iii. 367
of *Argos Amphilochicum*, iv. 238
of *Ascra*, *Bœo.* ii. 491
at Asso, *Cephallenia*, iii. 67
of *Astacus*, *Acarn.* iv. 4
of *Athamantium*, *Bœo.* ii. 295. 307
of *Athenæum*, *Athamania*, iv. 525
of *Atrax*, *Perr.* iii. 368
of *Azorus*, *Perr.* iii. 334. 342
at Berát, i. 361
of *Berrhœa*, *Mac.* iii. 292
of *Bœbe*, *Magn.* iv. 428

Digitized by Google

Hellenic remains:—
of *Bulis*, *Bœo.-Pho.* ii. 518
of *Bullis*, *Ill.* i. 365
of *Bullis Maritima*, *Ill.* i. 2. 376
of *Callidromum*, near *Thermopylæ*, ii. 63
of *Calydon*, *Æto.* iii. 534.
of *Carnus*, isl. *Acarn.* iii. 29; iv. 16
of *Cassope*, *Ep.* i. 245.
of *Cestria*, or *Ilium*, *Ep.* iv. 74.
of *Chalcis*, *Æto.* i. 111
of *Chalcis*, *Eubœa*, ii. 254
of *Chæroneia*, *Bœo.* ii. 112
of *Charadra*, *Molossis*, iv. 255
of *Charadra*, *Pho.* ii. 70
of *Chimæra*, *Chaonia*, i. 89
of *Chimerium*, *Thesprotia*, iii. 3
of *Cichyrus*, or *Ephyre*, *Thesprotia*, iv. 53
of *Cimolia*, *Megaris*, ii. 413
of *Cirrha*, *Pho.* ii. 584
of *Cnemides*, *E. Loc.* i. 177
of *Conope*, or *Arsinoë*, *Æto.* i. 125
of *Copæ*, *Bœo.* ii. 306
of *Coroneia*, *Bœo.* ii. 134
of *Coroneia*, *Phth.* iv. 471
of *Cranii*, *Cephallenia*, iii. 61
of *Crannon*, *Pelas.* iii. 363
of *Crithote*, *Acarn.* iv. 5, 6
of *Cynoscephalæ*, *Scotussæa*, iv. 454
of *Cynus*, *E. Loc.* ii. 175
of *Cyretiæ*, *Perr.* iv. 304
of *Cythera*, *Ægæan*, iii. 73
of *Daulis*, *Pho.* ii. 100
of *Delium*, *Bœo.* ii. 449
of *Delphi*, ii. 552—581
of *Delus*, *Ægæan*, iii. 96—102
of *Demetrias*, *Magn.* iv. 375
of *Dodona*, *Ep.* iv. 127
at Dhragomí, *Thesprotia*, iv. 70
near Dhramisiús, in *Molossis*, i. 264; iv. 80
of *Dium*, *Mac.* iii. 409
of *Doliche*, *Perr.* iii. 344
of *Drymæa*, *Pho.* ii. 73
near Dugán, *Magn.-Pelasg.* iv. 408. 450
of *Edessa*, *Mac.* iii. 276
of *Eion*, *Thr.* iii. 173
of *Elateia*, *Pho.* ii. 82
of *Elateia*, *Pelas.* iii. 381
of *Eleutheræ*, *Att.* ii. 375
of *Eretria*, *Eubœa*, ii. 265. 439
of *Eretria*, *Phth.* iv. 466
of *Erineium*, *Phth.* iv. 471
of *Eritium*, *Perr.* iv. 313
of *Erythræ*, *Bœo.* ii. 329
of *Eukydrium*, *Thes.* iv. 493
of *Eurymenæ*, *Magn.* iv. 415
at Gardhikáka, Ioán. d. iv. 90
near Garianí, *Chaonia-Atin.* i. 75
at the magúla of Ghereli. *Pheræa*, iv. 451
at Ai Ghiórghi, 'Agrafa d. iv. 272
of *Glaphyræ*, *Magn.* iv. 432
of *Glisas*, *Bœo.* ii. 246. 250

Hellenic remains:—
of *Gomphi*, *Hist.* iv. 519
of *Gonnus*, *Perr.* iii. 388
at Gótzista, Ioán. d. i. 292
at Guriánista, Ioán. d. iv. 83
of *Gyrton*, *Pelas.* iii. 361. 382
of *Haliartus*, *Bœo.* ii. 206
of *Harma*, *Bœo.* ii. 247. 250
of *Heracleia Trachinia*, ii. 26
of *Hyampolis*, *Pho.* ii. 167
of *Hypata*, *Ænianes*, ii. 18
of *Hyle*, *Bœo.* ii. 313
of *Hysiæ*, *Bœo.* ii. 327
at Ai Iánni, *Thesprotia*, iii. 8; iv. 73
of the two *Idomenæ*, *Amphilochia*, iv. 250
of *Iolcus*, *Magn.* iv. 380
of *Ithome*, *Hist.* iv. 510
of *Ithoria*, *Æto.* iii. 577
at Kaítza, 'Agrafa d. iv. 272
on mt. Kalána, *Agrais*, iv. 253
near Kalarýtes, *Ep.* i. 281
near Kapsokhóri, *Bottiæa*, iii. 436
at Kaputzí, *Thes.* iv. 504
near Kastaniá, 'Agrafa d. iv. 272
at Kastráki, *Tymphæa*, iv. 537
at Kastrí, near lake *Bebeis*, iv. 404
at Kastrí, near Lélovo, *Molossis*, i. 256
at Katafyghí, 'Agrafa d. iv. 272
near Katúna, *Acarn.* iii. 503
at Kekhriniátza, *Agrais*, i. 158
at Kekhropúla, *Acarn.* i. 172; iv. 24
at Klaréntza, *Thesprotia*, iii. 4
at Klima, *W. Loc.* ii. 618
at Klisúra, *Aoi Stena*, i. 384
at Knísovo, 'Agrafa d. iv. 272
at Kolokotó, *Thes.* i. 431; iv. 290
near Kombóti, Arta d. iv. 236
near Kometzádhes, Arta d. i. 220
at Kúvelo, *Æto.* i. 126
at Kyfu, 'Agrafa d. iv. 275
of *Lacereia*, or *Dotium*, *Pelas.* iv. 445
at Lakhaná, *Mac.* iii. 230
of *Lamia*, *Phth.* ii. 2
at Langazá, *Mac.* iii. 233
of *Larissa*, *Pelas.* i. 439
of *Larissa Cremaste*, *Phth.* iv. 347
of *Larymna*, *Bœo.-Pho.* ii. 287
of *Lebadeia*, *Bœo.* ii. 121
of *Ledon*, *Pho.* ii. 83. 89
of *Leucas*, *Ionian sea*, iii. 14
of *Leuctra*, *Bœo.* ii. 485
at Liáskovo, 'Agrafa d. iv. 272
of *Lilæa*, *Pho.* ii. 71
of *Limnæa*, *Acarn.* i. 160; iv. 244
of *Limnæa*, *Thes.* iv. 524. 512
on lake Livádhi, *Bœo.* ii. 278
near Lukísi, *Bœo.* ii. 275
near Lykokhóri, *Æto.* ii. 605
of *Lysimachia*, *Æto.* i. 153
at Malandrina, *W. Loc.* ii. 598
of *Mallæa*, *Perr.* iv. 312
in Margaríti d. *Thesprotia*, iv. 70
at Mariolátes, *Doris*, ii. 86
at Mavro-dhílissi, *Att. Bœo.* ii. 441

Digitized by Google

Hellenic remains:—
of *Macynia*, *Æto.* i. 111
on Mavrovúni, *Thess.* iv. 327
of *Medeon*, *Acarn.* iii. 503. 575
of *Medeon*, *Pho.* ii. 548
of *Melibœa*, *Magn.* iv. 414
of *Melitæa*, *Phth.* iv. 469
of *Melus*, *Ægæan*, iii. 79
of *Mende*, *Mac.* iii. 157
of *Metropolis*, *Acarn.* iii. 511. 576
————, *Pelas.* iii. 360; iv. 298
————, *Up. Th.* iv. 506
of *Molycreia*, *Æto.* i. 111
of *Mopsium*, *Pelas.* iii. 377; iv. 298
of *Mycalessus*, *Bœo.* ii. 246. 251
of *Myonia*, *W. Loc.* ii. 592
of *Naryx*, *E. Loc.* ii. 187
of *Naupactus*, *W. Loc.* ii. 607
of *Nelia*, *Magn.* iv. 379
at Neokhóri, *Thespiæ*, ii. 499
at Niáusta, *Emathia*, iii. 288
of *Nicæa*, *E. Loc.* ii. 38
of *Nicopolis*, *Ep.* i. 185
of *Nisæa*, *Megaris*, ii. 399
of *Ocalea*, *Bœo.* ii. 205
of *Œantheis*, *W. Loc.* ii. 594
of *Œneon*, *W. Loc.* ii. 616
of *Œniadæ*, *Acarn.* iii. 556
of *Œnoë*, *Att.-Bœo.* ii. 375
of *Olooson*, *Perr.* iii. 346
of *Olpæ*, *Amphilochia*, iv. 251
of *Olynthus*, *Mac.* iii. 154
of *Onchestus*, *Bœo.* ii. 213
of *Opus*, *E. Loc.* ii. 174
of *Orchomenus*, *Bœo.* ii. 145, *et seq.*
of *Oreus*, or *Histiæa*, *Eubœa*, iv. 352
of *Orobiæ*, *Eubœa*, ii. 176
of *Oropus*, *Att.-Bœo.* ii. 444
of *Pæanium*, *Æto.* iii. 577
of *Pagæ*, *Megaris*, ii. 407
of *Pagasæ*, *Magn.* iv. 370
of *Palea*, *Cephallenia*, iii. 65
at Paleá Mani, *Acarn.* iii. 524
at Paleókastro, near *Pella*, *Mac.* iii. 268
————, on the *Singitic* Gulf, iii. 153
of *Pandosia*, *Thesprotia*, i. 232; iv. 55
of *Panopeus*, *Pho.* ii. 110
at Paradhísia, *W. Loc.* ii. 598
on lake Paralímni, *Bœo.* ii. 278
at Paramythía, *Thesprotia*, iv. 61
of *Parapotamii*, *Pho.* ii. 191
at Pazaráki, *Thes.* iv. 494
of *Peiresiæ*, *Thes.* iv. 319
of *Pelinnæum*, *Thes.* i. 431; iv. 288
of *Pella*, *Mac.* iii. 260, *et seq.*
at Petrinó, *Thess.* iv. 326
at Pendórnia, *W. Loc.* ii. 622
of *Phacium*, *Thes.* iv. 292
of *Phagres*, *Mac.-Thrace*, iii. 176
of *Phalanna*, *Pelas.* iii. 352. 379; iv. 298
of *Phaloria*, *Hist.* iv. 529
of *Pharcadon*, *Hist.* iv. 317
of *Pharsalus*, *Phth.* i. 449

Hellenic remains:—
of *Pharygæ*, or *Turphe*, *E. Loc.* ii. 66. 179
on Mt. *Phelleus*, *Att.* ii. 438
of *Pheræ*, *Pelas.* iv. 439
of *Philippi*, *Mac.-Thrace*, iii. 214
of *Phœnice*, *Chaonia*, i. 66
of *Phoceiæ*, *Acarn.* iii. 575; iv. 12
of *Phylace*, *Phth.* iv. 331
of *Phyle*, *Att.* ii. 417
of *Phytæum*, *Æto.* i. 155
of *Platæa*, *Bœo.* ii. 325
of *Pleuron*, *Æto.* i. 115
on Mt. *Pœcilum*, *Att.* ii. 385
at Poliána, *Hist.* iv. 529
at Polis, *Ithaca*, iii. 45
at Polypórtu, *W. Loc.* ii. 621
near Ródhromo, *Acarn.* iii. 514
of *Proerna*, *Phth.* i. 455
of *Proni*, *Cephallenia*, iii. 66
of *Proschium*, *Æto.* i. 119
of *Pteleum*, *Phth.* iv. 342
of *Pydna*, *Mac.* iii. 427. 429
of *Pyrrhasus*, *Phth.* iv. 366
at Rendhína, 'Agrafa, d. iv. 272
of *Rhamnus*, *Att.* ii. 434
of *Rheneia*, *Ægæan*, iii. 103
of *Rhoduntia*, near *Thermopylæ*, ii. 63
at Ruga, gulf of Arta, (*Acarn.*) iii. 495
of *Salganeus*, *Bœo.* ii. 267
of *Same*, *Cephallenia*, iii. 55
of *Sane*, *Mac.* iii. 144
of *Scirone*, *Megaris*, ii. 413
of *Scolus*, *Bœo.* ii. 369
of *Scotussa*, *Pelas.* iv. 455
of *Scyrus*, *Ægæan.* iii. 108
at Seskló, *Magn.* iv. 399
near Siátista, *Mac.* two ruins, i. 313
at Sidhiro-knfkhió, *Pho.* ii. 538
at Siékliza, *Thes.* iv. 505
of *Sirrhæ*, *Mac.* iii. 205
at Sisáni, *Elimeia-Orestis*, i. 318
at Smókovo, 'Agrafa, d. iv. 272. 516
at Sofádhes, *Thes.* iv. 495
at Sokhó, *Mac.* iii. 230
of *Stageirus*, *Mac.* iii. 168
of *Stiris*, *Pho.* ii. 528
at Stratóni, near *Acanthus*, *Mac.* iii. 159
of *Stratus*, *Acarn.* i. 137
of *Sycurium*, *Pelas.* iii. 374
at Syvísti, 'Agrafa, d. iv. 252. 272
of *Tanagra*, *Bœo.* ii. 455
of *Taphus*, *Cephallenia*, iii. 67
of *Thaumaci*, *Phth.* i. 457
of *Thebæ*, *Bœo.* ii. 226
————, *Phthiotica*, iv. 358
of *Thermus*, *Æto.* i. 133
of *Thespiæ*, *Bœo.* ii. 479
of *Thessalonica*, *Mac.* iii. 244, *et seq.*
of *Thisbe*, *Bœo.* ii. 506
of *Thronium*, *E. Loc.* ii. 178
of *Tichius*, near *Thermopylæ*, ii. 63
of *Tiphæ*, or *Siphæ*, *Pho.* ii. 514
of *Tithorea*, *Pho.* ii. 77

Digitized by Google

Hellenic remains:—
of *Tithronium*, *Pho.* ii. 76. 87
of four towns in Tjersembá, iii. 303
on Mt. Tomór, *Dass.* i. 352
of several Towers on the frontier of *Attica*, ii. 381
of *Tricca*, i. 429; iv. 285
of *Tripodiscus*, ii. 411
opposite to the islands Trazónia, *W. Loc.* ii. 616
near Varlám, Ioán. d. two fortresses, i. 222
near Varnákova, *Æto.* a town and a fort. ii. 605
at Ai Vasíli, *Acarn.* iv. 21
at Vatopédhi, *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 140
at Vathý, port of *Thisbe*, *Bœo.* ii. 507
——— *Ithaca*, iii. 28
at Velianí, *Thesprotia*, iv. 69
at Velitzísta, Ioán. d. iv. 196
at Velúkhovo, *W. Loc.* ii. 600
at Víthari, *W. Loc.* ii. 621
at Vónitza, *Acarn.* i. 171
at a magúla near Vónitza, i. 171
at Vranianá (little), 'Agrafa, d. iv. 272
at Xeropotámi, *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 117
of *Xynia*, *Dolopia*, i. 460
Hellopia, *Ep.* iv. 88. 171. 184. 193
Heracleia, t. *Acarn.* iv. 24
——— *Athamania*, iv. 212
——— *Lyncestis*, i. 423; iii. 281
——— *Pieria*, *Mac.* iii. 405
——— *Sintica*, iii. 226
——— *Trachinia*, ii. 2. 10. 27. 29; iv. 346
Heracleius, r. *Bulis*, *Bœo.-Pho.* ii. 519
Hercules, his temples;—near *Marathon*, ii. 430; near *Orchomenus*, *Bœo.* ii. 161. 320; at *Thebes*, ii. 232; in the *Thebæa*, surnamed *Hippodetus*, ii. 320; at *Thespiæ*, ii. 483; at *Thisbe*, ii. 508
———, his death on Mt. *Œta*, ii. 20. 624
———, small statues of, in brass, purchased by the author, i. 125; iii. 389; iv. 536
———, port of, near *Alyxia*, *Acarn.* iv. 15
———, son of Alexander the Great, murder of, iv. 276
Hercyna, r. at *Lebadeia*, *Bœo.* ii. 118—126. 142
Hermæum, near the *Euripus*, ii. 260. 267. 269; at *Tanagra*, ii. 459
Hiera, or *Nea*, isl. *Ægæan.* iii. 113
———, isolated position of all the more celebrated, iv. 197
Hierenses, peo. of *Melis*, ii. 20
Hippocrene, fn. Mt. *Helicon*, ii. 494. 499
Hippodrome at *Thebes*, ii. 243
——— near *Delphi*, ii. 583. 595
Histiæa, c. and plain in *Eubœa*, iv. 352
Histiæotis, *Up. Th.* iv. 511. 535
Hogs, wild, in the *Acarnanian* forests, iii. 496
Hogs, wild, in Mt. *Bermius*, iii. 296
———, in Mt. *Parnes*, ii. 421
———, in Mt. *Pelium*, iv. 433
Holland, Dr., i. 25. 35. 379
Holmones, vil. *Orchomenia*, *Bœo.* ii. 183., 184
Holophyxus, t. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 149
Homole, or *Homolium*, t. *Magn* iii. 402; iv. 415
Hoplites, fn. and r. *Haliartia*, *Bœo.* ii. 209
Horrium, t. *Molossis*, iv. 81
Hortensius, ii. 79. 98. 193
Hostilius, the consul, i. 73, 74; iii. 416; iv. 481
Hughes, Rev. T. S. i. 248; iv. 46
Hyampeia, peak of *Delphi*, ii. 558. 568
Hyampolis, t. *Pho.* ii. 168—170
———, pass of, ii. 188
Hydarnes, the Persian, ii. 6. 8. 39. 46. 53
Hyettus, vil. *Orchomenia*, *Bœo.* ii. 183, 184
Hylæthus, *Hylætus*, or *Hylæus*, r. *Æto.-W. Loc.* ii. 619
Hyle, t. *Thebæa*, ii. 313
———, t. *W. Loc.* ii. 619
Hylice, lake, *Thebæa*, ii. 313. 315
Hymettus, mn. *Att.* ii. 420
Hypata, t. *Ænianes*, ii. 19. 23
Hypatus, mn. *Thebæa*, ii. 219
Hypereia, fn. *Th.* iv. 434. 440. 485
Hyphanteium, mn. *Orchomenia*, *Bœo.* ii. 97. 100. 145
Hypocnemidii, *W. Loc.* ii. 181
Hyria, t. *Bœo.* ii. 469
———, or *Lysimachia*, lake *Æto.* i. 153
Hyriæ, t. *Bœo.* ii. 327. 377. 474

Jackalls, i. 99
Jamphorina, t. *Mædica*, iii. 473
Ianáki, captain of armatolí, i. 244. 253
Iánkovo, vil. *Elimeia*, i. 305
Iánni, Ai, or St. John, mon. near *Thermopylæ*, ii. 39
———, pt. of Kakósia, *Bœo.* ii. 507
———, pt. near Parga, *Ep.* iii. 4. 8; iv. 73
Iánni, Kátziko, iii. 500
Iánnitza, or Yenidjé, t. near *Pella*, iii. 266
———, mn. of, iii. 267
———, lake of, iii. 283. 287. 436
Ianúla, r. *Att.* ii. 426
Jason, iv. 381. 399
———, *of Pheræ*, ii. 30. 168
Ibrahím Pashá of Berát, i. 45. 338—358
Ibrahím Pashá of Skodra, i. 45
Icarius, mn. *Att.* ii. 429
Icus, isl. *Ægæan*, iii. 112
Idomeneæ, mn. and two forts, *Ambracia-Amphilochia*, iv. 249, 250
Idomene, t. on r. *Axius*, *Mac.* iii. 442
Iénitza, r. *Ill.* i. 367
Ierakúnia, (Ital.. Falconéra), isl. *Ægæan*, iii. 77

Digitized by Google

Jews, i. 443; iii. 248; iv. 137. 570, 571
Ignatius, bishop of Arta, i. 202. 403
Ilex, (quercus ilex), described, i. 128; ii. 535
Ilissus, r. *Att.* ii. 427
Ilium, t. *Dass.-Atis.* iii. 328
————, or *Troja*, t. *Cestrine*, *Chaonia*, iv. 74. 176
Imperatoria, site and plain, *Tymphæa*, i. 399; iv. 278
Inachus, r. *Ænian.* ii. 22
————, r. *Amph.* iv. 239
Inelí, vil. *Phth.* iv. 331. 468
'Inia, vil. *Tanagræa*, ii. 462. 463
Injé-karâ-su, r. *Mac. (Haliacmon)*, i. 303. 332; iii. 293. 303. 329
Ino, or *Leucothea*, mythus of, ii. 414.
Inopus, r. *Delus* isl. iii. 102
Inscriptions, ancient:—
at *Acræphium*, *Bœo.* ii. 295, *et seq.* 632, *et seq.*
at *Actium*, *Acarn.* iv. 27
at Aghiá, *Magn.* iv. 417
at *Æginium*, *Hist.* i. 421
at *Ægosthena*, *Megaris*, ii. 405
at *Ambracia*, *Ep.* iv. 234
at *Amphicleia*, *Pho.* ii. 75
at *Amphipolis*, *Mac.-Thr.* iii. 187
at *Amphissa*, *W. Loc.* ii. 589, *et seq.*
at *Anticyra*, *Pho.* ii. 541
in *Antiparus*, isl. *Ægæan*, iii. 89
at *Apollonia*, *Ill.* i. 370, *et seq.*
at *Athens*, *Att.* iii. 463; iv. 576; Ins. Pl. XIII. Nos. 57, 58, 59
at *Berrhœa*, *Mac.* iii. 292
at *Bœæ*, *Laconia*, Ins. pl. XXIV. No. 114
at *Bullis*, *Ill.* i. 35
near *Calydon*, *Æto.* i. 112
at *Chæroneia*, *Bœo.* ii. 113, *et seq.* 628
at *Cierium*, *Thes.* iv. 498, *et seq.*
at *Copæ*, *Bœo.* ii. 306
at *Coroneia*, *Bœo.* ii. 133
near ————, ii. 134
in the *Corycium*, (cave on *Parnassus*) ii. 581
at *Crannon*, *Pelas.* iii. 365, *et seq.*
at *Cyretiæ*, *Perr.* iv. 305, *et seq.*; Ins. Pl. XXXVIII. No. 182
at *Daulis*, *Pho.* ii. 101, *et seq.* 627, *et seq.*; Ins. Pl. V. No. 23
at *Delphi*, *Pho.* ii. 558, *et seq.* 635, *et seq.* iv. 574
in *Delus*, *Ægæan*, iii. 96, *et seq.* 101
at St. Demetrius, Krávari, d. Ins. pl. XXIII. No. 103
at Dhamási, *Perr.* iv. 300
at Dhésiani *Magn.* iv. 418
at *Dium*, *Mac.* Ins. Pl. XXXI. No. 155
at *Edessa*, or *Ægæ*. *Mac.* iii. 277, *et seq.*
at *Elateia*, *Pho.* ii. 82
17
Inscriptions, ancient:—
at *Eretria Phthiotis*, iv. 466
near *Gomphi*, *Hist.* iv. 523, *et seq.*
at Gúnitza, near *Atrax*, *Perr.* iv. 300
near *Hyampolis*, *Pho.* ii. 169
at *Hypata*, *Ænianes*, ii. 18; Ins. Pl. III. No. 17; Pl. IV. No. 19
at Ioánnina, *Ep.* i. 254; iv. 204
in *Ithaca*, iii. 37. 52
at Kálamo, *Att.* ii. 440
at Karútes, *W. Loc.* ii. 597
at Kastrí, *Magn.-Pelas.* iv. 405
at Katokhí, near *Œniadæ*, *Acarn.* iii. 556
at Khaivát, near *Thessalonica*, *Mac.* iii. 235
at Kózani in *Elimeia*, *Mac.* iii. 300
at *Lamia*, *Melis-Phth.* ii. 2
at *Larissa*, *Pelas.* i. 440; Ins. Pl. II. Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12
at *Lebadeia*, *Bœo.* ii. 129, *et seq.*
at Lepenú, near *Stratus*, Ins. Pl. I. No. 2
at *Leucas*, iii. 17
at Mavrodhílissi, *Att.-Bœo.* ii. 441
at Menídhi, *Att.* Ins. Pl. XII. No. 56
in *Melus*, *Ægæan*, iii. 81; Ins. Pl. XXIV. No. 115
at Metéora *Tymphæa*, iv. 539
at *Metropolis*, *Up. Th.* iv. 509
at *Naupactus*, *W. Loc.* Ins. Pl. XXIII. Nos. 104, 105
at or near *Nicopolis*, *Ep.* i. 188. 192; iii. 492; Ins. Pl. XXXIV. Nos. 161, 162
at *Olosson*, *Perr.* iii. 347
near *Opus*, *E. Loc.* ii. 173
at *Orchomenus*, *Bœo.* ii. 152, *et seq.* 630, *et seq.*
at or near *Oropus*, *Att.-Bœo.* ii. 447, *et seq.*
in *Parus*, *Ægæan*, iii. 87. 91
at *Pagasæ*, *Magn.* iv. 368; Ins. Pl. XXXIX. No. 198
at Paramythía, *Thesprotia*, Ins. Pl. XXXIV. No. 169
at Pazaráki, *Thes.* iv. 494
at *Pelagonia*, *Mac.* iii. 319, *et seq.*
at *Pelinnæum*, *Hist.* iv. 289
at Petra, *Dotian plain*, *Pelas.* iv. 445
at *Pharcadon*, *Hist.* iv. 317
at *Pharsalus*, *Phth.* i. 454
at *Pheræ*, *Pelas.* iv. 443
near *Pteleum*, *Phth.* iv. 343
at or near *Pydna*, *Mac.* iii. 426, *et seq.*
in *Sciathus*, *Ægæan*, iii. 111
at *Sirrhæ*, *Mac.-Thr.* iii. 205
at Sisáni in *Elimeia*, *Mac.* i. 318
at Siúrpi, *Phth.* iv. 341
at Sofádhes, *Thes.* iv. 495
at *Stiris*, *Pho.* ii. 531

Digitized by Google

Inscriptions, ancient:—
at *Tanagra*, or in the *Tanagrice*, *Bœo.* ii. 457. 464. 470, *et seq.*
at Tatári, *Pelas.* iii. 361; Ins. Pl. XXXI. No. 148
in *Tempe*, Th. iii. 392
at *Thaumaci*, *Phth.* i. 457
at *Thebæ*, *Bœo.* ii. 223, *et seq.*
———, *Phthioticæ*, iv. 359, *et seq.*; Ins. Pl. XXXIX. Nos. 195, 196, 197
at *Thespiæ*, or in the *Thespias*, *Bœo.* ii. 480, *et seq.* 488, *et seq.* 493. 500, *et seq.*
at *Thessalonica*, *Mac.* iii. 236. 242. 246, *et seq.*
at *Thisbe*, *Bœo.* ii. 511, *et seq.*
at *Thronium*, *E. Loc.* ii. 178
at *Tithorea*, *Pho.* ii. 78; Ins. Pl. V. No. 22
at *Tricca*, *Hist.* iv. 285
at Túrnavo, *Pelas.* iii. 356. 371; Ins. Pl. XXX. No. 145
at Aio Vasíli, *Acarn.* iv. 21
at Vatopédhi, mon. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 140
at and near Vónitza, *Acarn.* iv. 21; Ins. Pl. XXXIV. Nos. 166, 167
at Volo, *Magn.* iv. 387; Ins. Pl. XL. Nos. 201, 202, 203
Ioánnina, city of, i. 401; iv. 84. 130—165. 219
———, citadel of, iv. 137
——— ——, climate of i. 268
———, history of, iv. 202. 553—567
———, the author's house in, iv. 141
———, lake of, i. 219. 403. 409; iv. 127. 134. 155
———, island of, iv. 154
———, plain and valley of, i. 222; iv. 187
———, metropolitan see of, i. 48. 199
John, St., church and festival of, near Ioán. iv. 88
———, mon. near Dhesfína, *Pho.* ii. 546; at *Ephyre*, *Thesprotia*, iv. 53. 73; at *Melibœa*, *Magn.* iv. 414. See Ai Iánni
Iolcus, t. *Magn.* iv. 379
Ion. r. *Hist.* iii. 342; iv. 279. 546
Ionian Islands, iii. 21
Jones, Mr. i. 248. 379
Iríni, Kyría, Hel. ruin, *Æto.* i. 115. 130; iii. 539
Irus, or *Ira*, t. *Melis*, ii. 21
Isídhoro Ai, pt. near *Anticyra*, *Pho.* ii. 540
Ismaíl Bey, of Serres, iii. 202
Ismenus, r. *Thebes*, ii. 235, 236
Isoria, t. *Thesprotia*, iv. 64
Isthmia, dist. *Phth.* iv. 351
Isthmus, the, ii. 389
Istíb, t. *Pæonia*, iii. 469. 475
Isus, t. *Megaris*, ii. 408
Ithaca, iii. 25—50
Ithome, t. *Hist.* i. 429; iv. 510
Itonus, t. *Phth.* iv. 356
Ivíron, mon. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 124
Juniper, the tree, ii. 523
Juno, temples of:—
Basilis, at *Lebadeia*, ii. 129
at *Platæa*, ii. 364
at *Coroneia*, ii. 139
Jupiter, temples of:—
at *Dodona*, iv. 196—201
of J. *Acræus*, near *Ethopia*, *Athamania*, iv. 525
J. *Actæus*, on Mt. *Pelium*, iv. 385
J. *Æneius*, in *Cephallenia*, iii. 59
J. *Ammon*, at *Thebes*, ii. 234
J. *Aphesius*, *Megaris*, ii. 414
J. *Basileus*, or *Trophonius*, at *Lebadeia*, ii. 123. 130, 131
J. *Conius*, at *Megara*, ii. 394
J. *Eleutherius*, at *Platæa*, ii. 366
J. *Hypatus*, in *Thebæa*, ii. 248
J. *Hypsistus*, at *Thebes*, ii. 233
J. *Laphystius*, near *Coroneia*, ii. 139, 140; at *Alus*, iv. 362
J. *Megistus*, at *Bulis*, ii. 520
J. *Olympius*, at *Megara*, ii. 393; at *Dium*, iii. 410
J. *Palamnius*, worship of, at *Gomphi*, iv. 523
Jupiter's spear or sceptre, at *Charoneia*, ii. 115
Justinian, edifices of, i. 67; ii. 64; iv. 65. 97
Justiniana Prima, or *Achris*, t. *Mac.* or *Ill.* iii. 273
Justiniana Secunda, or *Ulpiana*, t. *Thrace* or *Mac.* iii. 476
Justinianopolis, t. *Chaonia*, *Ep.* i. 76

Kadý, khan of the, *Bœo.-Pho.* ii. 96. 190
Kafkaná, pt. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 166
Kaienítza, r. *Doris*, ii. 72. 86
Kaítza, vil. 'Agrafa, d. iv. 272
Kakardhítza, or Kakardhísta, a summit of *Pindus*, i. 283
———————, prospect from, i. 286—289
Kakiskála, mn. *Æto.* i. 107; ii. 608
Kakósia, vil. *Bœo.* (*Thisbe*), ii. 506—513
Kalabáka, or Stagús, t. *Hist.* (*Ægizium*), i. 419—424; iv. 262. 536
Kalamá, r. *Thesprotia* (*Thyamis*), ii. 26. 103. 400; iv. 79. 94; valley of the Upper Kalamá, iv. 191
Kalamáki, mills near *Lebadeia*, *Bœo.* ii. 138. 504
Kalamítza, pt. *Scyrus*, isl. iii. 107
Kálamo, vil. *Att.* ii. 438
———, isl. *Acarn.* iii. 29, *et seq.*; iv. 13. 16
Kalána, mn. *Agrais*, i. 288; iv. 253
Kalapódhi, vil. *E. Loc.* ii. 170. 186
Kalarýtes, t. Mt. *Pindus*, i. 271—283; iv. 207. 214

Digitized by Google

Kalbáki. vil. and khan, *Molossis*, i. 400; iv. 97
Kaléntzi, vil. *Eubœa*, ii. 439
Kaliáni, vil. *Elimeia*, iii. 304
Kaliári, t. *Eordæa*, i. 329; iii. 317
Kaliása, vil. *Chaonia*, i. 18. 65
Kaligóni, ruins of *Leucas* at, iii. 14
Kalkóndasi, vil. *Ill.* i. 379
Kalogheritza, hill near 'Egripo, ii. 262. 264
Kalútzi, on the *Aous*, *Chaonia*, i. 35
Kamáres, vil. *Doris*, ii. 73
Kamarína, vil. *Cassopæa*, i. 244
———, Hellenic ruins at, i. 250
———, river of, iv. 47
Kambo, sub-dist. of Arta, iv. 229
Kamenítza, ruined vil. *Chaonia*, i. 65
Kanáki, Kyr Khristo, of Délvino, i. 18
Kanaláki, vil. *Thesprotia*, iv. 50
Kanáli, vil. *Cassopæa*, iv. 47
Kanália, vil. on lake *Bœbeïs*, *Th.* iv. 420—428. 435
Kanavári, or Kanávri, r. *Thebæa*, ii. 216. 478. 485
Kandíli, mn. *Att.-Meg.* ii. 275. 371. 409; iii. 24
Kanína, vil. and castle near Avlóna, *Ill.* i. 2. 384; iv. 554
Kanzá, vil. *Molossis*, i. 256; iv. 254
Kapa (Ital. Cappa), its manufacture, i. 45. 274. 284; iii. 335. 407; iv. 394
Kapá, vil. *Hist.* iv. 518
Kapandríti, vil. *Att.* ii. 465
Kapesnítza, vil. *Orestis*, i. 333
Káprena, vil. *Magn.* iv. 431
Kapsáli, pt. Cerigo, iii. 69
Kapsokhóri, vil. *Mygdonia*, *Mac.* iii. 259. 436
Kápurna, vil. *Bœo.* (*Chæroneia*), ii. 109. 112. 192
———, inscriptions at, ii. 628
Kaputjí, vil. *Thess.* iv. 504
Karabairám, vil. *Scotussæa*, *Th.* iv. 468
Karabebér, Hassán, of 'Egripo, ii. 253
Karaburnú, prom. *Crusæa*, *Mac.* iii. 438. 452
Karà Mustafà Pashà besieges Corfú, i. 42; iv. 566
Karadágh, mn. *Pelas.* i. 444. 447; iv. 442. 451. 464
Karádanli, vil. *Phth.* iv. 332
Karaderé, or Ligará, vil. *Pelas.-Perr.* iii. 352
Karadjóli, vil. *Pelas.* iii. 352. 380
Karagúnidhes, shepherds, iv. 85. 430
Karakáxa, mn. *Att.* ii. 444
Karamusá, vil. *Bœo.* ii. 201
Karasmák, or Mavronéri, r. *Bottiæa*, iii. 270
Karasú, Turk. name of rivers *Erigon*, *Strymon*, and *Nestus*, iii. 268. 275
Karatjaír, lake near Lárissa (*Nessonis*), i. 445; iv. 403
Karadágh, or Mavrovúni, mn. *Thess.* i. 444
Karakálo, mon. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 130
Karalár, vil. *Pelas.* iii. 373
Karamúnghi, a summit of *Helicon*, ii. 506
Karamuratátes, the, Albanian tribe, *Up. Ep.* iv. 101
Karasmák, prom. mouth of *Axius*, *Mac.* iii. 437
Karáva, mn. 'Agrafa, d. iv. 275
Karavóporo, bridge, Tríkkala d. iv. 530
Kardhenítza, vil. *E. Loc.* (*Opus*), ii. 174
Kardhíki, vil. *Doris*, ii. 72. (For other places of this name see Gardhíki)
Kardhítza, or Gardhítza, vil. *Bœo.* (*Acræphium*), ii. 219. 279. 295
———, t. *Up. Th.* iv. 505
Kariáni, or Karaiánni, dist. *Eordæa*, i. 312
Karióti, vil. *Thesprotia*, iv. 59
Karitza, t. Mt. *Ossa*, iii. 401; iv. 415
———, vil. *Molossis*, iv. 92
Karla, lake of, *Th.* (*Bœbeïs*), iii. 373; iv. 403. 419. 427
Karlilí, district of, i. 123—125; iii. 510. 540
Karpenísi, t. *Dryopis*, ii. 17
———, kazá of, i. 119. 124
Karútes, vil. *W. Loc.* ii. 596. 620
Karvunári, vil. *Chaonia*, i. 35
Karvunariá, r. *Melis* (*Asopus*), ii. 31
Karvuniári, vil. *Thesprotia*, iv. 70
Karyá, vil. *E. Loc.* ii. 67
———, vil. *Dolopia*, i. 460; ii. 16
———, vil. *Bœo.* ii. 138
———, vil. Mt. *Olympus*, iii. 349
Karýdhi, mn. *Megaris*, ii. 371. 409
Karyés, or Karés, t. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 121
Kassándhra, (*Pallene*), *Mac.* iii. 163
———, gulf of, iii. 162
———, gate of, (*Potidæa*), iii. 152
Kassópo, vil. Corfú, i. 12. 93
———, channel and rocks of, i. 12. 91
Kastamonítu, mon. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 120
Kastaniá, vil. on Mt. *Bermius*, *Mac.* iii. 296
———, Megáli, vil. 'Agrafa, d. iv. 270. 508
Kastoriá, t. and lake, *Orestis*, i. 323—332; iii. 336
Kastráki, vil. *Hist.-Tymphæa*, i. 419; iv. 536
Kastrí, Hel. site, *Molossis*, i. 256
———, Hel. site on Mt. *Ossa*, iv. 414
———, vil. *Pho.* (*Delphi*), ii. 553
———, vil. and Hel. site, *Thesprotia*, i. 232; iv. 51. 55
———, vil. and Hel. site, near Mt. *Pelium*, iii. 373; iv. 403, 447
———, Hel. site near Túrnavo, *Pelas.* iii. 360. 380; iv. 298
Kastriótissa, ruined fort. Gulf of Arta, iv. 237
Kastrítes, (the inhabitants of Arghyrókastro,) i. 26
Kastrítza, mon. near Joán. i. 269. 291
———, Hellenic city at, iv. 127. 196
Kastro, vil. *Melus*, iii. 78

Digitized by Google

Kastroskiá, vil. *Cassopæa*, iv. 48
Katafórno, pt. *Amphilochia*, iv. 237. 250
Katafýghi, vil. *Pieria*, iii. 297
Katafyghí, vil. 'Agrafa d. iv. 271
Kataitó, pt. *Chaonia*, i. 102
Katavóthra, mn. *Melis*, ii. 4—24
———, or abyss of the *Cephissus*, *Bœo.* ii. 185. 280, *et seq.*
——— of the *Haliartia*, ii. 309, 310
——— of Ioánnina, i. 410; iv. 135
Katerína, t. *Pieria*, iii. 414. 424
Kato Marúsi, or Logothéti, vil. *Att.* ii. 427
Katúna, vil. *Acarn.* i. 163; iii. 511; iv. 13. 499
Katziká, vil. near Ioánnina, i. 269
Katokhí, vil. *Æto.* iii. 543. 556
Katzikavéli, vil. *Thespiæ*, *Bœo.* ii. 478
Katzúla, vil. *Parasopia*, *Bœo.* ii. 327, 328
Kazaklári, vil. *Pelas.* iii. 360
Kazík-burnú, prom. mouth of *Axius*, iii. 438
Katzikó-Ianni, iii. 549
Kavála, t. *Mac.-Thr.* iii. 180
———, gulf of, iii. 179
———, mountain of, iii. 222
Kavája, hill of, *Ill.* i. 374
Kefalári, r. *Haliartia*, *Bœo.* ii. 207. 212. 497
Kefalí, prom. *Chaonia*, i. 12
———, peninsula, near *Anticyra*, *Pho.* ii. 540
Kefaló, isl. gulf of Arta, i. 200
Kefalonía (*Cephallenia*), iii. 55—68
Kéfalos, or grey mullet, i. 9; iii. 185
Kefálosi, fn. and Hel. site, *Phth.* iv. 336. 355
Kefalovrýses of the *Cephissus*, *Bœo.* ii. 70. 84
Kekhreniá, vil. *Acarn.* i. 159
———, ridge of, i. 159: iii. 505
Kekhreniátza, pass and Hel. fort. *Acarn.* i. 158
Kekhropúla, Hel. site, *Acarn.* i. 172; iv. 14. 24
Kelberíni, mn. *Ambracia*, i. 215. 220
Kendrómata, mon. *Acarn.* i. 163
Keramídhi, vil. *Magn.* iv. 416
Kerasiá, pt. *Chaonia*, i. 102
Kérata, mn. *Att.* ii. 409
Kervasará, pt. and Hel. site, *Acarn.* i. 160. 162; iv. 229. 243
Kervél, vil. *Ill.* i. 366
Kesaría, vil. *Elimeia*, iii. 304
Ketjel, Ak, vil. *Phth.* iv. 357. 359
Keuzlár, vil. *Phth.* iv. 331. 469
Khádova, vil. on Mt. *Bermius*, *Mac.* iii. 297
Khlisalí, vil. *Mygdonia*, iii. 231
Khaivát, vil. near Saloníki, iii. 234
———, pass of, iii. 461
Khália, vil. *Bœo.* ii. 474
Khalíki, vil. at source of *Achelous*, i. 287. 294; iv. 210
———, prom. gulf of Arta, iii. 495
Khalkí, vil. *Platæis*, ii. 324
Khalkítza, mn. *Acarn.* iii. 544
Khamáko, vil. *Phth.* iv. 343
Khanko, mother of Alý Pashá, i. 29. 42
Khanópulo, khan and pass near Arta, i. 219; iv. 135. 256
Kharálambo, St., church of, near *Thespiæ*, ii. 483
Kharkiopúli, vil. *Agrais*, iv. 253
Kharúb tree, i. 164; iii. 498
Khásika, villages *Chalc.* *Mac.* iii. 162
Khasnési, vil. *Daulia*, *Pho.* ii. 98. 216
Khassiá, mn. and sub-d. *Hist.* i. 426. 430; iv. 266
———, vil. *Att.* ii. 382
Khelidhóni, r. *Dass.* i. 346. 348
Khierásovo, vil. *Æto.* i. 120; vil. *Molossis*, i. 262; vil. *Paravæa*, iv. 111; vil. 'Agrafa d. iv. 253
Khilandári, mon. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 141. 151
Khilidhrómia, isl. *Ægæan*, iii. 112
Khlimó, mn. *Phth.* iv. 338
Khlomó, mn. *Bœo.* ii. 163. 167. 180
Khimára, t. and dist. *Chaonia*, i. 2. 81; pt. 82; manners, 84, 85. 89
Khóika; vil. *Thesprotia*, iv. 57
Kholomón, or Solomón, mn. *Chalc.* *Mac.* iii. 162. 230
Kholó, r. *Phth.* iv. 333, 356
Khópari, or 'Opari, mn. *Dass.* i. 343. 345
Khoreftó, pt. *Magn.* iv. 393
Khórmovo, vil. and mn. *Atin.* i. 30, *et seq.* 56, 57. 469
Khortiátzi, mn. near Saloníki, iii. 232
Khortó-kastro, ruins *Magn.* iv. 381
Khósia, or Khóstia, t. Mt. *Helicon*, ii. 513
Khrysovítza, vil. Zagóri, Ioán. d. i. 293
Khtypá, mn. *Bœo.* (*Messapius*), ii. 219. 247. 267. 271
Khúbavo, vil. *Pho.* ii. 95. 190
Khumelítza, vil. *Chaonia*, i. 57. 60
Kiáfa or Ghiáfa, vil. and castle near Suli, i. 228
Kiári, dist. *Dass.-Orestis*, i. 342
Kiepería, vil. and valley *Atin.* i. 392
Kieperó, vil. Khimára, *Ep.* i. 79; vil. Grevená, *Up. Mac.* i. 301
Kiepína, mon. near Kalarýtes, Mt. *Pindus*, iv. 213
Kifisía, vil. *Att.* ii. 428
Kinéta, r. *Bœo.-Pho.* ii. 96. 190. 195
Kióni, pt. *Ithaca*, iii. 52
Kirtzíni, vil. *Hist.* iv. 287, 333
Kíseli, vil. *W. Loc.* ii. 621
Kiserlí, vil. Mt. *Ossa*, iii. 380
Kissavo, mn. *Th.* (*Ossa*), iii. 384; iv. 407
Kitro, vil. *Pieria*, iii. 427
Klaréntza, vil. *Thesprotia-Cassopæa*, iii. 4
Kleftes, the, iii. 551; iv. 206. 353
Kliminó, pt. *Leucas*, iii. 23
Klínovo, vil. *Æthices*, iv. 265
———, river of, i. 418

Digitized by Google

Klisúra, vil. castle, Hel. site, and pass on the *Aous*, i. 32. 382—388
———, beys of, i. 41
———, or pass of Mt. Zygós, *Æto.* i. 119. 122
———, of Suli, i. 231. 237
———, of Siátista, *Elimeia*, i. 311
——— of Portes, or Gates of Tríkkala, iv. 519
——— Vlakho, t. *Orestis-Eordæa*, i. 329
Knísovo, vil. Agrafa d. iv. 272
Kokhla, vil. *Bœo. (Platœa)*, ii. 323
Kókkina, pt. *Phth.* iv. 366
Kókkino, vil. near lake *Copais*, ii. 280. 292
———, r. *Æto.* ii. 600
Kókkino-lithári, vil. *Tymphæa-Æthicia*, i. 417
Kokkinopló, vil. Mt. *Olympus*, iii. 335
Koklóbashi, vil. *Phth.* iv. 330
Kokotús, vil. Mt. *Othrys*, iv. 339
Kokús, dist. Mt. *Othrys*, iv. 338
Koliádhes, vil. *Molossis*, i. 220. 262
Kolles, a summit of *Helicon*, ii. 529
Kolokotó, vil. *Hist.* i. 431; iv. 290. 316
Kolónia, Albanian dist. *Dass.-Orestis*, i. 322. 342; iv. 113. 123
Kombóti, vil. near Arta, iv. 235
———, river of, iv. 236
Kometzádes, vil. *Ambracia*, i. 219
Komméno Lithári, fort. *Dass.* i. 348
Komoládhes, vil. *Æniænes*, ii. 14
Konaskó, vil. *Elimeia*, i. 319
Kondoiánni, Mitjo, captain of armatolí, iv. 252
Kondo-vúni, mn. *Pelas.* iii. 372
Koniáridhes, Turks of Thessaly, i. 144; iii. 174. 357; iv. 327. 419
Koniaro-khória, villages near Lárissa, iii. 357
Konidhári, vil. near Vónitza, *Acarn.* i. 166. 172
Konispoli, t. *Chaonia*, i. 98
———, ruins on Mt. *Olympus*, iii. 350
Kónitza, t. *Paravœa*, i. 396; iv. 108—115. 124
Konopítza, vil. *Acarn.* iii. 503
Kóprena, pt. Gulf of Arta, *Ep.* iv. 236
Kóraka, rocks in *Ithaca*, iii. 39. 41
Koráku, bridge of, *Achelous, Athamania*, iv. 269. 272
Koranópulo, vil. *Thesprotia*, i. 405; iv. 50
Koriani, or Gorianí, vil. near *Coronœia, Bœo.* ii. 135
Korombíli, mn. *Bœo.* w. coast, ii. 500—502
Koróni, mon. Agrafa d. iv. 271
Kórono, mn. *Naxus*, iii. 95
Kortíkhi, vil. *Hist.* iv. 316. 512
Korytzá, or Gortjá, t. *Dass.* i. 336, *et seq.*; iii. 329
Kosmirá, vil. Ioán. d. i. 263; iv. 83
Kostaléxi, vil. *Æniænes*, ii. 14
Kotovázdhi, vil. *Tymphæa*, i. 416
Kotovázdhi, river of, i. 417
Kotra, vil. near Tepeléni, i. 56. 389
Kótziaka, or Kótjaka, mn. and sub-dist. of Tríkkala, i. 419; iv. 277, 526
Kótzika, vil. *Chaonia*, i. 104
Kótzista, vil. Mt. *Pindus*, iv. 83
Kovéltzi, vil. near Tríkkala, i. 424
Kózani, t. *Elimeia*, iii. 299
Kraniá, vil. Grevená d. i. 300; iii. 404
Krátzova, sub-dist. Tríkkala, i. 418; iv. 265
———, or river of Mirítza, iv. 262. 546
Krávari, dist. *Æto.* i. 124; ii. 599. 602
Krevasará, vil. *Pho.* ii. 95
———, hill of, ii. 95. 189. 194
Krio-neró, sources, foot of Mt. *Chalcis, Æto.* i. 107; sources near Ioán. iv. 134
Krisó, vil. near *Delphi*, ii. 583. 586
Kritíri mn. *Perr.* iii. 358
Krupi, vil. *Bœo.* ii. 143
Krúpista, vil. *Orestis*, i. 333
Kryftissa, vil. *Elimeia*, i. 304
Ktiniá, vil. *Elimeia*, iii. 304
Kubla, vil. Grevená d. i. 305
Kúdhesi, mn. and dist. *Chaonia-Ill.* i. 4. 35. 352
Kufó, pt. *Sithonia, Mac.* iii. 119
Kufús, vil. Mt. *Othrys*, iv. 352
Kughni, mn. near Suli, i. 227. 239
Kúkia, fort near Suli, i. 228
Kúkora, vil. Mt. *Helicon*, ii. 205
Kukuráva, vil. near Mt. *Pelium*, iv. 403. 418
Kulakiá, t. *Mygd.* iii. 258
Kuliarádhes, vil. *Perr.-Ep.* iv. 217, 218
Kulindrós, vil. *Pieria-Emathia*, iii. 293. 429
Kulorítza, vil. *Chaonia*, i. 26
Kumérki, or Komérki, r. near Tríkkala, iv. 264. 530
Kúndura, vil. *Megaris*, ii. 374. 408
Kurbalí, vil. *Hist.* i. 430
Kúrendo, sub-dist. Ioán. d. iv. 165
Kuríla, mn. *Thesprotia*, iv. 57. 73. 192
Kurt Pashá, of Berát, iii. 540
Kurt-agá, vil. *Æto. (Calydon)*, i. 109. 112; iii. 533
Kurtési, t. *Thesprotia*, iv. 71
Kurtezá, a summit of *Helicon*, ii. 373
Kurtzolári, prom. *Æto.* iii. 571
Kutlumúsi, mon. *Acte, Mac.* iii. 124
Kurutjái, r. *Thrace*, iii. 216
Kutzanópulo, vil. *Cassopœa*, i. 243
Kutzi, vil. on up. *Thyamis, Ep.* iv. 95
Kutzós, vil. *Strymonic* plain, iii. 198
Kúvelo, vil. and Hel. ruins *Æto.* i. 126 150
Kyfu, vil. 'Agrafa d. iv. 275
Kyrás, bridge of, r. *Arachthus*, i. 292; iv. 259
Kyriáki, vil. near *Stiris, Pho.* ii. 518. 526

Labanítza, mn. *Thesprotia*, iv. 72
Lábovo, t. *Atin.* i. 27. 417

Digitized by Google

Lacereia, or *Dotium*, t. *Pelas.* iv. 446
Lacmus, a summit of *Pindus*, iv. 240. 276
Laius, death of, ii. 105
Laka, sub-dist. Arta, iv. 229
Lakhaná, vil. *Bisaltia*, *Mac.* iii. 208. 231
Lakhanókastro, ruins *Tymphæa*, i. 294
———, vil. and castle *Molossis*, iv. 106
Lakiá, vil. *Molossis*, i. 225
——, river of, i. 225. 229
Lámari, sub-dist. Arta, i. 244; iv. 229
Lamia, t. *Phth.-Melis* (Zitúni) ii. 2. 20
Lámia, dist. *Acarn.* near *Leucas*, iii. 14. 23
Langazá, vil. *Anthemus*, *Mac.* iii. 208. 252, 253
Laphystium, mn. *Bœo.* ii. 139. 141
Lapeista, lake of, near Ioán. i. 400; iv. 90. 127. 133
Lari, r. at *Tanagra*, *Bœo.* ii. 455. 460
Lárissa, c. *Pelas.* i. 435—443; iii. 360. 372; iv. 294. 534
——, Paleá, vil. *Pelas.* iii. 361
Larissa Cremaste, t *Phth.* iv. 294
Larmes, mills of, *Bœo.* E. coast, ii. 286. 292
Larnáki, pt. *Crissæan* bay, ii. 593, 594
Larymna, upper and lower, t. *Bœo.-Pho.* ii. 287. 289
Lapathus, fort. near *Tempe*, iii. 350. 397. 418
Lasalle, Mr. i. 164. 181
Laspokhóri, vil. near mouth *Peneius*, iv. 328
Latáni, vil. *Bœo.* ii. 461
Laurence, St. vil. *Magn.* iv. 392
Laurium, mn. *Att.* ii. 426
Lávdhari, vil. *Dass.* i. 345
Lavra, mon. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 128
Lázari, a summit of *Pindus*, i. 317. 397; iv. 107. 125
Leather, dye for, iv. 280
Lebadeia, t. *Bœo.* ii. 120, *et seq.*
Ledon, t. *Pho.* ii. 89
Lefka, vil. *Ithaca*, iii. 37
——, ruined vil. *Bœo.* (*Thespiæ*), ii. 479
Lefkádha, (*Leucas,*) iii. 10—22
———, strait of, i. 165. 172
Léfkimo, prom. Corfú, iii. 2
Léfta, vil. *Pho.* (*Elateia*), ii. 82
Leftherídha, isl. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 167
Lefthero-khóri, vil. *Perr.* iv. 315
Leftokaryá, vil. Mt. *Olympus*, iii. 406
Legion, the Roman, iv. 462
Lekhlí, vil. *Chaonia-Atin.* i. 54
Lekhónia, vil. *Magn.* iv. 378. 392
Lelantum, plain *Eubœa*, ii. 265
Lelex, tomb of, *Megara*, ii. 399
Lélovo, vil. *Molossis*, i. 256; iv. 254
Lénia, mn. *Dass.* i. 342. 346
Leonidas, king of *Sparta*, ii. 6. 40
Lepenú, or Lepenió, vil. near *Stratus*, *Acarn.* i. 138. 143
———, valley of, i. 157

Lepsína, vil. *Att.* (*Eleusis*), ii. 379
Lesche of Delphi, ii. 554
Lete, t. *Mygdonia*, iii. 461
Lethæus, r. at *Tricca*, *Th.* i. 425; iv. 285. 289
Leucate, prom. *Leucas*, iii. 10. 41
Leuctra, vil. *Bœo.* ii. 480. 484
———, battle of, ii. 131. 485
Leucimne, prom. *Corcyra*, i. 94; iii. 2. 5
Lia, pt. *Ithaca*, iii. 53, 54
Liákura, summit of Mt. *Parnassus*, ii. 105. 527. 535
Liape, Albanian tribe, i. 60, 61
Liaskovíki, t. *Paravæa*, iv. 109
Liáskovo, vil. 'Agrafa d. iv. 272
Libethrius and *Petra*, fns. Mt. *Libethrium*, *Bœo.* ii. 139
Libethrium, mn. *Bœo.* ii. 139. 141; iii. 413. 422
Libókhovo, t. *Atin.* i. 24; iv. 101
Lichades, islands, *Euboic* straits, ii. 177
Lidhoríki, t. *W. Loc.* ii. 597
Liéntja, Albanian dist. i. 24
Lightning, the hill of, at Suli, i. 228. 231. 239
Lilæa, t. *Pho.* ii. 71. 84. 90. 119. 581
Liméni, lagoon at Vónitza, *Acarn.* i. 166
Limnæa, t. *Acarn.* i. 144. 148. 162; iii. 575; iv. 243—251; t. *Hist.* iv. 512
Linghiádhes, vil. Zagóri, Ioán. d. i. 399
Lingon, mn. *Molossis*, i. 387. 398; iv. 167
Linovrókhi, lake *Acarn.* i. 173
Lipso, vil. *Eubœa* (*Ædepsus*), ii. 176
Lissus, t. *Ill.* (Lesh), iii. 477
Litharítza, castle and serái, in Ioán. i. 405; iv. 151
Litókhoro, vil. Mt. *Olympus*, iii. 406. 422
Liús, isl. *Ægæan* (Cerigotto), iii. 75
Livádhi, or Vlakholívadho, t. *Perr.* i. 319; iii. 334
———, or lake of Sénzina, *Thebæa*, ii. 315
Livadhía, t. *Bœo.* (*Lebadeia*), ii. 118, *et seq.* 202, *et seq.*
Livadhó, t. and dist. *Cephallenia*, iii. 60
Livadhóstra, pt. *Bœo.* w. coast, ii. 504
Livanátes, vil. *E. Loc.* ii. 175
Lixúri, t. *Cephallenia*, iii. 60. 64
Lizáti, vil. near Tepeléni, i. 56
Locri Ozolæ, or western, ii. 91. 615
——, eastern, ii. 176
Logarú, lagoon near Arta, i. 202
Logothéti, or Khondrodhíma of Livadhía, ii. 202
———, or Khalikiópulo of Vónitza, i. 166; iii. 181
Longúri, vil. *Edonis*, iii. 181
Lópesi, or Liópesi, vil. on lower *Aous*, i. 34; vil. *Thesprotia*, i. 102
Lophis, r. *Haliartia*, *Bœo.* ii. 209. 498
Love, worship of, at *Thespiæ*, ii. 482. 496
Loxádha, vil. *Hist.* iv. 509

Digitized by Google

Lozétzi, vil. Ioán. d. iv. 217
Lúari, vil. *Ill.* i. 366
Luke, St. church at *Thebes*, ii. 223
————, mon. at *Stiris, Pho.* ii. 524. 529
Lukísi, vil. *Bœo.* E. coast, ii. 271. 276
Lukovíkia, vil. *Edonis*, iii. 199
Lúkovo, vil. *Chaonia*, i. 79
Lunji, vil. *Chaonia*, i. 35
Luro, vil. castle, and sub-dist. Arta, i. 243. 255; iv. 254
——, river of, i. 181. 258; iv. 256
Lusiéri, Roman artist, iv. 160
Lustína, vil. Ioán. d. iv. 79
Lutráki, pt. Gulf of Arta, *Acarn.* i. 163, 164; iii. 498; iv. 243
Lutzi, vil. *Orchomenia, Bœo.* ii. 159
Lutzianá, vil. *Acarn.* iv. 5
Lybjádha, plain, pt. and isl. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 165, 166
Lychnidus, t. *Ill.* iii. 281
Lychnitis, lake, iii. 280. 328
Lycoreia, summit of *Parnassus* (Liákura), ii. 81. 579
Lycostomium (Tempe), iii 389
Lydias, or *Ludias*, r. *Bottiæa*, iii. 270. 437
Lygovítzi, mn. and mon. *Acarn.* iii. 511
————, lake of, i. 157; iii. 512
Lykokhóri, vil. *Æto.* on Mt. Viéna, destroyed by a landslip, i. 131
————, *Æto.* on the Mornó, ii. 605
Lykóstomo, khan and bridge near Ioán. i. 401; iv. 127
———— *(Tempe)*, iii. 384. 388
Lykúrsi, vil. *Thesprotia*, iv. 53
Lyncestis, or *Lyncus*, dist. *Up. Mac.* iii. 282. 311
Lysander, death of, ii. 207
Lysimachia, or *Hyrie*, t. and lake *Æto.* i. 122. 153
Lysimachus, king of *Mac.* i. 153; iii. 464; iv. 576
Lysippus, the work of at *Dium*, iii. 415

Macedonia, distinction of Upper and Lower, iii. 305; iv. 123. 186
————, division into four provinces by the Romans, iii. 227. 480; iv. 124
Macynia, t. *W. Loc.* i. 111
Madhemokhória, vils. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 162
Mædica, or country of the *Mædi*, *Thr.* iii. 447. 472
Mucaria, fn. *Marathon*, ii. 443
Magnetes, city of the, iv. 381. 396
Magúla, various Hellenic sites named thus, i. 123. 171; ii. 584; iii. 361. 543. 553; iv. 451. 521
Mahomet II. iv. 267
———— IV. i. 440
Maize, the reed a material for cottages, ii. 158
Makariótissa, mon. Mt. *Helicon*, ii. 493. 511
Makhalá, vil. *Acarn.* iii. 505. 510
Makherá, vil. *Acarn.* iii. 505; iv. 10
Makriarákhi, vil. *Magn.* iv. 394
Makrikhóri, vil. near *Tempe*, iii. 381
Makrinítza, t. *Magn.* iv. 388
Makri, isl. *Echinades*, iii. 574; vil. *Acarn.* iii. 505
Makrinóro, mn. *Ambracia-Amphilochia*, i. 138. 162; iv. 253
————, the pass of, i. 162. 215
Makryplái, mn. *Megaris*, ii. 375
Makrývoro, mn. *Æto.* ii. 602. 607
Malakássi, dist. Ioán. iv. 165
————, vil. *Tymphæa*, i. 416
————, khan of, i. 416; iv. 261. 546
Malakástra, dist. *Ill.* i. 366
Malámata, vil. *W. Loc.* ii. 607
Malandrína, t. and dist. *W. Loc.* ii. 598. 601. 622
Malathriá, vil. *Pieria (Dium)*, iii. 408. 413
Maléa, prom. *Laconia*, iii. 76
Malesína, vil. *Bœo.* ii. 286
Maliac forest, the, i. 461
——— gulf, ii. 4. 16
——— plain, iv. 504
Malienses, or *Melienses*, ii. 20
Malisóva, t. *Atin.* i. 470
Mallæa, r. *Perr.* iii. 379; iv. 311
Malta, vil. *Bœo.-Pho.* ii. 106
Mamas, Aio, vil. *Chalc. Mac.* (*Olynthus*), iii. 153
Mandíli, prom. *Eubœa (Geræstus)*, ii. 423
Mani, Paleá, Hel. ruin *Acarn.* iii. 520, 524
Mánina, forest *Acarn.* i. 181; iii. 519
Munto, the prophetess, ii. 231
Manufactures, i. 45; iii. 253. 354; iv. 273. 390
Manuscripts, Greek, ii. 518; iii. 127
Marandáli, a summit of *Helicon*, ii. 493
Marathiá, plain, *W. Loc.* ii. 618
Maráti, suburb of Arta, i. 218
Marathon, t. *Att.* ii. 430
————, lake of, ii. 433
Marathus, t. *Pho.* ii. 549
Mardonius, campaign of, ii. 336. 408
————, his death, ii. 350
Margaríti, t. *Thesprotia*, i. 405; iv. 17
Marynus, r. *Ill.* iii. 448
Markópulo, vil. *Att.* ii. 442
Marína, Aghia, vil. *Melis*, ii. 95
Mariolátes, vil. *Pho.* ii. 72. 86. 90. 94
Marítza, r. *Thr. (Hebrus)*, iii. 216
Mármara, site of *Amphipolis*, iii. 183
Marmári, vil. *Eubœa*, ii. 432
Marmarianí, vil. Mt. *Ossa*, 373, 379
Mars, fn. and sanct. of, at *Thebes*, ii. 238. 404
Martíno, vil. *Bœo.* ii. 286
Maskolúri, vil. *Chaonia*, i. 57
————, vil. *Thess.* iv. 496
Masléra, isl. near Corfú, i. 7
Masonry, styles of Hel. in N. Greece, iv. 69. 314. 432
Mataránga, vil. *Thess.* iv. 316. 496. 498
Mati, fn. and marsh *Perr.* iv. 299
Matzúki, vil. Mt. *Pindus*, i. 282. 284. 290; iv. 210
Mavra, Aghía, fort. *Leucas*, iii. 10

Digitized by Google

Mavra-néria, sources, *Melis*, ii. 25
Mavroneró, r. *Bœo.-Pho.* (*Cephissus*), ii. 98. 191
Mavrílo, vil. *Dryopis*, ii. 17
Mavroghéni, family of *Paro*, isl. iii. 85
Mavromáti, family of, *Acarn.* iii. 501
————, vil. *Æto.* iii. 539
Mavronóro, prom. *Ep.* i. 103
————, mn. *Att.* ii. 437
Mávrovo, vil. *Orestis*, i. 329
————, vil. and lake *Bisaltia*, iii. 230
Mavro-dhílissi, Hel. site *Att.-Bœo.* ii. 440
Mavrovúni, a summit of *Pindus*, i. 296
————, mn. *Magn.* iv. 407
————, mn. *Thess.* iv. 326
————, mn. *Pelas.* *see* Karadágh
————, vil. Zagóri Ioán. d. i. 397
Mazaráki, vil. *Molossis*, iv. 95
————, vil. *Thebæa*, ii. 216
Mazarákia, vil. *Thesprotia*, iv. 71
Mazi, vil. *Haliartia*, ii. 205, *et seq.*
Mázoma, lake of *Nicopolis*, i. 178. 186
Mecyberna, t. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 154
Medeon, t. *Bœo.* ii. 215; t. *Pho.* ii. 548. 550; t. *Acarn.* iii. 575
Medhinítza, or Pundonítza, vil. *E. Loc.* ii. 66
Mega, r. *Æto.* ii. 599
Megabazus, commander of the ships of *Xerxes*, ii. 268
Meganisí, isl. near *Leucas*, iii. 30; iv. 16
Megara, ii. 389. 392—401
Megaris, defiles of the, ii. 374
Mehmét Alí, viceroy of Egypt, iii. 174. 237; iv. 219
Mehmét Pashá, of Pliássa, i. 336. 355
Mehmét, or Quirini, i. 54. 223. 406. 408
Mehmetjáus, or Mamutjáus, vil. Arta d. iv. 229. 254
Meilichii, the gods so called, ii. 592
Melambium, vil. *Scotussæa*, iv. 458. 473
Melampus, temple of, at *Ægosthena*, *Megaris*, ii. 406
Melampygus, rock at *Thermopylæ*, ii. 42. 52
Melas, r. *Melis*, ii. 11. 26; r. *Orchomenia*, *Bœo.* ii. 154. 161. 185; r. *Thess.* iv. 515
Meleníko, t. *Odomantice*, iii. 201
Meletius, mon. of St. *Att.* ii. 371. 377
Melibœa, t. *Magn.* iv. 414.
————, gulf of. iv. 412
————, t. *Hist.* iv. 536
Melicertes, or *Palæmon*, mythus of, ii. 414
Melissurgi, t. near *Thessalonica*, iii. 461
Melite, lake *Æto.* iii. 573
Melitæa, t. *Phth.* iv. 470, 471
Melotis, dist. *Molossis*, iv. 101. 119
Melúna, pass *Perr.* iii. 351
Melus, isl. (Milo), iii. 77—83
————, ancient city, iii. 79
Memnon, statue of, at *Egyptian Thebes*, ii. 396
Mende, t. *Pallene*, *Mac.* iii. 155
Mendéli, mn. *Att.* (*Pentelicum*), ii. 430
Menídhi, vil. *Att.* ii. 417
————, pt. gulf of Arta, *Ep.* iv. 236
Menzíl, or Turkish post, i. 337
Mera, vil. *Bœo.-Pho.* ii. 109
————, torrent of, ii. 111
Meralí, vil. *Pho.* ii. 95. 189
Mertzi, vil. near Tríkkala, iv. 536
Mesolónghi, t. *Æto.* i. 113; iii. 532
————————, lagoon of, i. 113; iii. 533. 542
Messapia, t. *W. Loc.* ii. 622
Messapium, mn. *Bœo.* E. coast, ii. 219. 276
Messeïs, fn. near *Sparta*, iv. 485
Metapa, t. *Æto.* i. 145. 149. 151
Meterís, trenches used by Turkish and Albanian infantry, i. 46. 231
Metéora, mons. and rocks, *Tymphæa*, i. 418. 458; described, iv. 537, *et seq.*
Methone, t. *Pieria*, iii. 435
Metjobón, Albanian officer, iii. 294
Metropolis, t. *Doris*, ii. 91
————, t. *Acarn.* iii. 511. 576
————, two in *Thes.* iii. 371; iv. 498. 506—511
Métzovo, t. *Tymphæa*, i. 294; iv. 260
————, river of, i. 292
————, Zygós or mn. of, i. 294. 411—415; iv. 261
Midas, king of the *Bryges*, or *Phryges*, iii. 447
Mideia, or *Lebadeia*, t. *Bœo.* ii. 120
Mikhalítzi, vil. and hill at *Nicopolis*, i. 180; iv. 217
Milcorus, or *Miacorus*, t. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 456
Miliá, vil. Grevená d. i. 299
Miliés, t. *Magn.* iv. 392
Milyngús, vil. Ioán d. i. 263
Minás, bay of St. at 'Egripo, ii. 256
Minerva, temples of:—at *Alalcomenæ*, *Bœo.* ii. 135. 138; of M. *Alcidemus*, at *Pella*, iii. 264; at *Ambracia*, i. 213; of M. *Areia*, at *Platæa*, ii. 364; of M. *Cranæa*, near *Elateia*, *Pho.* ii. 83; of M. *Itonia*, near *Coronea*, *Bœo.* ii. 139; two others of M. *I.* in *Thessaly*, iv. 501; of M. *Pronæa*, at *Delphi*, ii. 553, 562; of M. *Telchinia*, at *Teumessus*, *Bœo.* ii. 245; in *Alcathoë*, *Megara*, ii. 396; at *Daulis*, ii. 105; at *Amphissa*, ii. 592; altar and statue of M. *Onga*, at *Thebes*, ii. 233
Minoa, isl. *Megaris*, ii. 401
Minyæ, the treasury of, at *Orchomenus*, *Bœo.* ii. 147, 148
Mirítza, vil. *Talares*, *Up. Th.* iv. 262
Misalári, vil. *Thess.* iv. 326
Mithradates, his army in Greece, ii. 193. 302
Mitys, r. *Pieria*, iii. 420

Digitized by Google

Mitzikéli, mn. near Ioán. i. 400; iv. 126. 163
Mizakía, dist. *Ill.* i. 351. 366, 367
Modhi, vil. *Pho.* ii. 77
Moglená, dist. t. and r. *Mac.* iii. 268. 270. 276
Mola, or Molo, vil. near *Thermopylæ*, ii. *b.* 12. 37. 179
Molo, gulf of, *Ithaca*, iii. 24
Moloeis, r. *Platæis*, ii. 348
Mológhusta, vil. *Perr.* iv. 301. 311
Molossi, peo. *Ep.* i. 74. 268. 298; iv. 118. 179
Molossia, or *Molossis*, dist. *Ep.* iv. 117. 178. 256
Molossus, son of *Pyrrhus*, iv. 175
Molus, r. near *Chæroneia*, *Bœo.* ii. 198
Molycreia, t. *Æto.* i. 110
Monastíri, or Bitólia, t. *Pelagonia*, iii. 319
Monóxyla, or canoes of the lake of Kastoría, i. 325; of the lake of Mesolónghi, iii. 542; of the lake of Ioánnina, iv. 9.
Mopsium, Mt. *Pelas.* iii. 377
Morier, Messrs. J. and D. i. 283
Moritzi, vil. *Thebæa*, ii. 244. 278. 318
———, lake of, or Paralímni, ii. 277
Morius, r. near *Chæroneia*, *Bœo.* ii. 196. 199
Mornós, r. *Æto.* ii. 92. 596. 598. 602. 619
Morzená, vil. *Chaonia*, i. 22. 70
Moskokhóri, vil. *Melis*, ii. 24
Moskópoli, t. *Dass.* i. 343, 344
Móssiari, vil. Ioán. d. iv. 98
Mothone, t. *Magn.* iv. 384
Mudhári, prom. Cerigo isl. iii. 76
Mukhtár Pashá, i. 404; iv. 153. 410. 549
Mulianá, vil. Arta d. i. 220; iv. 229
Mulki, vil. *Pho.* ii. 76. 86; vil. *Bœo.* ii. 213
Murex, fish yielding a purple dye, ii. 520
Mursiá, vil. *Chaonia*, i. 97
Musa Pashá, at Épakto, ii. 610; at Saloníki, iii. 236
Musáki, pass of, iv. 521
———, vil. *Hist.* iv. 523, 524
Muses, grove and games of the, in Mt. *Helicon*, ii. 492. 494
———, sanctuary of the, Mt. *Libethrium*, *Bœo.* ii. 139. 141
Mustafá, Pashá, of Délvino, i. 19
Mustafádhes, vil. *Parasopia*, *Bœo.* ii. 469
Muziakáti, vil. *Thesprotia*, iv. 51
Mutja Hushúf, or Musa Yusúf, bey of Tepeléni, i. 41
Mycalessus, t. *Bœo.* and its dist. ii. 249—252. 264
Mychus, pt. *Pho.* ii. 549
Myconus, isl. *Ægæan*, (Mýkono), iii. 104
Mygdonia, dist. *Mac.* iii. 448
Mylæ, fort. *Perr.* iv. 311
Mylopótamo, vil. Cerigo isl. iii. 76; cavern there, ibid.
Myonia, t. *W. Loc.* ii. 592
Myonnesus, isl. *Phth.* iv. 348
Myræ, t. *Magn.* iv. 416
Myrcinus, t. *Edonis*, iii. 180
Myron, works of, at the *Museum of Helicon*, ii. 495
Myronides, the Athenian, victories of, ii. 463
Myrtári, mon. at Vónitza, i. 167; iii. 494
Myrtles, ii. 38. 517
Myrtuntium, lake *Acarn.* i. 173; town *Acarn.* iv. 24
Mýtika, vil. near Prévyza, i. 178
———, bay of, i. 195
———, conference with Alý Pashá near, iv. 45
Myúpoli, Hel. ruins *(Eleutheræ)* ii. 371. 373—376

Naissus, t. *Mysia*, iii. 468
Narthacium, mn. and t. *Pharsalia*, iv. 472
Naryx, t. *E. Loc.* ii. 187
Násseri, mn. near Suli, i. 242
Naupactus, t. *Æto.* ii. 607, *et seq.*
Nauplia, peak of *Delphi*, ii. 568
Nape, *Parnassia*, *Pho.* ii. 527. 550
Narcissus, fn. of, *Thespiæ*, *Bœo.* ii. 496. 501
Naxía, isl. *Ægæan (Naxus)*, iii. 93
Neapolis, or *Neopolis*, t. *Mac.-Thr.* iii. 180. 217. 224
Nefterópoli, pt. and ruins, *Mac.-Thr.* iii. 179
Neium, mn. *Ithaca*, iii. 47
Nekhóri, vil. *Magn.* iv. 383. 392
Nelia, t. *Magn.* iv. 379
Nemeius, temple of *Jupiter*, *W. Loc.* ii. 613. 617
Nemesis Rhamnusia, temple of, *Att.* ii. 434
Nemértzika, mn. *Atin.-Paravœa*, i. 24. 384. 389, 390; its precipitous rocks, i. 395. 398
Neokhóri, or Neokhório, vil. *Amphilochia*, iv. 237; vil. near Mesolónghi, i. 113. 124; vil. *Mac.-Thr. (Amphipolis)*, iii. 181. 183; vil. *Perr.* iii. 335; vil. on lower *Achelous*, iii. 543; vil. *Thesprotia*, iv. 72; vil. *Thespiæ*, *Bœo.* ii. 488; vil. near *Pella*, *Mac.* iii. 261
Neon, or *Tithorea*, t. *Pho.* ii. 79. 130
Neópatra, or Badrajík, t. *Æniænes*, ii. 14
Nepos, *Caius Antonius*, iii. 68
Neptune, temple of, at *Onchestus*, *Bœo.* ii. 214; at *Ægæ*, *Eubœa*, ii. 275; N. *Cuerius*, worship of, at *Cierium*, iv. 499
Nericus, t. *Leucas*, iii. 16
Neritum, mn. *Ithaca*, iii. 37
Nessonis, lake *Pelas.* i. 445; iv. 403
Nessus, the centaur, i. 108
Nestor of *Oropus*, i. 74

Digitized by Google

Nestus, r. *Thrace*, iii. 215
Nevoliani, vil. Mt. *Ossa*, iv. 413
Nevrokópo, t. *Thrace*, iii. 183
Nevrópoli, pass of (Mt. *Œta*), ii. 31
————, plain of, in 'Agrafa, iv. 272
Ngéghe, tribe of Albanians, i. 61
Nicæa, t. near *Thermopylæ*, ii. 6. 10. 14. 38
Nicæus, tem. of *Jupiter*, *Molossis*, i. 299
Nicander, the *Ætolian*, i. 211
Niáusta, t. *Emathia*, iii. 283, *et seq.*
Nicephorus Gregoras, his journey into *Illyria*, iii. 467. 478
Nicias, Athenian commander, ii. 402
Nicopolis, c. *Ep.* ruins of, i. 178. 185—501; iii. 491
————, aqueduct of, i. 244. 256. 258. 259. 261
Nigríta, vil. *Bisaltia*, iii. 226
Niklítzi, vil. *Hist.* iv. 263. 277. 531
Nikóla, Aio, mon. near Mt. *Helicon* (*Museum*), ii. 492
Nisí, vil. *Acarn.* Gulf of Arta, i. 164; iii. 495. 497
Nikolítza, vil. *Orestis-Dass.* i. 334
Nikoráki, vil. *E. Loc.* ii. 177
Nitjé, mn. *Mac.* (*Bora?*) iii. 270
Nívitza, vil. near Délvino, *Chaonia*, i. 16. 33
————, vil. Khimára d. *Chaonia*, i. 89. 375
Nízvoro, or Akbunár, vil. *Elimeia*, iii. 329
————, or Sidherokápsa, vil. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 142. 158. 160
Normans, the, i. 339; iv. 202
Notes, Additional :—
on the life of Alý Pashá, i. 463
Valiaré khan, i. 497
History of Suli and of Parga, i. 524
Inscriptions of *Daulis*, ii. 627
———— of *Chæroneia*, ii. 628
———— of *Orchomenus*, ii. 630
———— of *Acræphium*, ii. 632
———— of *Delphi*, ii. 635
Anathémata of *Delphi* in the time of Pausanias, ii. 639
History of Ioánnina, iv. 553—5
Nine Ways of the *Edoni*, afterwards *Amphipolis*, iii. 181
Nisa, or *Isus*, t. *Bœo.* ii. 275
Nisæa, pt. of *Megara*, ii. 399. 401. 410
Nisiá, Kalá, islands *Corinthian* Gulf, ii. 504
Nymphæum, prom. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 114. 149
Nymphs of *Cithæron*, cavern and oracle of the, ii. 334, 335
————, cave of the, *Ithaca*, iii. 40
————, worship of the, iii. 91

Oak timber, where most remarkable, i. 88. 164. 172. 181; iv. 49, 50
Ocalea, t. *Bœo.* ii. 206
Oche, mn. *Eubœa*, ii. 423
Octolophus, in *Lyncestis*, iii. 308. 310
————, in *Perrhæbia*, iii. 417
Odomanti, peo. *Pæonia*, iii. 210. 306. 465
Œneon, t. *W. Loc.* ii. 616
Œnia, Old, t. *Acarn.* iii. 526
Œniadæ, t. *Œtæa*, ii. 94
————, c. *Acarn.* iii. 556—570
Œnoë, demus and fort. *Att.* ii. 375, *et seq.*
Œnophytæ, vil. *Tanagræa*, ii. 463
Œroe, r. *Platæis*, ii. 324. 330. 359
Œta, mn. and t. *Œtæa*, ii. 4. 9. 19. 25
Ogla, summit at Vlokhó or *Thermus*, *Æto.* i. 131
Olenus, t. *Æto.* i. 154
Olixon, t. *Magn.* iv. 384
Œantheia, t. *W. Loc.* ii. 621. 594
Œchalia, t. *Æto.* ii. 623
————, t. *Hist.* iv. 531
Œdipodia, fn. at *Thebes*, ii. 241, 242
Olmeius, or *Olmius*, r. *Bœo.* ii. 212. 497. 499. 501
Olocrus, mn. *Pieria*, iii. 433
Olooson, t. *Perr.* iii. 345; iv. 316
Olpæ, fort, *W. Loc.* ii. 622
——, pass near Saloníki, iii. 234
——, fort, *Amphilochia*, iv. 246. 251
Olympia, games, at *Dium*, *Pieria*, iii. 411
Olympus, mn. *Perr.-Mac.* i. 319. 434; iii. 297. 336. 341. 348. 384, *et seq.* 407; iv. 296. 445. 497. 513. 529. 532
Olynthus, c. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 154. 455. 459
Olýtzika, mn. Ioán. d. i. 221. 224. 263; iv. 132
Omér Vrióni Bey, iv. 219
Omphalium, t. *Atintania-Paravæa*, iv. 120
Onchesmus, pt. *Chaonia*, i. 13. 92
Onchestus, t. *Bœo.* ii. 214
————, r. *Pelas.* iv. 458
Ondoklári, vil. *Pelas.* iv. 452
Oneia, mns. *Megaris*, ii. 381. 409
Onochonus, r. *Pelas.* iv. 512. 514
Onthyrium, t. *Thess.* iv. 505
'Opari, mn. *Dass.* i. 342. 345, 346
Ophienses, or *Ophionenses*, peo. *Æto.* ii. 614. 623
Ophthalmia, the, i. 262
Oplias, or *Isomantus*, r. *Coroneia*, *Bœo.* ii. 141
Opus, t. *E. Loc.* ii. 67. 173. 181
——, its gulf, ii. 174
Oracles, of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, ii. 411. 147. 209. 411. 484. 574; at *Abæ*, ii. 165; on Mt. *Ptoum*, *Bœo.* ii. 279; at *Tegyra*, ii. 153
————, of *Bacchus* at *Amphicleia*, ii. 75; among the *Satræ*, *Thrace*, iii. 190
————, of *Jupiter* at *Dodona*, iv. 55. 170. 183. 199

Digitized by Google

Oracles, of *Trophonius* at *Lebadeia*, ii. 122
———, a modern near Tepeléni, i. 50. 56
Orbelus, mn. *Mac.-Thr.* iii. 211. 463
Orchalides, vil. *Haliartia*, ii. 210
Orchomenian plain, the, ii. 155. 158
———— inscriptions, ii. 630
Orchomenii, peo. *Bœo.* ii. 294
Orchomenus, or *Erchomenus*, t. *Bœo.* ii. 143, *et seq.* iv. 355
Oreine, dist. *Megaris*, ii. 405
Oreitæ, peo. *Ambracia-Amphilochia*, i. 215
Oreós, vil. and bay, *Eubœa*, iv. 350
Orescii, peo. *Thrace*, iii. 213, 214
Orestis, dist. *Up. Mac.* iii. 305; iv. 121. 124
Orfaná, dist. *Mac.-Thr.* iii. 174, 175
———, gulf of, iii. 145
———, vil. *Thess.* iv. 327
Oricum, t. *Ill-Chaonia*, i. 3. 6. 90
Orio, Count Angelo, iii. 12. 21
Orium, r. *Ill.* iii. 477
Ormanlí, vil. *Perr.* iii. 344
Ormenium, t. *Thess.* iv. 434
Orminium, t. *Magn.* iv. 433
Ormýlia, or Ermylíes, t. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 153
Orobiæ, t. *Eubœa*, ii. 176. 275
Oropus, t. *Att.-Bœo.* ('Oropo), ii. 440—449
Oros ('Aghion), see *Acte*
Orpheus, iii. 412. 422
'Orsova, vil. *Bisaltia*, iii. 182
Orthe, citadel of *Phalanna*, *Pelas.* iii. 380
Ortholíthi, mn. of *Argolis*, ii. 423
Orthopagium, mn. *Chæronea*, ii. 196
Osmán Bey, of 'Epakto, i. 107
Osná, a summit of *Cithæron*, ii. 373
Osphagus, r. *Lyncestis*, iii. 310
Ostrovitza, mn. *Dass.* i. 345
'Ostrovo, t. and lake, *Eordæa*, iii. 275. 282. 305
Ossa, mn. *Magn.* i. 434; iii. 380. 390, *et seq.* 401; iv. 298. 411, *et seq.* 513, 514. 533
——, t. *Bisaltia*, iii. 213. 230
Ostanítza, vil. *Paravæa-Molossis*, i. 396; iv. 119
Othonús, isl. near Corfú, i. 7, 8
Othrys, mn. *Phthiotis*, ii. 17; iv. 330—344
Ovrió-kastro (ruins of *Rhamnus*, *Att.*) i. 111; ii. 434
———— (ruins of *Chalcis*, *Æto.*) i. 111
Oxía, isl. *Æto.* iii. 571
Oxeiæ, or *Thoæ*, isls. *Æto.* iii. 52. 571
Oxen, Wallachian, i. 142; iii. 554
Oxoí, vil. *Ithaca*, iii. 39, *et seq.*
Oryneia, t. *Tulares*, *Up. Th.* iv. 279
Pæonia, dist. *Mac. Acquisita*, iii. 212. 305. 462. 470
Pæoplæ, peo. *Thrace*, iii. 212
Pagasæ, t. *Magn.* iv. 369, *et seq.* 398
Pagæ, or *Pegæ*, t. and pt. *Megaris*, ii. 407
Pagondas of *Thebes*, ii. 451
Pakhtós, vil. *Atintania-Ill.* i. 364
Palærus, t. *Acarn.* iv. 18
Palæpharus, t. *Pherœa*, *Th.* iv. 493
Palamá, vil. *Thess.* iv. 524
Palása, vil. Khimára, *Chaonia*, i. 5
Paláti, islet, *Naxus*, iii. 93
Pale, t. *Cephallenia*, iii. 50. 64
Paleá, mn. *Bœo.* (*Ptous*), ii. 277, 278
——, mon. ii. 279
Paleavlí, vil. Délvino, *Chaonia*, i. 65
Paleó-Gardhíki, ruins *Hist.* iv. 136
Paleó Ghélissi, ruined vil. *Parasopia*, *Bœo.* ii. 328
Paleókastro, vil. near Sykiá, *Perr.* iv. 313
Paleókastro, vil. near Suli, i. 225
————, vil. near Blazdhu, 'Agrafa, d. iv. 506. (For Paleókastro in general see "Hellenic remains.")
Paleokhóri, ruins in the *Megaris*, ii. 413
Paleo-panaghía, ruins *Thespiæ*, ii. 488
Paleópyrgo, ruins, ii. 175; iv. 236. 250
Paleovuná, or Paleovúni, (Mt. *Helicon*), ii. 205. 506. 514. 527
————, mn. in Zagóri, Ioán. d. iv. 166
Palérimo, pt. *Chaonia*, i. 7. 78, 79
Paliúri, or Jerusalem thorn, i. 164
Pallene, *Macedonian* peninsula, iii. 152. 155. 453
Paleuxári, vil. *Æto.-W. Loc.* ii. 602
Palím-Bey, or Balím-Bey, vil. *Acarn.* Gulf of Arta, i. 164; iii. 497
Pambœotian festival near *Coronea*, *Bœo.* ii. 140
Pambotis, (lake of Ioán.) iv. 189
Pamisus, r. *Th.* iv. 512. 514
Pamphium, t. *Æto.* i. 145. 147
Pan and the *Nymphs*, worship of, iii. 91
Panactum, fort. *Att.-Bœo.* ii. 370
Panæi, peo. *Edonis*, iii. 465
Panætolium, mn. *Æto.* i. 131; iii. 512
Panaghía, vil. *Thespiæ*, ii. 489
————, peninsula *Phth.* iv. 343
————, prom. Gulf of Arta, iv. 29
Pandokrátora, mn. Corfú, i. 7
————, mon. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 130
Pandosia, t. *Thesprotia*, iv. 55. 73
Pangæum, mn. *Mac.-Thrace*, iii. 176. 190. 212
Paní, mn. *Att.* ii. 426
Panopeus, t. *Pho.* ii. 109. 199
Panormus, pt. near *Oricum*, *Chaonia*, i. 3
————, pt. near *Chimæra*, *Chaonia*, i. 7. 79
————, pt. in *Cephallenia*, iii. 67
Papadhátes, vil. *Æto.* (*Lysimachia*), i. 122. 153
Papadhátes, or Papalátes, vil. *Acarn.* iii. 505

Digitized by Google

Pápingo, vil. and mn. *Paravœa*, i. 397; iv. 126
Papyrus, the reed, ii. 309, 310; iv. 156
Paradhísia, vil. *W. Loc.* ii. 598. 622
Parakálamo, dist. *Chaonia*, i. 104; iv. 71
Paralia, dist. *Mac.* iii. 460
Paralii, peo. *Melis*, ii. 20
Paralímni, or lake of Morítzi, *Thebæa*, ii. 277. 318. 320
Paramythía, t. *Thesprotia*, i. 233; iv. 59—68. 76
Parapórti, fn. *Thebes*, ii. 217
Parapotamii, t. *Pho.* ii. 97. 191. 195
Parapúnghi, vil. *Bœo.* ii. 324
Paraskevi, Aghía, vil. *Pallene*, *Mac.* iii. 164
———, a pass at Suli, i. 237. 241
Parasopia, dist. *Bœo.* ii. 331. 369
Paravœa, dist. *Ep.* iv. 115. 120
———, its people, i. 393; iv. 117. 195
Parembole, site *Lyncestis*, iii. 313
Parga, t. *Thesprotia*, i. 185. 237; iii. 3. 8
———, history of, i. 501. 524
Parigorítissa, church at Arta, i. 202. 214. 218
Parikía, t. *Parus* isl. iii. 85
Parnassian upper plains, ii. 528
Parnassus, mn. *Pho.* ii. 70. 77. 81. 106. 527. 551
Parnes, mn. *Att.* ii. 370. 420
Parus, isl. *Ægœan* (Paro), iii. 85—92
Parthicopolis, t. *Sintice*, iii. 229
Pashalimán, or Porto Ragusséo (*Panormus* of *Oricum*) i. 3
Passaron, t. *Molossis*, iv. 81
Passes, gorges, or straits, i. 119:—
near *Acrœphium*, *Bœo.* ii. 306
of *Amphipolis*, iii. 182
the *Fauces Antigonenses*, or straits of the *Aous*, i. 52. 52. 68. 72. 383, *et seq.*
of *Arethusa*, or *Aulon*, *Mac.* iii. 170. 461
of the r. *Axius*, at Demírkapi, iii. 442
of Mt. *Bermius*, *Mac.* iii. 275. 295
of the r. *Cephissus*, *Bœo.-Pho.* ii. 95. 97. 107
of Mts. *Cithæron* and *Parnes*, ii. 334. 370, *et seq.* 438
of *Cœla*, or *Thaumaci*, *Phth.* i. 458
of *Cytinium*, *Doris*, ii. 93. 593
of *Delphi*, ii. 582. 593
of Demíglara, near Saloníki, iii. 234
of Dhafni, Mt. *Pœcilum*, *Att.* ii. 385
of Dhafniés, *Acarn.* iii. 498
of *Eleuteia*, *Pelas.* iii. 381
of *Eleutheræ*, ii. 379. 381
of *Eordœa-Lyncestis*, iii. 314
of Fondána, *E. Loc.-Pho.* ii. 67
of Karútes, *W. Loc.* ii. 596
of Karyá, *Æniane-Th.* i. 460
Passes, gorges, and straits:—
of Makrinóro, *Ep.-Acarn.* i. 162; iv. 236
of *Marathonia-Rhamnusia*, ii. 433
of the *Megaris*, ii. 374
of Métzovo, i. 293. 412; iv. 261. 546
three near Paramythía, iv. 70, *et seq.*
of 'Aghia Paraskevi, at Suli, i. 237
of *Pelagonia*, iii. 320
of Pendepigádhia, *Molossis*, i. 220
of Petra, *Bœo.* ii. 137. 205
of Petra, Mt. *Olympus*, iii. 337. 342. 430
of Mt. *Pindus*, i. 297. 322; iv. 111
of Portes, near Servia, *Elimeia-Perr.* iii. 332
of the Portes of Tríkkala, i. 426; iv. 524
of *Pylæ*, near *Philippi*, iii. 217
of *Pylene*, *Æto.* i. 119
of *Pylon*, *Lyncestis-Ill.* iii. 314
of the *Sapæi* and *Corpili*, iii. 180. 215
of Siátista, *Elymeia-Eordœa*, i. 311; iii. 298
of the r. *Strymon*, near Demirissár, iii. 201. 209. 465
of *Thermopylæ*, ii. 5. 31, *et seq.*
of Tjangón, *Orestis-Dass.* i. 334
of Vigla, *Perr.* ii. 469
of Vládova, *Emathia-Eordœa*, iii. 275
Vid. also the names Klisúra, Stená, and *Tempe*
Pastrá, a summit of *Helicon*, ii. 373
Pasván, Oglú, i. 238. 477
Patriótiko, or Patratzikiótiko, mn. *Œtæa*, ii. 8. 19
Patronis, vil. *Daulia*, *Pho.* ii. 98. 104. 193
Paul, St. in Greece, i. 189; iii. 330
———, mon. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 115
Paullus, *L. Æmilius*, iii. 429. 480; iv. 81
Pausanias, king of Sparta, ii. 343
———, the traveller, ii. 122. 309. 390
Pautalia, t. *Pæonia*, iii. 475
Pavla, r. *Chaonia*, i. 15
Pavliani, vil. *Doris*, ii. 72
Pavlo, vil. *Orchomenia*, *Bœo.* ii. 159
Pazarákí, vil. *Thess.* iv. 492. 494
Pazarúdhi, t. *Mygdonia*, iii. 458
Pedienses, peo. *Pho.* ii. 89
Peirasia, t. *Magn.* iv. 383
Peiresiæ. t. *Thess.* iv. 322. 502
Pelaghísi, isl. *Ægœan*, iii. 113
Pelagonia, c. *Up. Mac.* iii. 318
Pelasgi, migration of the, iv. 174
Pelasgiotis, dist. *Th.* i. 444; iv. 172. 532
Peleus, iv. 435. 532
Pelicania, site in *Orchomenia*, *Bœo.* ii. 156
Pelium, mn. *Magn.* iii. 310; iv. 372—384. 393. 407
Pella, c. *Mac.* iii. 262
———, lake of, iii. 270. 289
Pelodes, pt. *Buthrotum*, *Ep.* i. 100

Digitized by Google

Pelopidas, at *Tegyra*, ii. 159
———, at *Cynoscephalæ*, iv. 465
Pende Pigádhia, or the Five Wells, vil. and khan *Molossis*, i. 220; iv. 257
Pendenísia, islets, gulf of 'Eghina, ii. 424
Pendórnia, Hel. site *W. Loc.* ii. 622
Peneius, r. *Th.* i. 431; iii. 382. 395, *et seq.* 403; iv. 283 291. 318. 403. 513
Penteliсum, mn. *Att.* ii. 428. 430; iv. 573
Pentheus, ii. 369, 370
Peparethus, or *Tripolis*, isl *Ægæan*, iii. 112
Pepélas, mn. *Dass.* i. 342
Perakhóra, vil. *Megaris*, ii. 503
Pérama, vil. Ioán. d. iv. 154
Peratiá, vil. *Acarn.* iv. 14
Perdiccas, king of *Mac.* iii. 315
Pergamus, t. *Pieris*, *Thrace*, iii. 178
Pergandí, mn. *Acarn.* i. 165, 166. 172; iv. 20
Perrhæbi, city of the, iii. 340; iv. 311
Perrhanthe, hill at *Ambracia*, i. 209
Peristéri, a summit of *Pindus*, i. 284. 289. 294
Perivólio, vil. Mt. *Pindus*, i. 304
Permessus, r. Mt. *Helicon*, ii. 212. 497
Perseus, king of *Mac.* i. 72. 140. 211. 298; iii. 179. 288. 338. 375, 416. 471
Persian history, ii. 50
——— armies,—at *Marathon*, ii. 431; at *Platæa*, ii. 336, *et seq.*; at *Thermopylæ*, ii. 49, *et seq.*
Pestá, vil. Ioán. d. i. 221
Peta, vil. Arta d. i. 205; iv. 235
Petalá, isl. *Acarn.* iii. 51. 571; iv. 2
Petaliæ, isls. *Eubœa* (Petaliús), ii. 423
Peteon, t. *Thebæa*, ii. 305. 320
Petitarus, r. *Aperantia*, i. 141; iv. 253
Petjalí, vil. Ioán. d. i. 400
Petra, vil. *Pelas.* iv. 420. 444
——, mon. 'Agrafa d. iv. 271
——, pass Mt. *Olympus*, iii. 337. 430
——, pass and hill *Bœo.* ii. 136. 142
Petrachus, mn. *Chæroneia*, ii. 112. 197
Petrílu, vil. 'Agrafa d. iv. 270
Petrinó, vil. *Thess.* iv. 324. 326
Petrogheráki, fn. Mt. *Cithæron*, ii. 373, 374
Petros, Kyr, of Korytzá, architect, i. 223 229. 253
———, Aios, pt. *Acarn.* (site of *Anactorium*), i. 173; iii. 493
Petúa, vil. *Thesprotia*, iv. 77
Petzarí, vil. *Chaonia*, i. 58
Phacium, t. *Pelas.* iv. 493. 535
Phæstus, t. *Thess.* ii. 621
Phagres, t. *Pieris*, *Thrace*, iii. 177
Phalacrum, prom. *Corcyra*, i. 93, 94
Phalanna, t. *Pelas.* iii. 379; iv. 298
Phalanx, the *Macedonian*, iv. 462
Phalara, t. *Melis*, ii. 20; iv. 358
Phalarus, r. *Bœo.* ii. 138. 140
Phaloria, t. *Hist.* iv. 528
Phanote, t. *Chaonia*, i. 72. 74
Pharcadon, t. *Hist.* iv. 316. 318. 535
Pharsalia, battle of, iv. 476—484
Pharsalus, pt. *Chaonia*, i. 5, 6
———, c. *Phth.-Thess.* i. 449—454; iv. 463—481
Pharæ, vil. *Tanagrice*, ii. 468
Pharygæ, t. *E. Loc.* ii. 179
Pharygium, prom. *Pho.* ii. 549
Phayllus, *Phocian commander*, ii. 187
Pheca, vil. near *Gomphi*, *Hist.* iv. 522
Phemiæ, t. *Thess.* iv. 505
Pheræ, c. *Pelas.* iv. 439. 493
Phicium, mn. *Bœo.* ii. 216. 309
Phidias, the works of, ii. 365. 394
Phila, t. *Pieria*, iii. 405. 417. 422
Philæum, temple, *Att.* ii. 384
Philerus, t. *Mygdonia*, iii. 451
Philip, son of *Amyntas*, king of *Mac.* ii. 116. 435; iii. 188
———, son of *Demetrius*, king of *Mac.* i. 71. 142—146. 385. 398. 458; ii. 94. 381; iii. 19. 307. 473; iv. 397. 457. 493. 525
Philippi, c. *Mac.-Thr.* iii. 189. 216
———, the battle of, iii. 214, *et seq.*
Philippopolis, c. *Thr.* iv. 364
Philippus, *Q. Marcius*, consul, iii. 338. 348. 405. 416—424
Philobœotus, hill *Pho.* ii. 194
Phocicum, building near *Daulis*, ii. 106
Phœnice, t. *Chaonia*, i. 20. 66. 70
Phœnicium, or *Phicium*, mn. *Bœo.* ii. 214. 219
Phœnicus, pt. *Cythera* isl. iii. 74
Phœnix, *son of Amyntor*, iv. 434
———, r. *Thermopylæ*, ii. 11, 32; r. *Thess.* iv. 515
Phœteiæ, or *Phytia*, t. *Acarn.* iii. 574
Phorcys, pt. *Ithaca*, iii. 32. 40
Photice, t. *Ep.* iv. 96
Phryne, of *Thespiæ*, ii. 482
Phthia, or *Phthiotis*, i. 450. 455; ii. 3. 21; iv. 484. 535
———, mountains of, iv. 321
Phylace, t. *Phth.* iv. 332. 364
Phylacus, temenus of, at *Delphi*, ii. 562
Phyle, fort. *Att.* ii. 417. 440
Phyllus, t. *Thess.* iv. 323. 326
Physcus, t. *Eordæa*, iii. 316
Phytæum, t. *Æto.* i. 145. 155
Pialia, t. *Hist.* iv. 529
Piélago, an Adriatic vessel, i. 4
Pieres, peo. *Mac.-Thr.* iii. 210
Pieria, dist. *Mac.* iii. 177. 337. 413. 446
———, t. *Mac.* iii. 414
Pierium, or *Cierium*, t. *Thess.* iv. 503
Pierus, mn. *Pieria*, iii. 413
Pigeons, wild, at *Thisbe*, ii. 507
Pikérnes, vil. Khimára, i. 79
Pilála, plain near *Naupactus*, ii. 606. 608
Píliuri, vil. Khimára d. i. 88
Pilorus, t. *Sithonia*, *Mac.* iii. 153
Pilo-vúni, mn. *Chaonia*, i. 64
Pimpleia, t. *Pieria*, iii. 423
Pínaka, isthmus *Pallene*, iii. 152
Pinakátes, vil. *Magn.* iv. 392

Digitized by Google

Pindar, his house at *Thebes*, ii. 244
———, his contest with *Corinna*, ii. 459
Pindus, central ridge of Northern Greece, i. 272. 317. 415. 418; ii. 91; iv. 111. 113. 125. 186
Pipe, shepherd's, i. 290
Piresiæ, t. *Thess.* iv. 493
Pirnári tree, varieties of it, ii. 534
———, mn. *Mac.-Thr.* (*Pangæum*), iii. 176
Pirustæ, peo. *Dass.* iii. 329
Piskopí, vil. Kálamo isl. *Acarn.* iii. 24
Pispír, r. *Att.* ii. 428
Pitch, fossil, i. 4. 35. 378
Pityonesus, isl. near *Ægina*, ii. 423
Plaghiá, vil. and mn. *Acarn.* i. 165. 172; iii. 23. iv. 14
Plaka, skala in pt. of *Thisbe*, *Cor. Gulf*, ii. 507
———, prom. *Leucas*, iii. 10
Platæa, ruins of, *Bœo.* ii. 323. 325
———, history of, ii. 359
———, battle of, ii. 335, *et seq.*
Platanáki, mon. *Thebæa*, ii. 246
———, torrent of, ii. 250
Platæis, the, ii. 333. 335. 342
———, island of the, ii. 347. 357
Platamóna, r. vil. and castle, *Pieria*, *Mac.* iii. 349. 404—409. 421
Platáni, vil. *Platæis*, ii. 333
Plataniá, r. *Bœo.* ii. 99. 104. 191
———, vil. Cerigo isl. iii. 76
Plátano, t. *Phth.* iv. 339
Platanus, r. *Coronéia*, *Bœo.* ii. 174. 287
Platiá, or Pandeleímona, pt. *Acarn.* iv. 4
———, isl. *Eubœa*, ii. 432
Plató, vil. *Acarn.* i. 160
Platý, pt. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 142
Platziótissa, r. *Thebes* (*Dirce*), ii. 217. 227. 236
Pleistoanax, king of *Sparta*, ii. 462
Pleistus, r. *Pho.* ii. 550. 583
Plessarítza, vil. *Chaonia*, i. 104
Plessiá, vil. *Pelas.* iv. 406. 454
Plessídhi, summit of *Pelium*, iv. 384
Pleuratus, king of *Illyria*, i. 211
Pleuron, t. *Æto.* Old and New, i. 117, 118. 154; iii. 539
Pliássa, vil. *Dass.* i. 336
Plough of Greece, iii. 548; iv. 496
Pluvina, t. *Pelagonia*, iii. 309, 310
Podhogorá, vil. Arta, d. iv. 229
Podhogorianí, vil. *Molossis*, iv. 98
Podholovítza, vil. on the *Lower Achelous*, *Acarn.* iii. 521
Pogóghiani, or Pogonianí, dist. *Molossis*, i. 24. 397, 398; iv. 100
Poliána, sub.-dist. of Tríkkala, iv. 265. 529
Polichne, t. *Megaris*, ii. 410
Políghero, t. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 459
Políona, vil. *Chaonia*, i. 60
Polis, fort. *W. Loc.* ii. 615. 619, 620
Polis, pt. *Ithaca*, iii. 44. 46
Politiká, vil. *Eubœa*, ii. 275
Politzía, plain near Métzovo, i. 296; iv. 278
Póllina, mon. *Ill.* (*Apollonia*), i. 368
Polyandrium at *Thermopylæ*, ii. 48
Polyanthes, r. *Chaonia*, i. 376
Polydhéndhri, vil. *Magn.* iv. 416
Polygnotus, *Lesche of Delphi* painted by, ii. 560
Polypórtu, Hel. ruins, *W. Loc.* ii. 621
Pompeius, *Cn.* iv. 476—484
Pons Servilii, bridge of *Drilo*, *Ill.* iii. 279
Poplar, the Lombardy, i. 344
Porí, vil. *Magn.* iv. 394
Poro, vil. *Leucas*, vil. iii. 41
Porta, sub-dist. Tríkkala, iv. 265
———, mon. and Hel. site, *Acarn.* iii. 510. 575; iv. 11
Portariá, t. *Magn.* iv. 392
Portéiko, r. *Hist.* iv. 521—527
Portes (or Gates of Tríkkala), pass, *Hist.-Athamania*, iii. 332; iv. 269. 426. 521
———, two villages there, i. 426; iv. 524
Porthmus, pt. *Eubœa*, ii. 435
Posidium, prom. *Chaonia*, i. 92
———, prom. *Pallene*. *Mac.* iii. 156
Potamiá, vil. and r. *Molossis*, i. 259. 261, 262
Potidania, t. *W. Loc.* ii. 613. 618
Potidæa, t. *Pallene*, *Mac.* iii. 152
Potniæ, vil. *Thebæa*, ii. 323
Pouqueville, Mr. iv. 46. 552. 562
Poyaní, vil. *Dass.* i. 336
———, vil. *Ill.* (*Apollonia*), i. 368
Prámanda, vil. Mt. *Pindus*, i. 271
Pramóritza, r. *Elimeia*, i. 316
Prasias, lake *Edonis*, iii. 210
Právista, t. *Pieris*, *Thrace* iii. 178. 222
Praxiteles, works of, ii. 233. 393. 398. 482
Pregonáti, vil. *Chaonia*, i. 33
Premedí, Permedí, or Perméti, t. *Paravæa*, i. 24. 391
Prespa, dist. *Lyncestis-Ill.* i. 334
Prevéntza, vil. on *Acheloüs*, *Æto.* i. 141
Prévyza, t. *Ep.* i. 175—199. 237. 481; iii. 488.; iv. 550
———, strait and harbour of, i. 174. 180; iv. 31. 41, 42
———, gulf of, i. 174
Prisréndi, t. *Ill.* iii. 477
Probatia, r. *Orchomenia*, *Bœo.* ii. 143
Pródhromo, vil. *Acarn.* iii. 514
Proerna, t. *Thess.-Phth.* i. 459
Proni, or *Pronesus*, t. *Cephallenia*, iii. 66
Prónio, family of Paramythia, iv. 60. 67
Prósako, pt. near *Anticyra*, *Pho.* ii. 540
Prosohium, t. *Æto.* i. 119; iv. 246
Proskyná, vil. *Bœo.* ii. 174. 184. 287
Protópapas, vil. *Dass.* i. 348
———, vil. *Molossis*, iv. 91
Prodhováli, vil. Ioán. d. iv. 219

Digitized by Google

Próvlaka, isthmus of, *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 143
Psaphara (Antigoneia), t. *Crusæa*, *Mac.* iii. 460
Psaphis, t. *Att.* ii. 441
Psathó, pt. *Megaris*, ii. 407
Psilirakhí, mn. near *Thebes*, ii. 219
Pteleum, t. *Phth.* iv. 341
Ptoum, mn. *Bœo.* ii. 159. 219. 277. 279. 308
Pundonítza, or Bundonítza, vil. *E. Loc.* ii. 5. 66, *et seq.* 179
Punta, prom. *Acarn. (Actium)*, i. 174; iv. 25
———, prom. *Pho.* ii. 538
Puriá, pt. *Scyrus*, iii. 110
Purnári, vil. *Pho.* ii. 186
Purnarí, inundation, *Thebæa*, ii. 315
Pydna, t. *Pieria*, iii. 426. 429. 432
———, battle of, iii. 433
Pylæ, pass near *Philippi*, iii. 217
Pylene, t. *Æto.* i. 119
Pylon, pass *Lyncestis*, *Ill.* iii. 313
Pylœa, palace of the *Amphictyones*, at *Delphi*, ii. 567
Pyra, on Mt. *Œta*, ii. 20. 624
Pyramidal stones, worship of, ii. 399
Pyrgáki, Hel. ruin *(Ascra)*, ii. 491
Pyrgo, Hel. ruin, *Bœo.* W. coast, ii. 503
Pyrgotós, vil. Mt. *Olympus*, iii. 404
Pyrrha, prom. *Phth.* iv. 359, 360. 371
Pyrrhasus, t. *Phth.* iv. 357. 362. 367
Pyrrheium, palace in *Ambracia*, i. 210. 212
Pyrrhus, or *Neoptolemus*, iv. 175
———, king of *Epirus*, iv. 181. 223. 501
Pythian games, Hippodrome of the, ii. 583. 595
Pythium, t. *Perr.* iii. 341. 430
Pythodorus of Thebes, sculptor, ii. 139

Quirini, Marco, *alias* Mehmét Effendi, i. 54

Radhi, vil. *Orchomenia*, *Bœo.* ii. 159
Radhotópi, vil. Ioán. d. iv. 91
Radhovísi, or Radhovízdhi, sub-dist. and vil. of Arta, i. 288; iv. 271
Radostín, vil. *Ill.* i. 367
Raguséo, pt. gulf of Avlóna, i. 3
Ráiko, vil. Ioán. d. iv. 94. 231
Rakhi, vil. *Bœo.* ii. 138
Rakli, vil. *Cephallenia*, iii. 67
Ramazán, fast, i. 36. 111. 200
Rápsani, t. Mt. *Olympus*, iii. 350. 386
Rapsísta, vil. Ioán. d. i. 223. 263; iv. 83
———, vil. *Hist.* iv. 523
Rashíd Bey of 'Egripo, ii. 219
Rastamýti, vil. *Haliartia*, *Bœo.* ii. 136. 205
Ravéni, vil. Zagóri, Ioán. d. i. 398; iv. 95
Renaud, Paul, of Siátista, i. 308
Réndina, gulf of, *Mac.-Thrace*, iii. 167. 173. 462
Reveníko, vil. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 161
Rhœcelus, or *Æneia*, t. *Crusæa*, *Mac.* iii. 453
Rhamnus, *Att.* its temples and fortress, ii. 434
Rheithrum, pt. *Ithaca*, iii. 47
Rheiti, salt streams in *Attica*, ii. 382, 383
Rheneia, isl. *Ægæan*, iii. 103
Rhizonic, Gulf, *Ill.* (Cattaro), i. 5
Rhizus, t. *Magn.* iv. 384
Rhoduntia, fort. near *Thermopylæ*, ii. 10. 62. 64
Rhus, plain in *Megara*, ii. 394
Riba, vil. Arta, d. iv. 255
Rígani, mn. *Æto.* ii. 607
Rimókastro, or Erimókastro, vil. *Thespiæ*, ii. 478
Ríniássa, vil. and castle, *Cassopæa*, iii. 5; iv. 48
Riza, lake near *Buthrotum*, i. 96
Rizó, sub-dist. of Tríkkala, iv. 265
Rizómylo, vil. *Pheræa*, *Th.* iv. 401. 441
Roads, remains of Hellenic, ii. 270. 277. 380. 383; iv. 406
———, Roman, through Greece, i. 76. 377; iii. 179. 311. 440. 423. 461. 468. 471
Rodhiní, summit at *Delphi*, ii. 568
Rogús, ruins, Arta, d. iv. 255
Romans, transactions of the, i. 71, 72. 209. 216. 314. 385. 423; ii. 61. 160. 193—201; iii. 57. 215—225. 288. 307, *et seq.* 322. 326. 338. 343. 375, *et seq.* 381. 399. 416—421. 429—433. 480, *et seq.*; iv. 32—43. 73. 81. 169. 181. 305, *et seq.* 457—464. 476—484. 502. 512. 528
———, structure of the legion and mode of forming the vallum, iv. 462
Románi, vil. *E. Loc.* ii. 178
Romanátes, vil. near Suli, i. 225
Rosa, General, i. 475. 480
Roviés, vil. *Eubœa (Orobiæ)*, ii. 176. 275
Ruga, Hel. ruins, Gulf of Arta, *Acarn.* i. 171; iii. 495; iv. 243
Rughín, vil. near *Tempe*, iii. 384
Rumilí, the castle of, coast of *Æto.* i. 111
Russotári, a summit of *Pindus*, i. 321
Rustém Agá, of Nízvoro, iii. 160
Russians, conduct of the, i. 21; iii. 545
Rússiko, mon. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 120

Sacred Way of *Eleusis*, ii. 382
Saiádha, pt. *Chaonia*, i. 102
Sakalár, vil. *Pelas.* iv. 402
Sakellários, Dr. G., of Kózani, i. 354. 380; iii. 301
Salaghóra, pt. of Arta, i. 200
Salamis, isl. *Att.* ii. 409
Salamvría, or Salambría, r. *Th. (Peneius)*, i. 415. 419. 433; iii. 403; iv. 291. 526. 530

Digitized by Google

Salganeus, t. *Bœo.* E. coast, ii. 267
Salík, son of Alý Pashá, i. 37
Sálitza, pt. mouth of *Achelous*, iii. 555
Sálona, t. *W. Loc. (Amphissa)*, ii. 588
Salonica, or Saloníki, c. *Mac.* iii. 235—257
Samarína, t. Mt. *Pindus*, iii. 333; iv. 111
Samatá, or Siamatá, vil. and mn. *Thebæa*, ii. 219. 245. 250
Same, t. *Cephallenia*, iii. 55, *et seq.*
Samikú, site, *Ithaca*, iii. 44
Samoníva, vil. near Suli, i. 228
Samuel, priest of Suli, i. 240. 474. 492
Sane, t. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 144. 149. 157
Sapæi, passes of the, *Thrace*, iii. 180. 215
Sarakíniko, pt. *Ithaca*, iii. 53
Sarakíno, isl. *Ægæan*, iii. 112
Saralí, vil. on the *Aous*, *Chaonia*, i. 34
Sarandáforo, r. *Perr.* iii. 334
Saranda-potámi, or Sarandáporo, r. *Eleusis (Cephissus)*, ii. 374. 379
Sarándi, pt. *Bœo.* W. coast, ii. 514. 516
Sarapis, tem. of, at *Chæroneia*, ii. 115
Sarighioli, dist. *Eordæa*, i. 311
Sarómata, mn. near *Thermopylæ (Callidromus)*, ii. 8. 13. 53
Sarta, t. *Sithonia*, *Mac.* iii. 153
Sarxa, t. *Mac.-Thrace*, iii. 227
Sation, t. *Dass.* iii. 328
Satræ, peo. *Thrace*, iii. 190. 210. 213
Saunium, fn. *Bulis*, *Bœo.-Pho.* ii. 519
Sázona, isl. gulf of Avlóna *(Saso)*, i. 2, 3
Scampis, t. *Ill.* iii. 280
Scandeia, t. *Cythera*, isl. iii. 73. 75
Scarphe, t. *Parasopia*, *Bœo.* ii. 331
Scarpheia, t. *E. Loc.* ii. 178
Scerdilaidas, prince of *Illyria*, i. 69, 70
Schiste, pass in *Phocis*, ii. 105, 106. 551. 553
Schœnus, t. *Bœo.* ii. 320
Schools of Ioánnina, iv. 148
——— of *Magnesia*, iv. 388
Sciathus, isl. *Ægæan*, iii. 112
Scione, t. *Pallene*, *Mac.* iii. 155
Scipio, commander under *Pompey*, i. 314; iv. 477
———, *Nasica*, iii. 431
Scirone, vil. *Megaris*, ii. 413
———, its rocks, ii. 406. 413
Siúrpi, vil. *Phth.* iv. 338
Scolus, t. *Bœo.* ii. 330. 369
———, t. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 456
Scomius, or *Scombrus*, mn. *Mœsia-Thrace*, iii. 474
Scopadæ, family of *Crannon*, i. 446
Scopelus, isl. *Ægæan.* iii. 111
Scordus, mn. *Ill.* iii. 477
Scotussa, t. *Pelas.* iii. 227; iv. 455
Scupi, t. *Dardania*, iii. 468. 479
Scyrus, isl. *Ægæan*, iii. 106
Selásforo, ruined town, *Dass.* i. 339
Selenítza, vil. on the *Aous*, *Chaonia-Ill.* i. 365. 377
Selím Bey of Monastír, tomb of, i. 313
——— Koka, i. 98
Sélitza, vil. *Elimeia*, i. 316
Selítzani, vil. Mt. *Ossa*, iv. 413
Selos, vil. Mt. *Olympus*, iii. 344
Selli, or *Helli*, peo. *Epirus*, iv. 170. 184. 189. 192. 199
Sénitza, vil. *Chaonia*, i. 65
Sénzina, vil. *Thebæa*, ii. 278. 314
Sepias, prom. *Magnesia*, iv. 382
Serdica, t. *Mœsia*, iii. 468
Serghis, vil. *Thebæa*, ii. 246
Serianá, vil. Ioán. d. iv. 218
Seritzianá, vil. near Suli, i. 242
Sermyle, t. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 154
Serrés, t. *Odomantice*, iii. 200, *et seq.* 479
Serrium, prom. *Thrace*, iii. 215
Sérvia, t. *Elimeia*, iii. 303. 330. 332
———, kingdom of, iii. 205. 478; iv. 203. 553, *et seq.*
Sesklo, vil. *Magnesia*, iv. 398
Sfaka, vil. and lake *Phocis*, ii. 95. 188. 190
Sfelíniki, vil. Ioán. d. i. 261
Sheikh, ridge of the, *Pharsalia*, i. 446, 447; iv. 464
Shepherds of Mt. *Pindus*, i. 290; iv. 215. 548
Siútista, vil. *Molossis*, iv. 94
Skafidháki, vil. and peninsula, Gulf of Arta, *Ep.* iv. 29
Skarfítza, pass *Chaonia*, i. 63, 64
Skarmangá, peninsula *Attica*, ii. 384
Skimatári, vil. *Tanagræa*, ii. 449. 464
Sidhiro-kápsa, dist. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 159. 211
Sidhiro-kafkhió, prom. and ruins, *Pho.* ii. 538. 549
Sidhiro-péliko, Hel. site *Perr.-Pelas.* iii. 368
Siékliza, vil. *Dolopia-Thess.* iv. 505. 516
Sífno, isl. *Ægæan*, iii. 84
Silver mines of Nízvoro, *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 161. 189. 213
Siménu, mon. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 140
Simiklí, vil. *Thess.* iv. 491
Simópetra, mon. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 116
Sinátziko, mn. *Orestis-Elimeia*, i. 317. 319
Sindus, t. *Mygdonia*, iii. 450
Singus, t. *Sithonia*, and its gulf, iii. 153
Sintice, dist. *Mac.* iii. 227
Siphæ, t. *Bœo.* W. coast, ii. 515
Siro-pæones, peo. *Pæonia*, iii. 299
Sirra, *Sirrhæ*, or *Serræ*, t. *Odomantus* (Serres), iii. 204
Sisáni, vil. *Elimeia-Orestis*, i. 318
Sitalces, king of *Thrace*, iii. 442
Sithonia, peninsula, *Mac.* iii. 455
———. isthmus of, iii. 146
Siálissi, vil. *Att.-Bœo.* ii. 370
Siátista, t. *Elimeia*, i. 305—313
———, klisúra of, i. 311, 312
Silana, t. *Hist.* iv. 529
Skamniá, vil. Mt. *Olympus*, iii. 350

Digitized by Google

Skánghero, isl. *Ægæum*, iii. 111
Skhino, pt. *Ithaca*, iii. 25. 32. 53
Sklátina, vil. 'Agrafa d. iv. 273. 536
Sklávena, vil. *Acarnania*, iv. 14
Skópia, t. *Dardania (Scupi)*, iii. 469
Skortús, vil. *Acarn.* iii. 511
Skotiní, glen, *Chaonia*, i. 64
Skrepári, vil. and mn. *Dass.* i. 375. 391; iv. 113
Skripú, vil. and mon. *Bœo. (Orchomenus)*, ii. 144—154
Skroponéri, a summit of *Mt. Ptoum. Bœo.* ii. 219. 277. 281
Skurta, vil. *Att.* ii. 370
Sligáni, vil. near Kastoría, *Orestis*, i. 333
Sling bullets *(glandes)*, iii. 176
Smighes, bridge of *Haliacmon* at, near Kastoría, i. 322
Smókovo, vil. 'Agrafa, d. iv. 516
Smólika, a summit of *Pindus*, iv. 111
Sofádhes, vil. *Thess.* iv. 324. 494
Sofadhítiko, or r. of Sofádhes, *Thess.* iv. 321. 494. 500
Sofikó, bay of, *Saronic* gulf, ii. 424
Sokhó, or Súkha, vil. *Bisaltia*, iii. 230
Sollium, t. *Acarn.* iv. 18
Solomón, or Kholomón, mn. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 162
Somalési, mn. *Pho. (Cirphis)*, ii. 546
Sopikí, vil. *Atint.* iv. 101. 105
Sopotí, vil. and mn. *Chaonia*, i. 64
Sopotó, vil. and castle, *Chaonia*, i. 79
Soró, mn. *Tanagræa*, ii. 245. 330. 455. 465. 470
Sosko, t. *Eordæa*, iii. 480
Soteria, games, at *Lebadeia*, ii. 302
Spahilíks, ii. 203
Spakhídhes, vil. *Tanagræa*, ii. 246. 473
Spalathra, t. *Magn.* iv. 384
Spaniards, tradition as to the, i. 91; iv. 62
Spartó, vil. and mn. *Acarn.* i. 138. 159, *et seq.*; iv. 237
Spartolus, t. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 455
Spercheius, r. *Melis*, *Ænianes*, *Dryopis*, ii. 8. 11. 15. 32; iv.
Sphinx, mn. of the, *Bœo.* ii. 214. 309, 310. 319, 320. 481
Spragidium, cavern Mt. *Cithæron*, ii. 334
Spighi, vil. *Pieria*, iii. 414
Spiliá, pt. *Chaonia*, i. 79
Spirágr, or Spirágri, mn. near Berát, i. 360. 375
Splantza, pt. *Thesprotia (Glycys Limen)*, iv. 51, *et seq.* 66
Stafíri, vil. *Ill.* i. 367
Stageirus, t. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 159. 168
Stagús, or Kalabáka, t. *Hist. (Æginium)*, i. 419—424; iv. 263. 511
Stadium, at *Delphi*, ii. 577
———, at *Dium*, iii. 409
———, at *Nicopolis*, i. 191
Stamáta, vil. Mt. *Brilessus*, *Att.* ii. 429
Stamná, vil. *Æto.* iii. 528. 544
Staná, mon. 'Agrafa, d. iv. 274
Staniátes, or 'Inia, vil. *Tanagræa*, ii. 462
Stanu, vil. *Acarn.* i. 160
Stavrokoráki, mn. near *Marathon*, ii. 433
Stavropíghi, mon. 'Agrafa, d. iv. 270
Stavronikíta, mon. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 130
Stavros, vil. *Chalc. Mac. (Stageirus)*, iii. 167
Stéfano, 'Aio, mn. and mon. of, near Stagús, i. 419. 424
Stená, of the *Aous*, or *Antigonea*, i. 32. 52. 69. 72. 383. 385. 390; iv. 116
———, of the r. *Cephissus*, ii. 95. 97. 107
———, of the *Peneius (Tempe)*, iii. 423
———, of the *Axius*, iii. 442
———, of the *Strymon*, iii. 201. 209. 465
———, of the *Haliacmon*, iii. 290. 297. 330. 332
Stenó, pt. near *Anticyra*, *Pho.* ii. 540
Stephen Duscian, king of Servia, iv. 203. 553
Stepézi, vil. *Chaonia*, i. 57
Stiris, t. *Pho.* ii. 528—532
Stobi, t. *Pæonia*, iii. 306. 440
Strada Bianca, or Aspri Ruga, torrent Khimára d. i. 7
Strakavétzi, mn. *Atin.* i. 398
Stratóni, Hcl. site and pt. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 159
Stratoniceia, t. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 160
Stratus, c. *Acarn.* i. 137—143; iii. 513
Stravolimióna, pt. *Acarn.* iv. 14. 19
Stravovúni, mn. *Phth.* iv. 349. 351
Strézi, mn. near Saloníki, iii. 233
Strivína, vil. Arta, d. i. 219
———, river of, iv. 256
Strúmitza, t. *Æstræi*, *Mac.* iii. 465, *et seq.*
Strúnitza, vil. *Tymphæi-Talares*, i. 417
Strútzina, a summit of Mt. *Ptoum*, *Bœo.* ii. 277
Strymon, river, iii. 183. 225—229. 465. 475
———, its ferry, iii. 172
———, sources, iii. 201
Strymonic gulf, iii. 167
——— lake, iii. 210
——— plain, iii. 182. 200, 201
——— straits, iii. 201. 465
Stura, t. *Eubœa (Styra)*, ii. 422. 432
Stylídha, pt. of Zitúni, *Melis*, ii. 4
Stymbara, t. *Up. Mac.* iii. 306
Subashí, bridge of the, near Tepeléni, i. 30. 57
Sudhená, vil. Zagóri, Ioán. d. iv. 126
Sukha, r. *Atint.* i. 27. 397
——, vil. *Thesprotia-Molossis*, i. 226, *et seq.* 474. 488; iv. 193
——, the wars of, i. 225. 234, *et seq.* 246
——, its history, i. 501
——, mountain and rocks, i. 225. 241; iv. 57

Digitized by Google

Suli, river of, i. 225—231; iv. 52
—— of Kúrenda, on the Kalamá, vil. Ioán. d. i. 226; iv. 79. 94. 193
Sulimán Bey, of Arghyrókastro, i. 41
Sulinária, vil. *Elimeia*, iii. 298
Sulinári, vil. *Bœo.* ii. 135
Sullá, mn. *Thebæa*, ii. 330
Sulpicius, the consul, i. 330; iii. 307
Suplí, vil. *Scotussæa*, iv. 454
Surbi, vil. and summit Mt. *Helicon*, ii. 106. 529
Surovígli, vil. *Acarn. (Stratus)*, i. 140. 143
Sus, r. *Pieria*, iii. 422
Sútzista, r. *Chaonia*, i. 35. 76
Suvála, vil. *Pho.* ii. 70. 86
Sybota, islands *Thesprotia*, i. 103; iii. 2
——, continental vil. iii. 3
Sybaris, t. Italy, iv. 501
Sycurium, vil. on Mt. *Ossa*, iii. 376
Sykámino, vil. *Oropia*, ii. 448
——, vil. *Paravæa*, iv. 106
——, vil. *Perr.* iv. 302
Sykiá, vil. *Sithonia*, *Mac.* iii. 153
Syleus, plain *Strymonic* gulf, iii. 168. 170
Sylla, ii. 79. 116. 143. 193—201. 229
Symbolum, mn. *Thr.* iii. 217
Sýndhikno, or Sýndekna, vil. *Amphilochia*, iv. 253.
Syra, isl. *Ægæan*, iii. 84
Syráko, or Serráku, t. Mt. *Pindus*, *Ep.* i. 271. 274; iv. 214
Syvísti, ruins in 'Agrafa, iv. 252

Tabakídhes, vil. near *Thebes*, ii. 223
Tagus, a *Thessalian* magistrate, iv. 309. 408. 494
Takhynós, vil. on the *Strymonic* lake, iii. 198
Tálanda, t. *E. Loc.* ii. 171. 186
Talares, peo. *Ep.-Th.* iv. 195. 278
Tamúkhari, pt. *Magn.* iv. 383
Tamynæ, t. *Eubœa*, ii. 439
Tanagra, t. *Bœo.* ii. 454—460
Tanagrice, dist. *Bœo.* ii. 424. 462
Taphius, isl. *Acarn.* (Meganisí), iii. 47; iv. 16
——, t. *Cephallenia*, iii. 67
Taphicassus, mn. *Æto.* i. 110
Tarimári, vil. *Bœo.* ii. 330. 369
Tarphe, t. *E. Loc.* ii. 179
Tatár, rapid journey of a, i. 291
Tatári, vil. near Lárissa, iii. 360. 382
——, vil. *Pharsalia*, i. 447
Tateá, vil. *Thespiæ*, ii. 500
Tatóy, vil. *Att.* ii. 424. 428
Taukli, vil. and lake *Dolopia*, i. 459, 460; ii. 16
Tauriana, t. *Crestonia*, *Mac.* iii. 440
Taushán, vil. *Crannonia*, *Th.* iii. 367
Taxiarches, St. mon. *Bœo.* ii. 514
Taxilles, officer of *Mithridates*, ii. 193
Tecmon, t. *Molossis*, iv. 82
Tegyra, vil. *Orchomenia*, *Bœo.* ii. 153. 159
Teichius, fort near *Thermopylæ*, ii. 10
Teiresias, tomb of, ii. 138. 234
Tekelí, vil. near Saloníki, iii. 258

Telolalía, an art of the mountaineers, i. 279
Telovúni, mn. *Att. (Hymettus)*, ii. 425
Temenidæ, of *Mac.* iii. 445. 463
Tempe, valley and pass, *Th.-Mac.* i. 369. 434; iii. 350. 384—401
Teneric, plain *Thebæa*, ii. 215. 320
Tepeléni, t. *Chaonia*, i. 30—56
Tereus and Procne, mythus of, ii. 105
Ternítza, vil. *Pho.* ii. 73
Tervitzianá, or Dervidjaná, vil. *Molossis*, i. 224
Tetárna, mon. 'Agrafa d., i. 288; iv. 252. 270
Tetránisa, pt. *Chaonia*, i. 92
Tetraphylia, t. *Athamania*, iv. 212
Tetrapolis, of *Doris*, ii. 91
Tetrarchy of *Macedonia*, iii. 227. 480; iv. 124
—— of *Thessaly*, iv. 535
Teumessus, vil. and hill *Thebæa*, ii. 245. 248. 470
Teuta, queen of *Illyria*, i. 68, 69
Thanátu, t. Mt. *Ossa*, iv. 414
Thasus, isl. *Ægæan*, iii. 217
Thaumacia, t. *Magn.* iv. 416
Thaumaci, t. *Phth.* (Dhomokó), i. 457
Theatres, ancient Greek:—
at *Chæronea*, ii. 112. 115
at *Cassope*, *Ep.* i. 247
at *Delphi*, ii. 561
at *Delus*, iii. 100
near Dhramisiús, *Molossis*, i. 264
at *Dium*, iii. 409
near Libókhovo, i. 75
at *Melus*, iii. 83
at *Nicopolis*, i. 190
at *Œniadæ*, iii. 561
at *Phœnice*, *Chaonia*, i. 66
at *Pleuron*, i. 116
at *Tanagra*, ii. 456
at *Thebæ*, *Phth.* iv. 362
Thebæ Corsicæ, t. *Bœo.* w. coast, ii. 521
Thebæ Phthioticæ, t. *Phth.* ii. 21; iv. 358—365
Thebes, city, ii. 221—244. 388. 473
——, gates of, ii. 231. 236. 239
——, plain of, ii. 216. 218. 318
——, history of, ii. 220. 228
Theium, t. *Athamania*, iv. 212
Theodore, St. fn. *Thebes*, ii. 227. 242
Theoriæ, or sacred missions to *Delphi*, ii. 564; iii. 97
Therambus, t. and prom. *Pallene*, *Mac.* iii. 155
Theramda, t. *Ill.* iii. 477
Therapnæ, vil. *Thebæa*, ii. 369
Theriakhátes, vil. *Chaonia*, i. 23
Thermá, or *Chytri*, of *Thermopylæ*, ii. 41. 51
Therme, t. *Mac.* iii. 244
Thermodon, r. *Bœo.* ii. 249
Thermopylæ, pass *Melis-E. Loc.* ii. 5—14. 31
——, ancient and modern pass compared, ii. 40, *et seq.*
——, the false, ii. 32. 34

Digitized by Google

Thermopylæ, military transactions at, ii. 41—64
Thermus, c. *Æto.* i. 126—136. 146. 151
Theseus, of *Athens*, ii. 235. 237. 414
Thespiæ, t. *Bœo.* ii. 479. 499
Thespiæ, or *Thespice*, its extent, ii. 502. 510
Thesprotia, dist. *Ep.* situation and extent of, iv. 74. 174. 195, *et seq.*
Thessalian community, the, iv. 274. 495. 521
Thessaly, its soil and climate, i. 425. 436; iv. 280. 397. 400, 401. 426. 414. 490. 505
———, distinction of upper and lower, i. 426. 445; iv. 186
———, description by Herodotus, iv. 513
———, Homeric geography of, iv. 531
Thestia, t. *Æto.* i. 152. 155, 156
Thetidium, t. *Pharsalia*, iv. 472
Theudoria, t. *Athamania* (Thodhóriana), iv. 211
Thisbe, t. *Bœo.* (Kakósia), ii. 506
Thoæ, iels. *Æto.* iii. 571
Thomas Prélubo, governor of Ioán. i. 254; iv. 204. 553
Thrasybulus, at *Haliartus*, ii. 209
Thria, t. *Att.* ii. 384
——, plain of, ii. 380. 382
Thronium, t. *Chaonia-Ill.* i. 376
———, t. *E. Loc.* ii. 177
Thucydides, at *Scaptesyle*, iii. 195
Thumáï, vil. near Lárissa, i. 435
Thurium, mn. *Charoneia*, ii. 196. 199
Thyamis, r. *Ep.* i. 103; iv. 23. 97
Thyamus, mn. *Agrais*, iv. 246. 251
Thyrium, t. *Acarn.* iv. 16. 97
Thyssus, t. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 149, *et seq.*
Tichium, t. *Æto.* ii. 613. 618
Tichius, fort near *Thermopylæ*, ii. 62, 63
Tilphœa, or *Tilphusa*, fn. and pass.—*Tilphossium*, *Tilphusium*, or *Tilphossæum*, mn. and fort. *Bœo.* ii. 137. 142. 205. 211. 524
Timariótes, holding lands by personal service, i. 325; ii. 327
Timotheus, the naval victory of, at *Alyzia*, iv. 15
Tiphæ, or *Siphæ*, t. *Bœo.* ii. 515
Tisæum, mn. *Magn.* iv. 396
Titanus, mn. *Thess.* iv. 323
Titaresius, r. *Perr.* iii. 334. 349. 358. 396; iv. 295
Titarus, mn. *Perr.* iii. 345
Tithorea, t. *Pho.* ii. 78, *et seq.*
Tithronium, t. *Pho.* ii. 87
Tjaiúbe [1], vil. *Atin.* i. 28
Tjamáli, vil. *Orchomenia*, *Bœo.* ii. 162
Tjangarádha, vil. *Magn.* iv. 394
Tjanglí, vil. *Phth.* iv. 466
Tjangón, vil. and pass. *Dass.* i. 334, 335
Tjankúrtara dervéni, pass of Mt. *Pindus*, i. 297
Tjara, or Zara, vil. *Bœo.* ii. 106. 527
Tjaraplaná, vil. *Molossis*, iv. 106
Tjarítzena, t. *Perr.* iii. 347; iv. 297
Tjarúkhi, isl. *Pho.* ii. 541
Tjaterlí, two vils. *Pharsalia*, iv. 330
Tjélova, vil. *Lyncestis*, i. 333
Tjepo, vil. *Chaonia*, i. 57
Tjerkovísta, vil. Ioán. d. i. 263; iv. 79. 166
Tjerovína, vil. Ioán. d. iv. 98
Tjersóva, vil. *Paravæa*, i. 394
Tjerpa, and Tjérpista, vils. *Bisaltia*, iii. 226
Tjersembá, dist. *Elimeia*, iii. 302
Tjerúsia, vil. *Elimeia*, i. 316
Tjervéna, mn. *Elimeia*, i. 312, 313
Tjeutmá, vil. *Phth.* iv. 470
Tjighióti, i. 432; iv. 290. 318
Tjikurátes, vil. near Suli, i. 229. 242
Tjikuréla, or Tzukuréla, a summit of *Pindus*, i. 293
Tjikúri, vil. *Thesp.* iv. 53
Tjímovo, site on the *Arachthus*, iv. 218
Tjingári, vil. near Suli. i. 229
Tjinghéli, or Kedjel, pt. of Armyró, *Phth.* iv. 355. 367
Tjiraghiótiko, mn. *Phth.* iv. 452
Tjivri, vil. and summit of Mt. *Helicon*, ii. 518—526
Tjoánno, vil. *Thebæa*, ii. 216
Tjobán, vil. *Orestis*, i. 322
Tjukália, lagoon near Arta, i. 202
Tjumérka, or Djumérka, mn. *Athamania*, iv. 229
Tjurkli, vil. *Elimeia*, i. 304
Tobacco, its culture at Yenidjé, iii. 267; at Sérvia, iii. 330
Tocco, Charles, iv. 204. 558, 559
Tóivasi, vil. *Pelas.* iii. 380
Tolophon, t. *W. Loc.* ii. 619, 620
Tomarus, mn. *Dass.* iii. 328
———, mn. *Molossis*, iv. 190. 192. 196
Tomarokhória, vils. Ioán. d. iv. 196. 217
Tomór, mn. and vil. *Dass.* i. 350, 351. 353. 375; iii. 328
Tomorítza, valley and dist. *Dass.* i. 350
Topaltí, plain near Berát, i. 360. 366
Topiákos, vil. lake of Kastoría, i. 327
Topólia, vil. *Bœo.* (*Copæ*), ii. 281. 306
———, vil. *Cassopæa*, iv. 49
Toronaic Gulf, *Mac.* iii. 153
Torone, t. *Sithonia*, *Mac.* iii. 119. 155. 455
Toryne, or *Torone*, t. *Thesprotia*, i. 103; iii. 8; iv. 569
Toshke, Albanian tribe, i. 61. 346
Tótjer, vil. and khan *Atin.* i. 381
Trachis, vil. near *Lebadeia*, *Bœo.* ii. 143
Trachis, t. *Melis*, ii. 7. 11
———, precipices of, ii. 7, 8. 10. 24. 26. 29

[1] In Greek the sound Tj is expressed by Tz, whence many of these names will be found in the places referred to written with Tz.

Digitized by Google

Tragamésti, vil. *Acarn.* iv. 5
———, skala of, iv. 4
Tragilus, t. *Edonis*, iii. 228
Trampya, t. *Tymphæa*, iv. 276
Tristolus, t. *Sintice*, iii. 229
Trákhila, prom. *Pho.* ii. 538
Trebusin, mn. *Atin.* i. 31. 382. 389
Tren, vil. *Orestis*, i. 334
Tria khánia, (three inns) Mt. *Pindus*, i. 293. 410; iv. 259
Triádha, St. mon. *Att.* ii. 418
———, mon. Mt. *Olympus*, iii. 349
———, mon. *Æto.* iii. 542
Trichonium, t. *Æto.* and its lake, i. 128. 137. 145. 151. 155
Tricorythus, t. *Att.* ii. 433
Tríkardho, marsh of, iii. 574
Trikardhó-kastro, Hel. ruins *Acarn.* (*Œniadæ*), iii. 556—570
Tríkeri, peninsula *Magn.* iv. 379. 396
———, town, iv. 395
——— Paleó, island, iv. 396
Trikkala, t. *Hist.* (*Tricca*), i. 425—430; iv. 279—287. 530. 536
Trikorfú, mn. *W. Loc.* ii. 605
Tripodi, or *Tripodiscus*, t. *Megaris*, ii. 403. 410
Tripolis, t. *Pelagonia*, iii. 319
———, *Scea*, vil. near *Larissa*, iii. 375
Tripolitis, of *Perrhæbia*, iii. 339. 341; iv. 312
———, of *Pelagonia*, iii. 318. 340
Tríporu, prom. *W. Loc.* ii. 593
Triphylia of *Melotis*, dist. *Molossis*, iv. 119
Tripótamo, site *Æto.* iv. 253
Trisónia, or Trazónia, isls. *W. Loc.* ii. 618. 620
Tritæa, t. *Pho.* ii. 89
———, t *W. Loc.* ii. 622
Triton, r. *Bœo.* ii. 136. 139
Trochoessa, lake at *Delus*, the, iii. 99
Tvonis, site in the *Daulia*, *Bœo.* ii. 104
Trophonius and *Agamedes*, ii. 121. 294
———, grove and oracle of, ii. 122—129
Tryna, mn. and fort. Suli, i. 228, 229. 241; iv. 57
Trypi, mon. *Chaonia*, i. 57
Turalí, vil. *Att.* ii. 417
Turkeys, wild, ii. 419
Turks, their language, i. 347
———, their mode of measuring time, i. 254
———, character, iii. 255; iv. 220
Túrnavo, t. *Pelasg.* i. 434; iii. 362; iv. 296
———, mountain of, iii. 350
Turla, mn. *Emathia*, iii. 271
Turkokhório, or Esed, vil. *Pho.* ii. 67. 83
Tymphæa, dist. *Ep.* iv. 120. 275
Tymphe, a part of *Pindus*, i. 422; iv. 276
Tymphrestus, mn. *Dryopis*, ii. 17. 94. 601
Tyrissa, t. *Muc.* i. 313
Ulpiana, t. *Dardania*, iii. 476
Ulysses in *Ithaca*, iii. 32, *et seq.*
Uranopolis, t. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 149
Uria, lake *Æto.* iii. 573
Utmandá, or Makrikhóri, vil. near *Tempe*, iii. 381
Uzúmi, r. *Atin.-Dass.* i. 351. 353. 360. 382; iv. 113

Váia, vil. *Thebæa*, ii. 216
Vakopóli, vil. *Ill.* i. 364. 366
Valaré, or Valiaré, vil. and khan *Chaonia*, i. 27. 497
Validé Sultán, appanages of the, i. 277. 295
Valla, or *Balla*, t. *Pieria*, iii. 425
Váltesi, vil. *E. Loc.* ii. 170. 186
Valto, sub-dist. of Karlilí, i. 124. 157. 159
———, the lake of, i. 157; iii. 504—509
Varássova, mn. *Æto.* i. 106; iii. 538
Vardhári, r. *Mac.* (*Axius*), iii. 258. 438
Vardhátes, vil. *Melis*, ii. 8. 25
Vardhúsi, mn. *Æto.* ii. 18. 598. 624
Variá, r. *Molossis*, i. 224
Variádhes, vil. *Molossis*, i. 224
Varláam, mon. *Tymphæa*, iv. 537. 541
———, prom. *Thesprotia*, iii. 3. 7
———, vil. Ioán. d. i. 221
Varnáka, vil. *Acarn.* iii. 24. 501
Várnaka, mn. *Acarn.* i. 163; iii. 498
Varnákova, mon. *Æto.* ii. 603
Varnáva, vil. and mn. *Att.* ii. 437
Vásari, vil. on the *Aous*, *Chaonia*, i. 34
Vasíli, Ai, vil. *Acarn.* iv. 19
———, pt. *Bœo.* w. coast, ii. 504
———, lake of, *Mygdonia*, iii. 231
Vasilópulo, vil. *Acarn.* iv. 5
Vátika, bay of, *Laconia*, iii. 77
Vatopédhi, mon. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 131, 132
Vathý, pt. of *Aulis*, *Bœo.* ii. 263
———, pt. of *Nicopolis*, *Ep.* i. 181. 196; iv. 31
———, pt. of *Thisbe*, *Bœo.* ii. 507
———, t. and pt. *Ithaca*, iii. 25, *et seq.*
Vávdho, t. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 162
Velá, mon. *Molossis*, iv. 96. 235
Velághora, plain *Æto.* i. 288
Velanidhiá, prom. *Bœo.* w. coast, ii. 517
Velesá, t. *Paonia*, iii. 469, 470
Veléai, vil. *Thes.* iv. 505
Velestíno, t. *Pelas.* (*Pheræ*), iv. 400. 436
Veliani, vil. *Thesprotia*, iv. 59. 69. 75
Velítza, vil. *Pho.* (*Tithorea*), ii. 77, *et seq.* 119
Velitzísta, vil. Ioán. d. iv. 92
Velúkhi, mn. *Dryopis*, (*Tymphrestus*), ii. 17
———, r. *W. Loc.* ii. 599
Velúkhovo, Hel. site, *W. Loc.* ii. 600. 619
Velútzi, mn. *Acarn.* iv. 5. 8
Velvendós, t. *Pieria*, iii. 332
Velý Pashá, i. 37. 404. 420; iii. 415; iv. 408
Venakós, vil. *Atint.* i. 382

Digitized by Google

Venetía-Palcá, Hel. ruins on the *Thyamis*, *Ep.* iv. 73. 176
Venetikó, r. *Elimeia*, i. 302
Ventrók, lake *Lyncestis*, i. 334; iii. 281
Venus, temples of:—
two at *Megara*, ii. 394. 398
of V. *Urania*, or the *Syrian*, in *Cythera*, iii. 74, 75
of V. *Melænis* at *Thespiæ*, ii. 483
of V. *Praxis* at *Megara*, ii. 398
of V. *Phile* in the *Sacred Way* of *Athens*, ii. 384
worship of V. *Castnia* at *Metropolis*, *Up. Th.* iv. 507
of V. *Urania*, *Pandemus*, and *Apostrophia*, at *Thebes*, ii. 234
Vergo, vil. *Chaonia*, i. 65
Vergutiáni, fn. *Platæis*, ii. 326. 333
Vernési, pass of, near *Tempe*, iii. 381. 384
———, bridge of, iv. 296
Vérria, t. *Emathia (Berrhœa)*, iii. 290—295
Versenîko, mn. *Pho.* ii. 538
Verva, vil. *Chaonia*, i. 104
Verzaná, ruined vil. *Pho.* ii. 76
Vestavétzi, vil. Ioán. d. iv. 218
Vettii (Bottiæi), peo. *Mac.* iii. 485
Viéna, mn. *Æto.* i. 120. 126; iii. 512
Vigla, mn. *Tanagrice*, ii. 469
——, mn. near Sérvia, *Perr.* iii. 333
Viglizá, or Vilizá, Hel. site, Mt. *Pindus*, i. 271. 281. 284
Vília, vil. *Megaris*, ii. 373. 408
Villius, the consul, i. 385. 388
Viósa, r. *Ep. Ill. (Aous)*, i. 31—56. 74. 384—397; iv. 107
Viskárdho, pt. and prom. *Cephallenia*, iii. 59. 67
Vistrítza, r. *Chaonia*, i. 20
———, r. *Mac. (Haliacmon)*, i. 305. 321; iii. 292
———, r. *Ænianes*, ii. 16
Vissiani, vil. *Molossis*, iv. 103
Víthari, vil. *W. Loc.* ii. 621
Vitomá, mon. *Æthices*, iv. 526
Vitzi, mn. *Orestis*, i. 329; iii. 275
Vládova, vil. *Emathia*, iii. 275
Vlakhiótes, their settlement in Greece, i. 274
———, language, i. 280. 347
Vlakho-iánni, vil. *Perr.* iv. 311. 313
Vlakho-khóri, vil. *Thesprotia*, iv. 72
Vlakho-klisúra, vil. *Orestis-Eordæa*, i. 329
Vlakholívadho, t. *Perr.* i. 274
Vlakhovéni, mn. *Æto.* ii. 600. 602
Views, or extensive prospects described,
from Mt. Trypa, Suli, i. 231
from Kamarina *(Cassope)*, i. 244
from Mt. Kakardhítza *(Pindus)*, i. 286
from Zitúni, ii. 4
from Pundonítza, ii. 67
from the pass S. of Pund. ii. 69
37
Views, or extensive prospects described,
from Mt. Petra, *Bœo.* ii. 136
of Athens, from Mt. *Pœcilum*, ii. 387
from Mt. *Parnes*, ii. 421, *et seq.*
from Pyrgo, on Mt. Korombíli, ii. 503
from a root of *Helicon*, near *Bulis*, ii. 524
from *Delphi*, ii. 567
from *Amphipolis*, iii. 182
from Saloníki, iii. 240
from Vodhená, iii. 271
from Sérvia, iii. 331
from Vlakho-lívadho, iii. 336
from Ambelákia, iii. 385. 390
from Litókhoro, iii. 408
from Katúna, iii. 502
from Makhalá, iii. 510
from Lygovítzi, iii. 512
from St. Elias, near Stamná, iii. 552
from Zitza, iv. 93
from Kónitza, iv. 109. 111
from and of Ioánnina, iv. 161, *et seq.*
from Paleó Gardhíki, iv. 289
from Kastrí of Túrnavo, iv. 298
from the site of *Phylace*, iv. 332
from Khamáko, iv. 346
of Mt. *Pelium*, from *Pagasæ*, iv. 372
from Gorítza *(Demetrias)*, iv. 378
from the Pº. Kº. of Askíti, iv. 413
from Káprena *(Glaphyræ)*, iv. 432
from Mataránga *(Cierium)*, iv. 497
from Fanári *(Ithome)*, iv. 511
from Kastráki, near Metéora, iv. 537
from Vlokhó *(Thermus)*, i. 132
from Vónitza castle, i. 169
from height near Vónitza, i. 171
from St. George, near Kalarýtes, i. 271
from a point on Mt. *Pindus*, i. 300
from Tomór, i. 352
from Ostanítza, i. 396
from Tríkkala, i. 426
from Lárissa, i. 439
from the ridge of the Sheikh *Pharsalia*, i. 447
from the *Acropolis* of *Pharsalus*, i. 451
from Dhomokó *(Thaumaci)*, i. 458
from Pulirakhí, near Thebes, ii. 220
from the site of *Mycalessus*, ii. 247
from Mt. Kalogherítza, near 'Egripo, ii. 262
from a ridge of Mt. *Messapium*, ii. 273
from a ridge of Mt. *Ptoum*, ii. 278
from a ridge of Mt. *Brilessus*, ii. 429
from Kálamo, ii. 439

Digitized by Google

Views, or extensive prospects described, from Paleopanaghía, ii. 490
from a ridge of *Helicon*, near Khósia, ii. 514
from Sidhiro-kafkió, ii. 538
from a ridge of Mt. *Cirphis*, ii. 550
from a high ridge W. of Sálona, ii. 596
from a ridge of Mt. Rígani, ii. 603
Vlíkha, vil. *Amphilochia*, i. 162; iv. 236, *et seq.*
Vlokhó, subdist. Karlilí, i. 124
———, mon. *Æto.* (*Thermus*), i. 126—135. 149
———, vil. *Bœo.* ii. 472
———, vil. *Thess.* iv. 316—323
Voidhomáti, r. *Paravœa*, i. 397; iv. 107
Vodhená, t. *Emathia* (*Edessa*), iii. 271, *et seq.*
Vogdháni, vil. *Pho.* ii. 167
Voiníkovo, or Katavóthra, near Ioán. i. 410
Voivóda, vil. *Hist.* i. 424; iv. 264, 265. 536
Volo, t. *Magn.* iv. 368—380
Vónitza, t. *Acarn.* i. 165. 171; iii. 494; iv. 24
Volustana, defile of, *Elimeia-Perr.* iii. 338
Voskópoli, t. *Dass.* i. 343
Vrakhaná, or Murto, vil. *Thesprotia*, i. 103; iii. 2
Vrakhóri, t. *Æto.* i. 122. 136
Vraná, vil. *Marathonia*, ii. 429
Vraniá, or Ivorína, t. *Mædica*, iii. 473
Vranianá, two vils. 'Agrafa, d. iv. 272
Vrastá, vil. *Bisaltia*, iii. 171
Vrestenítza, vil. *Athamania*, i. 288
Vritzákha, mn. near Suli, iv. 77
Vrukólaka, or Vampire, i. 492; iv. 216
Vrysiá, or Bey Bunár, vil. *Pharsalia*, i. 454
Vúla, marsh *Hist.* iv. 289
Vulkará, or Vurgará, mn. 'Agrafa, d. iv. 271
Vulkaría, or Vúrgaris, r. *Perr.* iv. 313
Vulkaría, lake, *Acarn.* i. 165, 166. 172, 173; iv. 24
Vulko, pt. *Acarn.* iv. 14
———, or Vurko, pt. 'Egripo, ii. 256. 264
Vunó, t. Khimára, *Chaonia*, i. 87
Vuriándi, or Vuriémi, r. *Bœo.* (*Asopus*), ii. 448
Vurvurí, pt. *Sithonia*, iii. 146
Vutinós, vil. Mt. *Pindus*, i. 294
Vutzindró, Hel. ruins and fishery (*Buthrotum*), *Chaonia*, i. 95—102
Vuvála, isl. gulf of Arta, i. 201
———, vil. *Perr.* iii. 334. 342
Vuvó, r. *Thesprotia*, (*Cocytus*), and marsh, i. 232; iv. 52
Vyzítza, vil. *Magn.* iv. 392

Wheat, various species of, i. 112
Wolves, in Mt. *Parnes*, ii. 421
Wolves, in Mt. *Bermius*, iii. 296
———, in Mt. *Pelium*, iv. 433
Wood-cricket, the, i. 221

Xenagoras, his measure of the height of *Olympus*, iii. 341
Xenófu, mon. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 120
Xerághi, r. *Perr.* (*Titaresius*), iii. 358; iv. 296—299
Xeroghiánni, mn. *Pho.* ii. 546
Xerókambo, plain *Amphilochia*, i. 159
Xerokhóri, vil. *Eubœa*, iv. 344. 352
Xerómero, sub-dist. Karlili, i. 124
Xeronomí, or Xeronomés, vil. *Thespiæ*, *Bœo.* ii. 501. 522
Xeropígadho, vil. *Pho.* ii. 583
Xeropotámi, r. *Pho.* (*Pleistus*), ii. 551
———, r. and mon. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 116, *et seq.*
Xerópyrgo, tower *Orchomenia*, *Bœo.* ii. 155. 159
Xeróvalto, plain *Molossis*, iv. 99
Xerovúni, mn. *Molossis*, i. 220; iv. 132. 217
———, mn. *E. Loc.* ii. 172
———, mn. *Pho.* ii. 539
———, mn. *Orestis-Dass.* i. 335
Xerxes and his army, ii. 10. 41. 336. 562; iii. 177; iv. 514
———, his canal of *Acte*, iii. 144, *et seq.*
———, wreck of his fleet, iv. 414
Xynia, t. and lake, *Dolopia*, i. 460; iv. 517

Yenidjé, or Iannitá, t. near *Pella*, *Mac.* iii. 262. 267
Yurúks, Turks of *Mac.* iii. 175. 257
Yusúf Pashá, iii. 203
——— Validé Kiáyassy, i. 123
——— Agá Arápi, i. 38
———, of Vrakhóri, i. 123. 126

Zagará, mon. villages, and mn. *Bœo.* ii. 133. 141
———, river of, ii. 212
Zagorá, t. *Magn.* iv. 383. 393, *et seq.*
Zagóri, sub-dist. of Ioán. d. i. 397, 398. 468; iv. 166
Zagoría, vil. *Atint.* i. 25. 392
Zagoriá, vil. *Molossis*, i. 400
Zakharías, Capt. of Khimára, i. 82. 86. 90
Zaklivéri, vil. *Chalc. Mac.* iii. 162
Zálitza, pt. *Bœo.-Pho.* ii. 519
Zálongo, mn. and mon. *Cassopœa*, i. 243, *et seq.*
Zapándi, vil. *Æto.* i. 136. 156
Zara, or Tzara, vil. Mt. *Helicon*, ii. 106. 527
Zara, Zarópulo, vils. near *Buthrotum*, *Ep.* i. 97
Zarko, t. *Hist.* i. 432; iv. 265. 318
Zavérdha, vil. *Acarn.* i. 166; iv. 14
Závitza, vil. *Acarn.* i. 163; iii. 24; iv. 13
Zelasium, prom. *Phth.* iv. 351
Zelogósh, vil. *Orestis*, i. 333

Digitized by Google

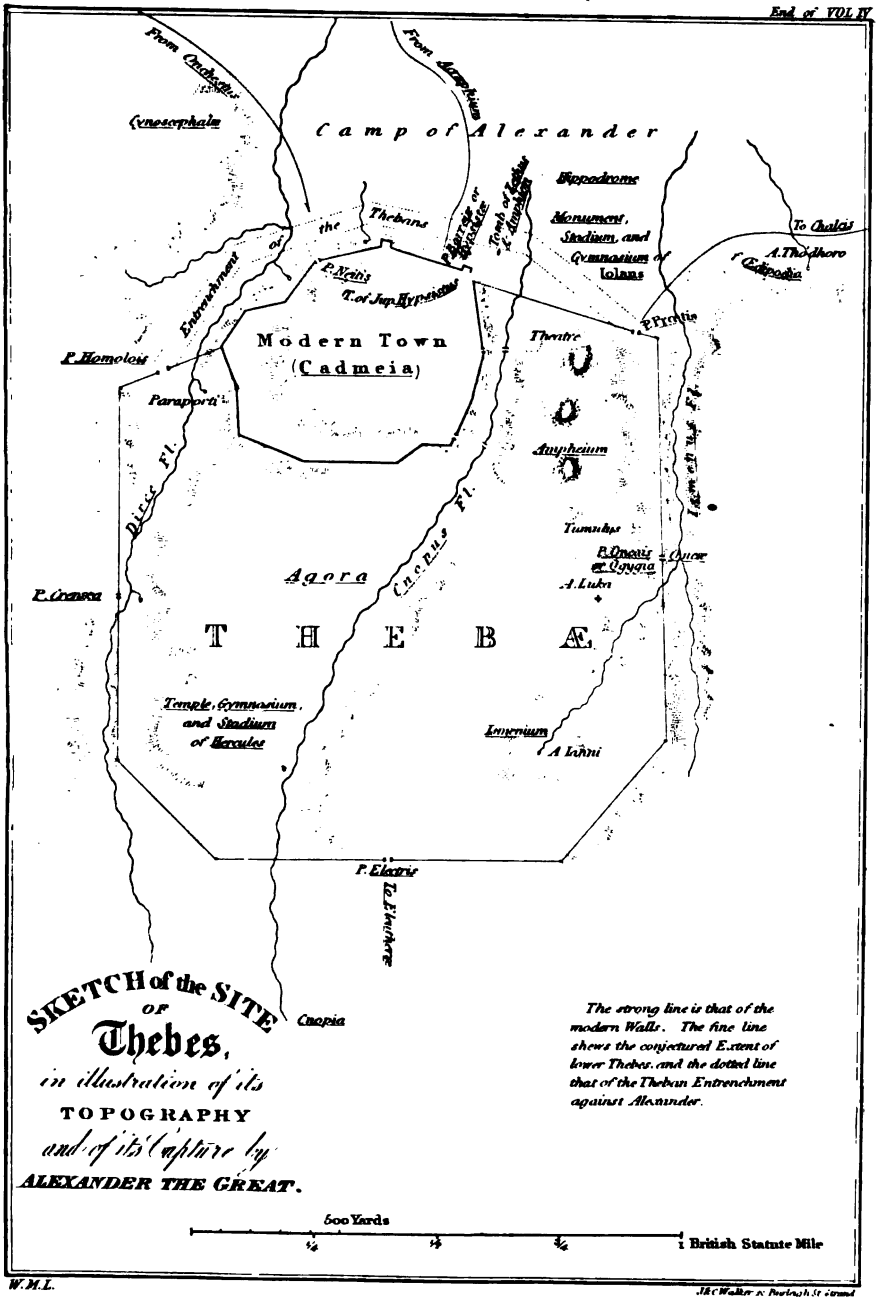
Zerítza, or Zeríki, vil. Mt. *Helicon*, ii. 519. 527. 529
Zerlía, vil. *Cassopæa*, i. 243
Zermí, vil. *Cassopæa*, i. 242
Zervókhia, r. *Magn.* iv. 385
Zervokhóri, vil. *Sintice*, iii. 226
Zethus, and Amphion, their monument at *Thebes*, ii. 235
Zia, mn. *Naxus* isl. iii. 95
Zikhna, t. *Mac.-Thrace*, iii. 198
Ziliákhova, vil. *Mac.-Thrace*, iii. 199
Zimenó, pass *Pho. (Schiste)*, ii. 95. 105
Zimiátza, vil. *Perr.* iv. 266
Zitúni, t. *Melis-Phth.* i. 462; ii. 1, *et seq.*
Zitza, vil. *Molossis*, iv. 91. 93
Zmyrna, prom. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 149
Zográfu, mon. *Acte*, *Mac.* iii. 120. 142
Zuláti, vil. *Chaonia*, i. 64
Zuliána, vil. *Thesp.* iv. 72
Zygactes, r. *Mac.-Thrace*, iii. 220. 225
Zygiastá Nerá, mn. 'Agrafa, d. iv. 494
Zygós, mn. near Métzovo, i. 295. 399. 411, *et seq.*; iv. 261. 276
Zygós, mn. and sub-dist. Karlilí, i. 115. 118, *et seq.*; iii. 528. 552
———, lake of, i. 122. 124. 153, 154
———, klisúra of, i. 119. 122. 154; iii. 528.

THE END.

Digitized by Google

LONDON:
GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

Digitized by Google



Published for the Author by J. Rodwell, New Bond Street, 1836.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

N°.161. At Prévyza.

ΛΟΥϚΠΟΝ
ΠΩΝΙΟΣ
ΚΟΡΝΟϕ
ΙΚΙΑΝΟΣ

N°.162. At Prévyza.

ΚΛΑΥ
ΔΙΟΣ
ΒΛΑΣΤΟΣ
ΕΤΩΝΚ
ΧΑΙΡΕ

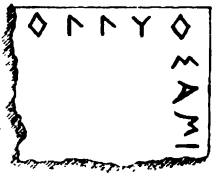
N°.163. At Katokhí. a Stone in the Altar of the Church of Panteleímona.

ϕΟΡΜΙΩΝ
ΘΥΙΩΝΟΣ

N°.165. At Ai Vasíli, on a Stele, like N°.164.

ΑΝΘΙΣΧΑΙΡΕ

N°.166. At Vónitza, in the same quarter, as N°.167.



N°.167. At Vónitza, in a house in Bokáli.

ΣΤΙΛΠΑΣ

N°.164. At Ai Vasíli, on a Stele 1'2 foot high, crowned with a Pediment, in the wall of a private house.

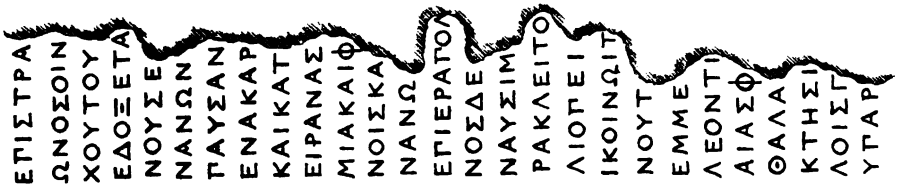
ΠΡΥΤΑΝΙΣ
ΠΟΛΥΕΥΚΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΥ
ΕΣΤΙΑ
ΛΥΣΙΑΣΜΕΝΟΙΤΙΟΥ
ΥΠΟΠΡΥΤΑΝΙΕΣ
ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΗΣΔΩΡΙΜΑΧΟΥ
ΛΕΩΝΙΔΑΣΛΕΩΝΙΔΑ
ΑΓΗΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣΜΝΑΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ
ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ
ΣΩΤΕΛΗΣΕΠΙΤΕΛΕΟΣ
ΛΑΜΙΣΚΟΣΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ
ΜΑΝΤΙΣ
ΕΥΞΕΝΟΣΔΑΞΙΜΟΥ
ΑΥΛΗΤΑΣ
ΛΕΩΝΛΕΟΝΤΙΣΚΟΥ
ΙΕΡΟϕΟΡΟΣϕΙΛΙΠΠΟΣΠΟΛΥΕΥΚΤΟΥ
ΜΑΓΕΙΡΟΣΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΣΣΩΚΡΑΤΕΟΣ
ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣΠΡΩΤΟΣΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ
ΑΡΧΟΙΝΟΧΟΥΣΚΑΛΛΙΠΠΟΣΠΟΛΥΕΥΚΤΟΥ
ΙΕΡΟΘΥΤΑΣ
ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΗΣΤΙΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΟΣ

N°.169. At Paramythía, in a Church.

J. Netherclift Lithog.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google



ΕΠΙΣΤΡΑ
ΩΝΟΣΟΙΝ
ΧΟΥΤΟΥ
ΕΔΟΞΕΤΑ
ΝΟΥΣΕ
ΝΑΝΩΝ
ΓΑΥΣΑΝ
ΕΝΑΚΑΡ
ΚΑΙΚΑΤ
ΕΙΡΑΝΑΣ
ΜΙΑΚΑΙΦ
ΝΟΙΣΚΑ
ΝΑΝΩ
ΕΠΙΕΡΑΓΟΛ
ΝΟΣΔΕ
ΝΑΥΣΙΜ
ΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟ
ΛΙΟΓΕΙ
ΙΚΟΙΝΩΙΤ
ΝΟΥΤ
ΕΜΜΕ
ΛΕΟΝΤΙ
ΑΙΑΣΦ
ΘΑΛΑ
ΚΤΗΣΙ
ΛΟΙΣΓ
ΥΓΑΡ

N°. 168. At Punta, on a plain Marble.

ΕΠΙΕΡΑΓΟΛΟΥΤΩΙΑΓΟΛΛΩΝΙΤΩΙΑΚΤΙΩΙΦΙΛ..ΜΟΝΟΣ
ΓΡΟΜΝΑΜΟΝΟΣΔΕΑΓΗΤΑΤΟΥΝΙΚΙΑΑΛΥΣΕΙΟΥ
ΣΥΜΠΡΟΜΝΑΜΟΝΩΝΔΕΝΑΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥΤΟΥΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕ
ΟΣΑΣΤΑΚΟΥΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥΤΟΥΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΥΦΟΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ
ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΟΣΔΕΤΑΙΒΟΥΛΑΙΠΡΟΙΤΟΥΤΟΥΔΙΟΓΕΙΘΕΟΣ
ΜΑΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΑΚΟΥΡΟΤΡΟΓΟΥ ΕΔΟΞΕΤΑΙΒΟΥΛΑΙΚΑΙ
ΤΩΙΚΟΙΝΩΙΤΩΝΑΚΑΡΝΑΝΩΝΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΥΣΕΙΜΕΝ
ΚΑΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΣΤΟΥΚΟΙΝΟΥΤΩΝΑΚΑΡΝΑΝΩΝΚΑΤΑ
ΤΟΝΝΟΜΟΝΑΓΑΣΙΑΝΟΛΥΜΠΙΩΝΟΣΓΑΤΡΗΓΟΓΛΙΟΝ
ΛΕΥΚΙΟΝΤΟΥΣΠΟΓΛΙΟΥΑΚΙΛΙΟΥΣ ΡΩΜΑΙ
ΟΥΣΚΑΙΕΙΜΕΝΑΥΤΟΙΣ
ΚΑΙΕΚΓΟΝΟΙΣΕΝΑΚΑΡΝΑΝΙΑΙ ΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑΝΚΑΙΑΥΤΟΙΣ
ΚΑΙΧΡΗΜΑΣΙΚΑΙΚΑΤΑΓΑΝΚΑΙΚΑΤΑΘΑΛΑΣΣΑΝΚΑΙ
ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥΚΑΙΕΙΡΑΝΑΣΚΑΙΓΑΣΚΑΙΟΙΚΙΑΣΕΓΚΤΗΣΙΝ
ΚΑΙΤΑΑΛΛΑΤΙΜΙΑΚΑΙΦΙΛΑΝΘΡΩΓΑΓΑΝΤΑΟΣΑΚΑΙΤΟΙΣ
ΑΛΛΟΙΣΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΙΣΚΑΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΙΣΤΟΥΚΟΙΝΟΥΤΩΝ
ΑΚΑΡΝΑΝΩΝΥΓΑΡΧΕΙ

N°. 170. At Arta, on a Quadrangular Stele, in the Church of the Salutation.

ΤΟΚΟΙΝΟΝΤΩΝ
ΔΙΑΚΟΝΩΝ
ΣΑΡΑΠΕΙ
ΙΣΕΙ
ΑΝΟΥΒΕΙ
ΑΡΠΟΧΡΑΤΕΙ
ΚΑΝΩΠΟΣ
ΙΕΡΕΥΣ
ΣΩΤΩΝ
ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ
ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ
ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ
ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΣ
ΠΑΣΙΩΝΟΣ
ΕΥΝΟΥΣ
ΑΠΟΛΛΟΦΑΝΕΟΣ
ΚΡΑΤΗΣ
ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΥ
ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ
ΚΡΑΤΗΡΟΣ
ΑΓΑΘΙΔΑΣ
ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΕΟΣ
ΤΙΜΟΔΑΜΟΣ
ΣΩΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ
ΠΛΑΤΟΡΟΣ
ΚΛΑΠΙΩΝ

N°. 171. At Trikkala, in a Bridge.

ΦΩΤΑΘΕΟΙCΙΚΕΛΟΝCΤΥΓΕΡΝΙΗΤΟΡΑ . ΟΥ . . .
ΜΟΙΡΗΥΠΑΤΡΕΠΤΩΚΙΜΒΕΡΑΤΥΜΒΟCΕΧΕΙ
ΟΝΠΙΝΥΤΗΠΑΡΑΚΟΙΤΙCΑΝΙΗΡΟΝ . ΟΟ . . . Α
ΘΑΨΕΝΑΚΟΙΜΗΤΟΙCΔΑΚΡΥCΙΝΑΝΔΟΜΑΧΗ

N°. 172. At Paleó Gardhiki.

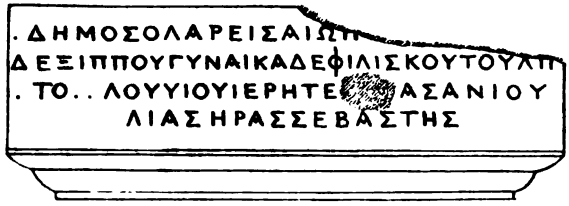
ΠΕΤΡΑΙΟΝΙΚΑ
ΔΕΡΔΑΙΑ
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ

J. Netherclift Lithog:

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

N°. 173. At Dhamási.



N°. 175. In the same Church as N°. 174, on a Plinth, of which two other sides were also inscribed.

N°. 174. At the Church of St. George, near Dhaminiko.

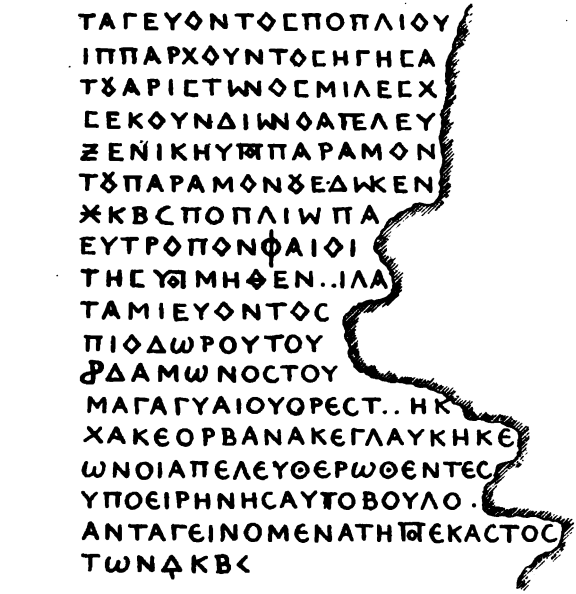
ΤΙΤΟΣΚΟΙΝΚΤΙΟΣΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣΥΠΑΤΟΣΡΩΜΑΙΩΝΚΥΡΕΤΙΕΩΝ
ΤΟΙΣΤΑΓΟΙΣΚΑΙΤΗΙΠΟΛΕΙΧΑΙΡΕΙΝΕΠΕΙΚΑΙΕΝΤΟΙΣΛΟΙΓΟΙΣΓΑΣΙΝ
ΦΑΝΕΡΑΝΓΕΓΟΗΚΑΜΕΝΤΗΝΤΕΙΔΙΑΝΚΑΙΤΟΥΔΗΜΟΥΤΟΥΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ
ΓΡΟΑΙΡΕΣΙΝΗΝΕΧΟΜΕΝΕΙΣΥΜΑΣΟΛΟ.Υ. ΡΩΣΒΕΒΟΥΛΗΜΕΘΑΚΑΙ
ΕΝΤΟΙΣΕΞΗΣΕΓΙΔΕΙΞΑΙΚΑΤΑΓΑΝΜΕΡΟΣΓΡΟΕΣΤΗΚΟΤΕΣ
ΤΟΥΕΝΔΟΞΟΥΙΝΑΜΗΔΕΝΤΟΥΤΟΙΣΕΧΩΣΙΝΗΜΑΣΚΑΤΑ
ΛΑΛΕΙΝΟΙΟΥΚΑΓΟΤΟΥΒΕΛΤΙΣΤΟΥΕΙΩΘΟΤΕΣΑΝΑ
ΣΤΡΕΦΕΣΘΑΙΟΣΑΙΓΑΡΓΟΤΕΑΓΟΛΕΙΓΟΝΤΑΙΚΤΗΣΕΙΣ
ΕΓΓΕΙΟΙΚΑΙΟΙΚΙΑΙΤΩΝΚΑΘΗΚΟΥΣΩΝΕΙΣΤΟΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΝ
ΤΟΡΩΜΑΙΩΝΓΑΣΑΣΔΙΔΟΜΕΝΤΗΙΥΜΕΤΕΡΑΙΓΟΛΕΙ
ΟΓΩΣΚΑΙΕΝΤΟΥΤΟΙΣΜΑΘΗΤΕΤΗΝΚΑΛΟΚΑΓΑΘΙΑΝΗΜΩΝ
ΚΑΙΟΤΙΤΕΛΕΩΣΕΝΟΥΘΕΝΙΦΙΛΑΡΓΥΡΗΣ..ΒΕΒΟΥΛΗΜΕΘ
ΓΕΡΙΓΛΕΙΣΤΟΥΓΟΙΟΥΜΕΝΟΙΧΑΡΙΤΑΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΔΟΞΙΑΝΟΣΟΙΜΕΝ
ΤΟΙΜΗΚΕΚΟΜΙΣΜΕΝΟΙΕΙΣΙΝΤΩΝΕΓΙΒΑΛΛΟΝΤΩΝΑΥΤΟΙΣ
ΕΑΝΥΜΑΣΔΙΔΑΞΩΣΙΝΚΑΙΦΑΙΝΩΝΤΑΙΕΥΓΝΩΜΟΝΑΛΕ
ΓΟΝΤΕΣΣΤΟΧΑΖΟΜΕΝΩΝΥΜΩΝΕΚΤΩΝΥΓΕΜΟΥΓΕΓΡΑΜ
ΜΕΝΩΝΕΓΚΡΙΣΕΩΝΚΡΙΝΩΔΙΚΑΙΟΝΕΙΝΑΙΑΓΟΚΑΘΙΣΤΑΣ
ΘΑΙΑΥΤΟΙΣ
ΕΡΡΩΣΘΕ

J. Netherclift Lithog.

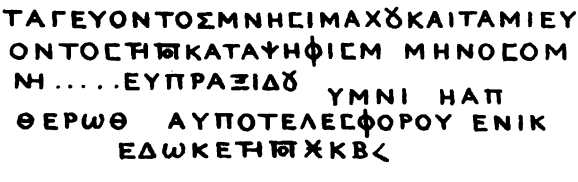
Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

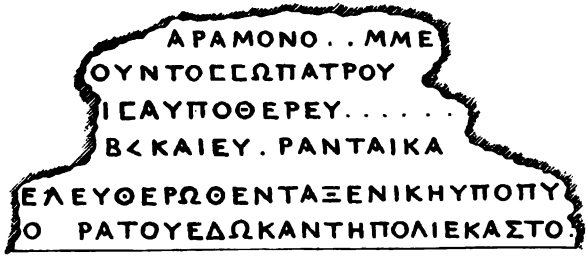
N°176. In the Pavement of the same Church as N°174.



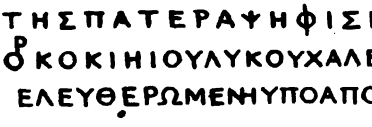
N°177. In a Wall of the same Church as the preceding N°



N°178. At the same Church.



N°179. On a pedestal, which is now a step at the door of an indosure round the same Church.



J Netherclift Lithog:

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

N°. 180. In the same Church as the preceding N°., in a Wall behind the Altar.

Ο Δ Ω Ρ Ο Σ Α Γ Ο Λ Λ Ο Δ Ω Ρ Ο Υ Ε Ρ Η
Ω Ρ Ο Ν Α Σ Κ Α Η Γ Ι Ο Δ Ω Ρ Ο Υ Τ Ο Ν Ε Α Υ Τ Ο Υ
Π Ι Ω Ι Κ Α Ι Υ Γ Ι Ε Ι Α Ι Α Ν Ε Θ
Ο Υ Α Θ Η Ν Α Ι Ο Σ Ε Π Ο Ι Η Σ

N°. 181. In the Wall of the inclosure of the same Church.

Φ Ι Λ Ο Κ Ρ Α Τ Ε Α Τ Ε Κ Ν Ω Φ Ι Λ Η Μ Α
Η Σ Μ Ν Η Μ Η Ε Χ Α Ρ Ι Ν

Below, a woman and child are represented in relief.

N°. 182. At the same Church.

Α Ρ Ι Σ Τ Ι Ω Ν Κ Α Λ Λ Ι Κ Ρ Α
Σ Η Ρ Ω Σ Χ Ρ Η Σ Τ Ε Χ Α Ι

Below the Inscription is a Hermes in low relief.

N°. 183. At Grizzano, below a relief representing a boy, an altar with a bull's head on it, and the busts of a man and woman.

Ι Π Π Ω Τ Ο Ν Γ Λ Υ Κ Ὺ Τ Α Τ Ο Ν Α Ν
Δ Ρ Α Γ Λ Ε Ι Ν Τ Ο Ν Π Ο Λ Λ Ο Ι Ε Θ Ε
Ο Ι Ε Υ Π Η Ρ Ε Τ Η Ε Α Ν Τ Α Μ Ν Ε Ι Α Ε
Χ Α Ρ Ι Ν Η Ρ Ω Ε Χ Ρ Ι Ε Τ Ε Χ Α Ι Ρ Ε

N°. 184. At Siurpi.

Ν Ε Ι Κ Α Ρ Χ Α Ε Υ Β
Ι Ο Τ Ο Υ

Α Ρ Ι Σ Τ Ο Β Ο Υ Λ Η Μ Ε Ν Α Ν Δ Ρ Ο Υ
Χ Ρ Η Σ Τ Η Χ Α Ι Ρ Ε

Ε Υ Β Ι Ο Τ Ο Ε

Here a man and woman are represented in relief, joining their right hands.

J. Netherclift Lithog:

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

N°185. *At Panaghía, in the bay of Ftelió.*

ΦΥΛΙΚΑ
ΕΥΒΙΟΤΕΙΑ

N°186. *On a Sarcophagus, at the ruined Mosque at Ak-hetjeli – much defaced.*

ΜΟΓΕΝΙΣΓΕΝΙΕ
ΛΕΙΝΗΠΟΙΕΠΙΗΔΕΠΟ
ΜΥΣΕΝΟΥ

N°187. *On a Stele 5 feet high of the annexed form – now serving as one of the uprights of the door of the Church at Ak-hetjeli.*

ΔΙΚΑΙΡΕ
ΤΑΕΥΡΥ
ΦΑΤΟΥ
ΥΠΕΡΑ
ΦΘΟΝΗΤΟ
ΥΑΡΤΕ
ΜΙΔΙ

N°188. *On a similar Stele, forming the other door post.*

ΔΙΚΑΙΟ
ΒΟΥΛΑ
ΔΑΤΥΟΥ
ΑΡΤΕΜΙ
ΔΙ

N°189. *On a small stone, in the same Church.*

ΛΕΩΝ
ΛΡΙΣΤΟΔΗΜΟΥ
ΕΡΕΤΡΙΕΥΣ

N°190. *In the same Church, on a Stele of the annexed form. 3. is reversed.*

1. ΔΙΟΜΗΔΗΣ
ΠΑΙΔΙΝΟΥ
ΕΛΛΑΝΟΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ
2. ΠΑΡΜΕΝΟΝΤΟΣ
2. ΝΤΙ Α
ΟΜΗΔ
3. ΜΑΧΑΤΑΣ
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΠΟΝΙΣ

N°191. *In the same Church, on a Stele similar to N°190.*

ΔΙΚΑΙΩ ΑΣΚΛΑΠΙΑΔΑ

N°192. *In the same Church, on a similar Stele.*

ΣΩΣΙΠΟΛΙΣΠΟΛΕΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΟΣ

N°193. *In the same Church.*

ΕΠΙΚΤΗΣΙΣ
ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΣΙΑ
ΛΕΥΚΙΣ

N°194. *In the same Church.*

ΑΔΥΜΟΣΑΔΥΜΟΥ
Ε ΟΠΛΙ ΑΔΥΜΟΥ

N°195. *A Fragment on the Site of Thebæ.*

ΙΩΝ
ΚΑΙΟ
ΜΑ

N°196. *At the same place as N°195.*

ΠΟ
ΑΑΠΟ
ΚΑΛΛΙΝ
ΦΡΟΔΕΙ
ΟΜΑΧΟ
ΦΑΛΙΩΝ

N°197. *At the same place.*

ΕΛΕΝΟΣ
ΕΛΕΝΟΥ

N°198. *On a Rock near the ruins of Pagasæ – in large letters.*

ΕΠΙΔΟ
ΙΣ

N°199. *At a ruined Church, on the Site of Pagasæ.*

ΘΕΟΦΙΛΑ
ΕΥΑΡΧΟΥ

N°200. *At Volo, in the wall of the Church of St. John.*

ΑΡΙΣΤΩΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ

J. Netherclift Lithog.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

N°201. *On a white Marble in the pavement of the same Church.*

ΖΩΕΙΜΗ
ΟΔΗΜΟΣ Ε ΟΥ

N°202. *In the pavement of the same Church.*

ΜΑΤΕΡΩ
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ
ΜΑΡΕΤΗ

N°203. *At Volo - in the pavement of the Church of St. George.*

ΙΩΠΥΡΟΣ
ΜΝΗΣΙΓΕΝΟΥΣ
ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΕΥΣ

N°204. *At Kastri.*

ΕΛΛΑΝΟΚΡΑΤΗ
ΣΣΕΙΤΟΤΑΜΙΕΥ
ΣΑΣΟΔΩΕΚΑΤ
ΟΜΠΕΔΩΤΕΡΜΟ
ΝΑ

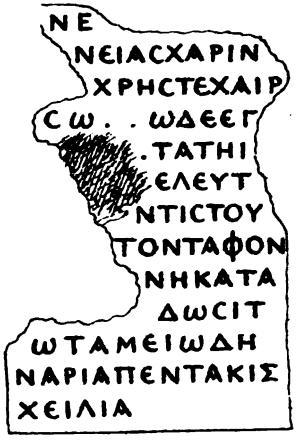
N°205. *At Aghiá, in a Church.*

ΕΠΙΚ . . ΩΚ
ΑΦΙΟΔΕΙC ΖΩΠ
ΥΡΟΥΝΕΙΚΗ . . . .
. . . . . .

N°206. *At the same Church.*

Ε Ρ Α Τ Ι Σ
Κ Ε Ρ Κ Ι Ω Ν Ο Σ

N°207. *At Aghiá - in another Church.*



N°208. *At Dhéssani, in a Church.*

ΕΡΜΙΟΝΗ [redacted] ΛΙΩ ΝΟΣ

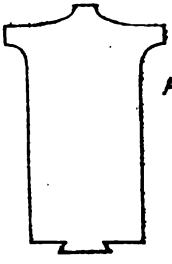
N°209. *At Petra, on a stone of the annexed shape, now forming a step in a Turkish house.*

ΑΤΤΥΛΑ
ΕΥΡΥΠΟΘΕΙΑ

N°210. *On a pedestal at the same Church as N°211.*

ΘΕΟΥΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ
ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣΣΩΤΗ
Ρ Ο Σ

N°211. *In the Church at Velestino, on a Stele of the annexed form.*



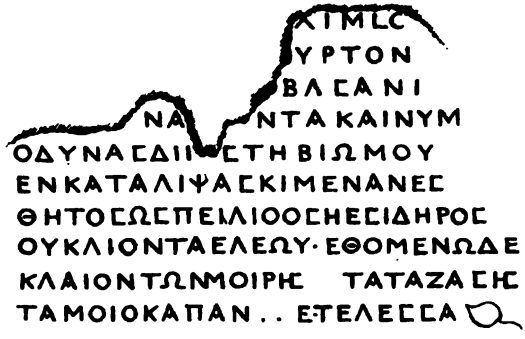
ΑΓΛΑΙΣΙΠΠΟΛΥΤΕΙΑ
ΕΥΚΑΘΕΑΙ

J. Netherclift Lithog.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

N°. 212. At Tjanglí – in the wall of the Church.



N°. 214. At Pazaráki – on a cubical block of Stone, two sides of which were covered with letters. The following words are apparent in two different places.

1.

ΤΑΓΕΥΟΝΤΩΝΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΑΜΥΝΤΟΥΤΟΥΑΜΥΝΤΟΥΠΟΛΥΞΕ
ΝΟΥΤΟΥΠΟΛΥΞΕΝΟΥ

2.

ΤΑΓΕΥΟΝΤΩΝΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΠΟΛΥΞΕΝΟΥ

N°. 213. Part of the roof of the same Church as N°. 212.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ
ΥΙΤΟΚΟΥ
ΩCΙΜΕΥΒΟΥ
ΘЄΜΝΙΑCΧΑΡΙΝ
Ε ΧΑΙΡΕ

Below are two figures of men, rudely executed.

N°. 215. At Pazaráki.

N°. 219. At Paleókastro (Metropolis) in the wall of a house; the Inscription was twice as long, but not broader.

ΙΟΥΝΕΙΟΣΑΝΤΙΟ
ΝΕΙΣΠΥΡΡΙΝΑΙ
ΣΑΣΤΟΜΑΧΟΣ
ΑΜΑΙΝΕΤΕΙΟΣ
ΑΝΑΙΟΣ ΑΠ
ΝΕΙΟΣ
ΗΙΑΣ ΕΥΚΛΕ
ΑΙΟΣΑΝΔΡΟΜ
ΣΟΡΟΡΔΟΤΤΟ
ΑΣΥΑΣΕΥ
ΟΦΙΛΙΝΕΙΟΣΔ
ΟΝΥΣΙΟΣΚΛΙΟΝ
ΑΙΟΣΠΑΡΜΕ
ΕΥΤΑΙΟΣ
ΟΥΝΑ ΝΙΑΔΑΙΟΣ
ΠΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΑΣ
ΛΑΝ...ΕΙΟΣ
ΦΕΛΙΜΟΣ
ΕΡΜΙΑΙΟΣ
ΕΡΟΤΟΚΛΙΑ
ΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΑΙΟΣ
ΝΝΙΟΣΕΡΑ

N°. 218. In the wall of the same Church as N°. 217.

ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΙΚΟΥΕΡΙΩΙ
ΚΕΦΑΛΩΝΒΥΚΙΝΟΥ

J. Netherclift Lithog.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

N°216. At Sofádhes, in a private house.

ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥΝΤΟΣΤΩΝΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝΑΓΑΣΙΜ . . . . . .
. . ΤΟΥΣΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΟΥΤΑΓΕΥΟΝΤΩΝΔΕΤΗΣΠΟ . . . . . .
. . . . . ΑΡΙΣΤΑΡΧΟΥΑΝΑΞΑΝΔΡΟΥΤΟΥΑΡΧΙΠΠ . . . . . .
. . . ΤΟΥΦΙΛΟΝΙΚΟΥΑΜΥΝΕΟΥΤΟΥΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΔΟΥ . . . . . .
ΜΕΝΑΝ . . . . . ΜΗΝΟΣΙΤΩΝΙΟΥΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΙΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΙ . . .
ΤΗΣΕΝΝΟΜΟΥ . . . . . ΠΟΙΗΣΑΜΕΝΩΝΤΩΝΤΑΓΩΝ . . . . .

14 Lines farther down.

ΤΑΕΔΩΚΕΝΔΩΡΕΑΝΚΑΙ
ΤΑΣΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΑΣΧΡΕΙΑΣ
ΣΗΣΚΑΙΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΘΑ
ΤΩΝΠΟΛΙΤΩΝΕΧΟΡΗΓΗΣΕΝΑΥ
ΤΗΣΤΩΝΝΕΩΝΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΗΣ
ΤΕΤΑΙΣΕΠ . . ΙΡΙΣΘΕΙΣΑΙΣ
ΑΙΣΑΝΕΣΤΡΑΦΗΣΥΜΦΕΡΟΝΤΩ
ΟΣΑΙΡΕΘΕΙΣΥΠΟΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣ
ΠΕΛΗΚΑΤΗΡΓΑΣΑ

There are 7 more lines to the end.

N°217. At Mataranga - in the wall of the Church.

ΝΤΑΙΠΡΟΣ . . . . ΛΑΣΟ
ΑΙΤΕΙΤΑΙΟΠΩΣΜΕΘΟΡΚΟΥΚΡΥΦΑ
ΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΚΡΙΝΟΝΤΩΝΒΡΑΒΕΥΟΝ
ΙΑΡΥΜΕΙΝΟΦΙΛΟΝΤΟΣΚΑΘΗΝΚΑΙΤΗΣΚΡΙΣ
ΝΗΝΕΧΘΗΣΑΝΜΕΘΟΡΚΟΥΨΗΦΟΙΚΙΕΡΙΕΥ
ΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΙΣΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑΜΙΑΑΚΥΡΟΙΠΕΝΤΕ
ΛΙΩΣΑΒΕΙΝΩΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΗΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥΚΑΙΣΑΡ
ΥΣΤΩΝΣΥΝΕΔΡΩΝΠΛΕΙΣΤΑΧΑΙΡΕΙΝΕΓΡΑ
ΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΝΗΝΕΙΧΟΝΠΕΡΙΟΡΩΝΟ
ΚΡΙΝΑΙΟΥΣΚΑΙΕΔΗΛΟΥΣΜΟΙΚΑΤΟΨΙΝΕΝΑΙΔΕ
ΝΑΓΑΓΟΝΤΑΠΡΟΘΕΙΝΑΙΤΗΝΚΡΙΣΙΝΕΝΤΩΕΝΤ
ΣΗΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΩΤΩΕΝΤΩΘΥΩΜΗΝΙΣΥΝΕΛΘΟΝΤΟ
ΝΚΡΙΣΙΝΚΑΙΛΟΓΩΝΥΠΑΥΤΩΝΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΩΝΕΝΗΝ
ΟΡΚΟΥΚΙΕΡΙΕΥΣΙΝΜΕΝΔΙΑΚΟΣΙΑΣΕΝΕΝΗΚΟΝ
ΑΜΙΑΝΑΚΥΡΟΥΣΠΕΝΤΕΤΑΥΤΑΕΠΙΤΗΔΕΙΟΝΗΓ
ΙΑΙΩΣΑΒΕΙΝΩΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΗΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥΚΑΙΣΑ
ΓΟΣΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝΧΑΙΡΕΙΝΕΓΡΑΨΑΣΚΑΜΟΙΚΑΙΤΟ
ΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΝΗΝΕΙΧΟΝΠΕΡΙΟΡΩΝΟ
ΑΓΝΩΣΙΝΑΝΕΠΕΜΨΕΝΓΕΙΝΩΣΚΕΟΥΝΕΙΡΗΜ
ΜΗΝΙΚΑΙΕΝΗΝΕΓΜΕΝΑΣΜΕΘΟΡΚΟΥΚΡΥΦΑΙ
ΜΕΝΔΙΑΚΟΣΙΑΣΕΝΕΝΗΚΟΝΤΑΟΚΤΩΜΗΤΡ
ΝΤΕΤΑΥΤΑΟΥΝΕΠΙΤΗΔΕΙΟΝΗΓΗΣΑ
ΟΝΤΟΒΕΒΑΙΟΝΗΚΡΙΣΙΣΥΠΟΣΟΥΛΑΒΗΕΠΙ

J. Netherclift Lithog.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

N°220. At Rapsista in the pavement of the Church.

ΟΕΝΠΙΣ . . . . ΕΙΔΑ
ΣΤΟΓΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ

ΠΟΕΥΡΥΔΑΜΑΝΤΟΣΤΟΥΑΓΑΘΑ
ΝΟΡΟΣ.ΑΙΘΩ.ΑΝΙΔΟΣΤΗΣΝΙΚΑΝΟ
ΡΟΣΚΑΙΦΟΝΝΙΟΥΤΟΥΕΥΡΥΔΑ
ΜΑΝΤΟΣΦΙΛΩΝΕΥΡΥΔΑΜΑΝΤΟΣ
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣΑΠΟΤΕΙΜΑΙΟΥΤΟΥΠΑΥΣ
ΙΟΥΚΑΙΑΜΥΝΤΑΥ
ΑΠΟ[illegible]ΤΟΥΣΩΣΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ.Ω . .
ΡΟΣ . . . . ΟΥΣΑΙΟΥΚΑΙ . . . . . .
. . . . . ΠΟΣ . Υ . . . . . .
ΑΠΟΑΡΧΙΓΟΝΟΥΚΑΙΣΩΤΙΩ
ΝΟΣΤΑΡΟΥΣΙΝΑΣ
ΙΕΡΗΤΕΥΟΝΤΟΣΤΟΥΔ
ΟΝΥΣΟΥΤΟΥΚΑΡΠΙΟΥ
ΦΟΝΝΙΟΥΤΟΥΕΥΡΥΔΑ
ΜΑΝΤΟΣΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥΝ
ΤΟΣΣΩΤΑΝΔΡΟΥΟΙΑΠΕ
ΛΕΥΘΕΡΩΘΕΝΤΕΣ
ΣΥΒΑΝΑΠΟΓΟΡΓΙΑΤΟΥΔΙΟΝΥΣΙ
ΟΥΚΑΙΔΙΚΑΙΟΠΟΛΙΣΓΛΑΥΚΟΥ
ΚΑΙΥΠΕΡΤΩ.ΠΕ..ΩΝΕΙΟ.ΛΥ
. . .ΑΤΟΣ. ΚΑΙΓΟΡΓΙΟΥ
. Ο. ΟΙΣΚΟ.ΤΟ.ΑΝΔΡΑΓΑΘΟ
.ΑΡΜΟ.ΑΓ . . . .
ΙΕΡΗΤΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ
ΑΡ.ΙΟ

Α ΠΟΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΥΤΟΥΓΥ.Α
ΟΥΜΕΛΙΤΕΑΣ . . . . . ΑΠΟ.
ΝΙΚΑΣΙΠΟΛΕΟΣΠΙΣΕΙ . . . . .
. . . . Δ.ΜΑΑΠΟ . . ΕΝΩΝΟΣΠΟ.
ΕΧΕΝΙΚΟΥΦΥΛΑ
ΑΠΟΑΡΧΕΠΟΛΕΩΣΤΗΣΠΟΛΕ
. . . . . ΒΟΥ ΦΙΛΩΤ . .
ΑΠΟΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΑΣΤΗΣΓΛΑ . . .
. ΙΣΚΟΥΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ . . ΠΟ
ΛΥΚΟΥΤΟΥΚΕΒΒΟΥ
ΑΠΕΛΛΑΣΑΠΟΕΥΦΟΡ
ΒΟΥΤΟΥΑΝΤΙΓ.ΝΟΥΚΑΙ
ΚΑΙΚΛΕΟΔΙΚΗΣΘΕΩ
ΔΩΡΑ

J. Netherclift Lithog.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

N°221. On an ancient Stele, reversed and used for the altar of the same Church as N° 220.

On one of the smaller dimensions of the Stone.

ΑΙΕΣΦΛΔΑΜΙΔΗΚΟΒΔΛΔΑΠΟΔ
ΝΙΔΖΑΤΗΛΕΘΕΡΩΘΗΕΙΚΗΧΕΝΙΚΗΑΤΑ
ΠΟΛΙΔΚΒ<

On the opposite side.

. . ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥΑΡΜΟΦΙΛΟΥΤΑΜΙΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ . . . .
. ΝΟΣΑΠ . . ΑΕΥΘΕΡΩΘΗΥΠΟΕΥΡΥΔΑΜΑΝΤΟΣ
ΦΟΙΒΟΣΔΟΥΣΤΑΓΕΙΝΟΜΕΝΑΤΗΠΟΛΕΙΔΚΒ<

On one of the large dimensions of the same Stele. (N°221.)

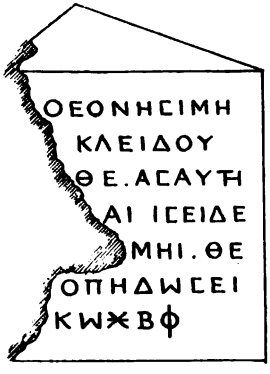
ΤΑΜΙΕΥΟΝΤΟΣΚΟΙΝΤΟΥΑΠΟΔΚΟΥΗΛΕΥΟΕΡΩΘΗΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΟΣΑΣΤΑΓΕΙΝΟΜΕΝΑΤΗΠΟΛΕΙΔΚΒ<

N°222. In a Church near Musáki.

ΖΗΝΙ
ΠΑΛΑΜΝΙΩ

N°224. On the Church of Meteora.

N°223. In a Turkish Cemetery between Rapsista and Varibópi.



J. Netherclift Lithog.

Digitized by Google

HM
SE

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

JAN 1 1 1932

Digitized by Google